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CHARLES KNIGHT'S

POPULAR

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

"The harvest gathered in the fields of the Past is to be brought home for the use of the Present."—Dr. Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History.*

VOL. VI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE I. 1714, TO THE CLOSE OF THE AMERICAN WAR, 1783.

BRINDLEY
ARKWRIGHT
HOGARTH

THE POPULAR

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An Illustrated History

OF SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO OUR OWN TIMES.

BY CHARLES KNIGHT.

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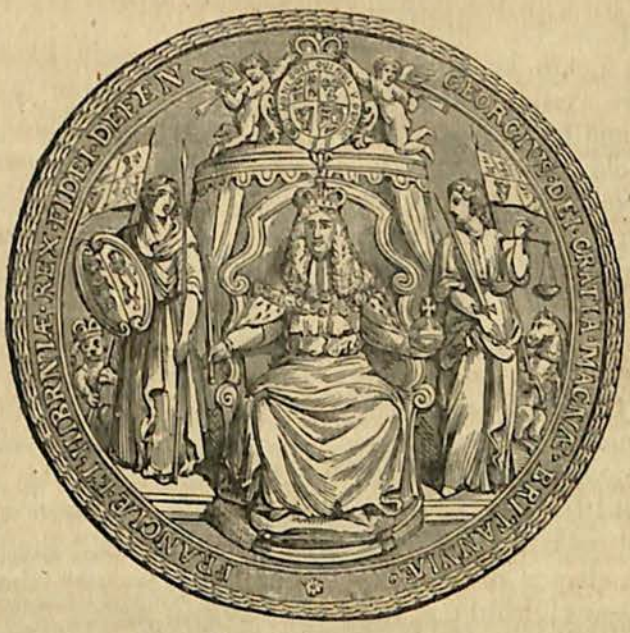


Great Seal of George I.

POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I.

Proceedings on the death of queen Anne—George I. proclaimed king—His arrival in England—Sophia, princess of Zell—Ministerial arrangements—Parliament—Impeachments of queen Anne's late ministers—Riots in England—Insurrection in Scotland—Insurrection in England—The march to Preston—Surrender of the rebels at Preston—Battle of Sheriffmuir—The Pretender in Scotland—His flight to France—Impeachments of the rebel lords—Executions and escapes of leaders—Fate of the humbler insurgents.

At seven o'clock of the morning of the first of August, 1714, queen Anne died. The course of proceeding under this event had been determined by Statute in 1705. The Council was immediately to meet, and then to open three sealed packets, which contained the names of persons nominated by the Protestant successor to the throne, to act with seven great officers of state named in the statute, as Lord Justices. No contest, therefore, could arise about the temporary possession of authority. When the dying queen appointed Shrewsbury Lord High Treasurer, the hopes of the Jacobite party received a fatal blow. When the sealed packets were opened, and eighteen peers, the greater number of whom were Whigs, were nominated by the Elector of Hanover, the schemes for the restoration of the exiled family, which had been gradually maturing in the last four years of the reign of Anne, were more effectually crushed. The French agent wrote to Louis XIV. that Bolingbroke was grievously disappointed; for he had said, that in six weeks,

if the queen's death had not occurred, matters would have been in such a state that there would have been nothing to fear for the future. "What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us," writes Bolingbroke to Swift. There was a bold accomplice in Bolingbroke's plots who was not inclined at first to grieve over the caprices of fortune. It is related upon the authority of Dr. Lockier, dean of Peterborough, that, upon the death of the queen, Atterbury urged the immediate proclamation of the Pretender, to which Ormond demurring, the bishop replied with an oath, "we have not a moment to lose." Lockier, who was a personal friend of George I., says, "such a bold step would have made people believe that they [the Jacobites] were stronger than they really were; and might have taken strangely. The late king, I am persuaded, would not have stirred a foot, if there had been a strong opposition; indeed the family did not expect this crown; at least nobody in it, but the old princess Sophia." * Opposition there was none. The Lords Justices issued a proclamation, declaring that the high and mighty prince George, elector of Brunswick Lüneburg, had, by the death of queen Anne, become our rightful and liege lord, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland. Multitudes crowded round the heralds as they proclaimed the stranger king. Not a voice of dissent was raised. The same afternoon the Parliament met, according to the provision of the Act of Regency. The Lords Justices entered upon their administrative functions. The Peers and the Commons sent congratulations to the new sovereign upon his happy and peaceable accession to the throne, and besought his majesty to give the kingdom the advantage of his royal presence as soon as possible. The Civil List was settled upon the same scale as had been granted to queen Anne. Throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, no popular discontent was manifested. The title of king George was recognized by France and the other European powers, whether Protestant or Catholic. There was partial dissatisfaction, no doubt, amongst some of that class of politicians whose loyalty was determined by the extent to which their personal interests were expected to be gratified. The name of Marlborough was not found in the list of those nominated to the Regency; and he retired to the country, after having made a sort of triumphal entry into London. Many a solicitation for place and preferment went over to Hanover. But the new king exhibited no eagerness to quit the quiet country where he was respected, and where he had no contests of Whig and Tory to disturb his peace. It was the 18th of September when George, accompanied by his eldest son, landed at Greenwich.

That the new king should have been received with acclamations when he set his foot on English soil was a matter of course. But his personal appearance and demeanour were not calculated to excite any fervid enthusiasm. He was fifty-four years of age. He was below the middle stature. He was shy and awkward. He could not speak English. His public virtues were probably little known to his new subjects. Possessing despotic power, he had governed his Hanoverians wisely and beneficently; and the people shed tears of real grief when he left them. He had no showy qualities. He was unfortunate in his marriage, and did not win popular respect by the exercise of

* Spence's "Anecdotes," p. 55.

the domestic virtues. Every one knew that twenty years before the Elector George Louis was called to the throne of England—that is, in 1694, when he was electoral heir apparent—some terrible tragedy had occurred in the palace of Hanover. Count Philip Königsmark suddenly disappeared. Princess Sophia Dorothea, the wife of the electoral prince, was divorced in a somewhat irregular way, by a court held at Hanover; and was now pining away her life in the castle of Aldhen, with no glimpse of the outer world but the dreary Heath of Lüneburg. "Old peasants, late in the next century, will remember that they used to see her sometimes driving on the Heath—beautiful lady, long black hair, and the glitter of diamonds in it; sometimes the reins in her own hand, but always with a party of cavalry around her, and their swords drawn." * Sophia, born princess of Zell, was the mother of George II., who constantly asserted her innocence. Of her imprudence there could be no doubt. Her sad story has furnished abundant matter of controversy. After

Sophia of Zell, wife of George I. (From the Strawberry-Hill Drawing.)

the death of George I., under the floor of the princess's dressing-room, a body was discovered, which was considered to be that of count Königsmark. Horace Walpole, who derived his information from his father sir Robert, assumes that the unfortunate victim of jealousy was there secretly strangled. Later accounts allege that there was a scene of violence and loss of life, in which Königsmark had openly to encounter many persons. "It has at

* Carlyle, "Friedrich II. of Prussia," vol. i. p. 34.

length," says the historian of Frederick the Great, "become a certainty, a clear fact, to those who are curious about it . . . . Crime enough is in it, sin and folly on both sides; there is killing too, but not assassination (as it turns out); on the whole there is nothing of atrocity, and nothing that was not accidental, unavoidable;—and there is a certain greatness of decorum on the part of those Hanover princes and official gentlemen, a depth of silence, of polite stoicism, which deserves more praise than it will get in our times." *

The unostentatious sovereign, "all dressed in brown, even his stockings," † was not fitted by nature to form for himself a court-party, by which he might in some degree have neutralized the two great parliamentary parties. He had been accustomed to govern a small country through ministers to whom his will was law; and he did not understand the complications which made the king of England in many respects the possessor of a nominal power, whilst the real power was with those called his servants. The novelty of his position is well illustrated by his majesty's account of one of his earliest impressions. He said, "This is a strange country. The first morning after my arrival at St. James's, I looked out of the window, and saw a park, with canals, &c., which they told me were mine. The next day, lord Chetwynd, the ranger of *my* park, sent me a fine brace of carp out of *my* canal; and I was told I must give five guineas to lord Chetwynd's servant for bringing me *my own* carp out of *my own* canal in *my own* park." ‡ King George was inevitably and completely thrown into the hands of the great Whig party to whose firmness and decision he was indebted for his quiet accession to the throne. It was not a question, as in the early days of king William, whether the government could be best conducted by the union of party leaders, or by one dominant party. George had not the ability, or the ambition, to be in many respects his own minister, as William was. He had to rely upon the chiefs of the party who upheld his parliamentary title to the crown, in opposition to the party who would have clung to the hereditary title. The Chevalier St. George had issued from Lorraine, on the 29th of August, a manifesto, in which he asserted his right to the throne. He had been inactive, he said, "until the death of the princess, our sister, of whose good intention towards us we could not for some time past well doubt; and this was the reason we then sat still, expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death." Bolingbroke, the chief encourager of those good intentions, was removed from his office of Secretary of State; and the seals were taken from him with some impolitic want of respect. Lord Townshend was appointed in his place; and the other great offices were filled up by leading Whigs. The doubts of Marlborough's fidelity to the Hanoverian succession had been manifested by the omission of his name in the Council of Regency. He was, nevertheless, nominated to his former offices of Captain General and Master of the Ordnance. Trusted, however, he was not; and he justified the suspicions which attached to his proverbial faithlessness by sending, as a loan, a sum of money to the Pretender, just before the unsuccessful issue of the rising of 1715 furnished evidence that the Stuart cause had become in a great degree hopeless.

* Carlyle, "Friedrich II. of Prussia," vol. i. p. 35. † "Walpoliana."
‡ H. Walpole. "Reminiscences of the Court of George I. and II."

The coronation of the king took place on the 20th of October. The peers of both parties attended the ceremony. In January the Parliament was dissolved, and the writs for a new election were sent out. When the two Houses met on the 17th of March, the preponderance of the Whigs was decidedly manifested. The king opened the Parliament in person; but his speech was read by the lord chancellor. Its tone was moderate and conciliatory. "Let no unhappy divisions of parties here at home divert you from pursuing the common interest of your country." The Address of the Peers contained a passage which excited an animated debate, in which Bolingbroke spoke for the last time. "To recover the reputation of this kingdom in foreign parts" was held to be injurious to the memory of the late queen. The offensive sentence was carried by a large majority. The Address of the Commons was still more pointed against the latter advisers of queen Anne. The Pretender's hopes, it was said, "were built upon the measures that had been taken for some time past in Great Britain. It shall be our business to trace out those measures whereon he placed his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment." It was clear that the new possessors of power would not attempt to win over their enemies by conciliation. Oxford, who was probably not so deeply committed as some of his colleagues, patiently awaited the approaching storm. Ormond braved its utmost fury, and openly associated with the most suspected Jacobites. Bolingbroke appeared at Drury-lane Theatre; bespoke a play for the ensuing night's performance; and then fled to France. He soon after became secretary of state to the prince who asserted his right to the crown of England as James III., and to the crown of Scotland as James VIII. On the 9th of April, the Secretary of State, Stanhope, laid a mass of papers on the table of the Commons, which had reference to the peace of Utrecht and the cessation of arms which preceded it. These were referred to a secret committee. On the 9th of June their Report was presented; and then Walpole rose, and impeached Bolingbroke of high treason. The resolution of impeachment was passed without a division. Lord Coningsby then impeached Robert, earl of Oxford, of high treason and other crimes and misdemeanours. This resolution was also carried without a division. On the 21st of June, a similar impeachment of Ormond was decided by a majority of forty-seven. Ormond followed Bolingbroke in his flight to France. Acts of Attainder were immediately passed against both these fugitives. Oxford was impeached at the bar of the Lords, and was committed to the Tower.

During the autumn of 1714 it became manifest that the old High-Church spirit was again stirring up the bitterest party strife. There were riots at Bristol on the night of the king's coronation, when the cry was, "Down with the Roundheads! God bless Doctor Sacheverel!" At Birmingham, Norwich, Reading, and other towns, there were similar disturbances. The elections of the spring of 1715 were conducted with more violent excitement than at any previous period. Mob intimidation was held to be more effective even than bribery. The impeachments of Bolingbroke, Oxford, and Ormond were followed by riots of a really serious character. At Manchester, in June, the meeting-houses of Dissenters were destroyed by a triumphant mob; the prisons were thrown open; the health of king James was openly drunk. In July, tumults of an alarming nature occurred in the Midland counties, esp-

cially in Staffordshire, where the dissenters were the universal objects of outrage. The powers of the justice of peace and the constable were quite unequal to cope with these manifestations of the blind fury of the populace. These disturbances gave occasion to the Riot Act, which, with some modifications, continues to be the law of the land.

On the 21st of September the Parliament was adjourned. The royal speech alluded to an event of momentous importance, "the open and declared rebellion which is now actually begun in Scotland." Since the abortive attempt of Prince James Edward to invade Scotland with a French army in 1708,* there had been outward tranquillity; but there was considerable dissatisfaction amongst the Scottish adherents to the national independence, which they held was imperilled by the Union. There had been serious differences, also, between the Presbyterians and the tolerated Episcopalians. The Hanoverian king had been proclaimed at Edinburgh without any manifestations opposed to the triumphant attitude of the Whigs. The Jacobites "were so confounded at this surprising turn of Providence, that they durst not move a tongue against it in public."† Yet the numerical strength of the scattered supporters of the old dynasty in Scotland was probably greater than that of the sober and industrious inhabitants of towns, who had a natural horror of political convulsions. The Lowland Lairds, a jovial and thoughtless race, having little acquaintance with the real business of life, and very slight participation in the conduct of public affairs, were ready enough to hiccup out sedition as they drained their punch-bowls to the health of king James. They could enforce military service upon the theory of feudal obedience; but they had lost the power of practically organizing those tenants who were once content to be accounted vassals. On the contrary, in the Highlands there was still in vigour the old clannish spirit, which could readily convert the mountaineers into a formidable army. If the Chiefs of clans could again agree to take part in a general insurrection, they might co-operate with the discontented Lowlanders; and with the aid of the Roman Catholic gentry of the English border counties, the Hanoverian succession might be overthrown by one vigorous blow. Such was the belief that produced the Rebellion of 1715.

Amongst the Scottish nobles who had advocated the Union none had been more zealous than John Erskine, earl of Mar, who came to Edinburgh as Secretary of State in 1706, under the Whigs, and continued to be Secretary under the Tories. His happy art of accommodating himself to circumstances procured him the name of "Bobbing John." In the interval between the death of queen Anne and the arrival of king George in England, the earl of Mar addressed a letter to his new sovereign, in which, as one of his Secretaries of State, he congratulated him upon his happy accession; set forth that his own sincerity and faithfulness were out of dispute, seeing the part he acted "in the bringing about and making of the Union, when the succession to the Crown of Scotland was settled in your majesty's family;" and protested that "your majesty shall ever find me as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant

* *Ante*, vol. v. p. 335. The reader is requested to correct the typographical error of calling the son of James II. "*Charles Edward*," instead of *James Edward*.

† Rae, quoted in Burton, vol. ii. p. 87.

as ever any of my family have been to the Crown, or as I have been to my late mistress the queen." The advisers of George had small confidence in these protestations; and upon the changes which ensued after the arrival of the king, the earl of Mar was removed from his important office, and the duke of Montrose was appointed in his stead. He came to London; married a daughter of the duke of Kingston, one of the great Whig party; attended the royal levee on the 1st of August; and on the 2nd was on his way to Scotland to organize an insurrection. In one of the most curious Memoirs of that period, the Master of Sinclair, who took an important part in the great rising of 1715, directs against Mar the extremest force of "the peculiar tone of asperity" which caused his narrative to be so long withheld from the public eye.* In his view the mind of Mar was as deformed as his body. The motives of Mar in raising the standard of revolt are thus described by this bitter censor: "Having no other game to play, knowing that the mobs and broils in England had roused the Scots Tories, who were very attentive to all that passed there, which, according to their laudable custom, they magnified to cheat themselves, he did not know how far, with his management, and making use of so favourable a conjuncture, he might work them up before things turned stale, and while their spirits were in a ferment. If, by the force of lying, and making them believe he was trusted by the English Jacobites and the king [James], he should succeed in raising them, no matter what came of it, he could lose nothing, not even a reputation." † Even sir Walter Scott gives Mar credit for no higher principles of action, than "disappointed ambition and mortified pride." ‡ Disguised as a working man, the earl, with two friends and two servants, sailed from London to Newcastle in a collier; and there hiring a vessel, went up the Frith of Forth, and landed at Elie, a village in Fifeshire. In his way to his castle of Kildrummie, he issued invitations for a great hunting-party in the forest of Mar. On the 26th of August, several noblemen, and gentlemen of "interest in the Highlands," were assembled round Mar's castle, with a following of about eight hundred men. On the 3rd of September a meeting of a more select number was held at Aboyne, a castle of the Gordon family; when Mar, "telling them of his design, he showed them the king's picture, which was all the credentials he had." § This portrait he repeatedly kissed. He subsequently issued a manifesto announcing his appointment to command the forces, which appointment the Master of Sinclair holds to have been forged. On the 6th of September, the earl of Mar, in his capacity of General, raised the royal standard in Braemar, and proclaimed James VIII. king of Scotland, and James III. king of England. The Highlanders beheld with dismay the fearful omen of the gilt ball on the top of the flagstaff being carried away by a gust of wind. The chiefs separated, to send the fiery cross through their districts, at whose sight their vassals were expected to prepare to appear in arms at a general rendezvous. Mar accompanied the signal by a gentle enforcement of his commands, addressed to his baillie of the lordship of Kildrummie: "Let

* Preface to "Memoirs of the Insurrection in Scotland in 1715. By John Master of Sinclair. From the original manuscript in the possession of the earl of Rosslyn. With notes by Sir Walter Scott, Bart." Printed for the Abbotsford Club, 1858.

† Memoirs, p. 67. ‡ Introductory Notice, p. xv. § Memoirs, p. 20.

my own tenants in Kildrummie know, that if they come not forth with their best arms, I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them. And they may believe this only a threat,—but by all that 's sacred, I 'll put it in execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be an example to others. You are to tell the gentlemen that I expect them in their best accoutremeuts on horseback, and no excuse to be accepted of. Go about this with all diligence, and come yourself and let me know your having done so. All this is not only as ye will be answerable to me, but to your king and country." *

The tenants upon whom Mar desired to enforce this obedience to his arbitrary will, were not under the absolute command of a chief as were the Highland clans. They are described as people of a Lowland origin, who spoke the English language with the northern accent.† A more unlimited authority was exercised over their Highlanders by the marquis of Tullibardine, the eldest son of the duke of Athol; by the marquis of Huntly, the eldest son of the duke of Gordon; by the earl of Panmure; by the earl of Southesk; and by many lesser chieftains, under whose command the white cockade was speedily worn by their devoted vassals. The great soldier and statesman, John, duke of Argyle—the Mac Callum Mhor, under whose command thousands of Celtic followers would fight either for king James or king George—was the staunch supporter of the Hanoverian succession, and to him was confided the command of the government forces in Scotland. The general body of Presbyterians soon saw that, although they might clamour against the Union and the Whig ministers, there was no alliance for them with the Roman Catholic and the Episcopalian supporters of king James. There was many a discontented laird like the Master of Sinclair, who "had an innate zeal and affection for all the remains of the old royal family of Scotland;" and had a great contempt for the "wretches of a mushroom growth," who had been thriving upon the improving industry of the country, "and thereby put themselves upon a level with those whose vassals they were not long before." ‡ The people, properly so called, had no participation in the rising of 1715. Wherever there was wealth, the fruit of industrious labour—as in the country south of the Forth and the Clyde—Jacobitism had no strong hold. From the Highlands, with the exception of a few districts, the discontented chieftains could carry a large following to the field. In the northern counties of England, there were many Jacobites and Papists; but tho rebel leaders of Scotland were wofully deceived in the expectation from them of any important aid. According to sir Walter Scott "the handful of Northumberland fox-hunters seem never to have had any serious thoughts of fighting, and soon sickened of it." §

At the moment when Mar raised the standard of revolt in Scotland, the news arrived of the death of Louis XIV. The great monarch died on the 1st of September. Bolingbroke, who as long as the king lived was sanguine of engaging the aid of France in the restoration of the Stuart

* Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather."
† Burton, "History of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 108.
‡ Memoirs, p. 2.
§ Introductory Notice to the Memoirs of the Master of Sinclair, p. xvi.

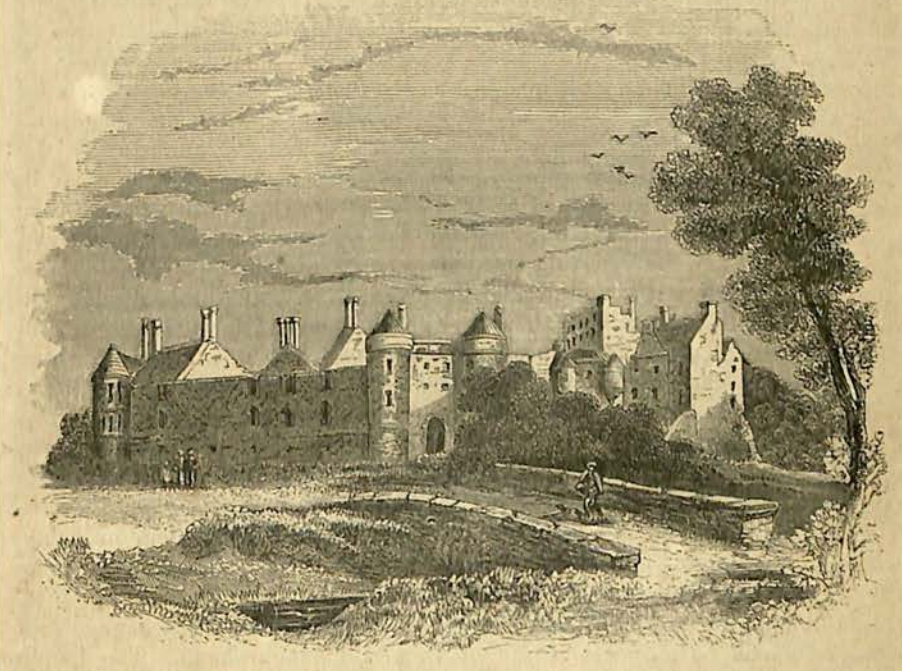
family, wrote to his friend sir William Wyndham, "my hopes sunk as he declined, and died when he expired." The Scottish Jacobites affected to make light of the loss of this consistent supporter of their cause. One of them said to the Master of Sinclair, "a young prince, such as the Regent, would push our affair with more vigour than the old king, who was half-doated." The Regent duke of Orleans was more politic than to quarrel with the English government, and he not only rendered no assistance, but intercepted the military stores provided for the insurgents at the expense of the Chevalier St. George. The "honest men," as the Jacobites named their party, were left to their own resources. Some of their first movements were successful. Others as signally failed. They were defeated in a bold attempt to seize the castle of Edinburgh, on the 9th of September. Lord Drummond had concerted this enterprise with ninety gentlemen, according to one authority;* with fifty young apprentices, advocates' servants, writers, and some servants of the government, according to the Master of Sinclair. They had corrupted a serjeant, a corporal, and two sentinels of the garrison. The sentinel on duty was to draw up a scaling-ladder; and the operation was being performed, when the ladder was found too short. In this dilemma, they lingered and hesitated till the patrol approached to relieve the sentinel; when he threw down the grappling-iron, fired his piece, and shouted "enemy." The conspirators escaped as well as they could; but four or five were secured by the civil authorities, as they leapt down from the lower shelf of the rock. The Master of Sinclair, who had joined the insurgents in spite of his doubts of their prudence and his contempt of their leader, set out from the camp at Perth at the head of four hundred horsemen, each with a trooper behind him; and having marched through Fife with great expedition, succeeded in boarding a government vessel laden with arms that was at anchor near Burntisland. They thus obtained the means of arming four hundred rebels, and returned unmolested to the head-quarters at Perth, where Mar had now about twelve thousand men under his command. As usual with the Highland chieftains, some were quarrelling about the post of honour, and all were waiting the opportunity for some lucky undertaking, and neglecting the means of their own safety. The Master of Sinclair says, "Mar, after coming into Perth, did nothing all this while but write; and, as if all had depended on his writing, nobody moved in any one thing. There was not a word spoke of fortifying the town, nor the least care taken of sending for powder to any place. We did not want gunsmiths; and yet none of them were employed in mending our old arms. Whoever spoke of these things, which I did often, was giving himself airs; for we lived very well; and as long as meat, drink, and money was not wanting, what was the need of any more?" † The leaders in this strange insurrection seemed to believe that the mere announcement of their intentions to place James on the throne, coupled with their implicit reliance on Mar's assurance that their king was coming with irresistible aid from France, would suffice for their triumph in Scotland, whilst the advance of some of their forces into England would at once drive the elector of Hanover from his usurped power.

At the beginning of October, the duke of Argyle was at Stirling, with

* Patten. † Memoirs, p. 92.

about fifteen hundred regular troops. Small as this army was, the position of Argyle was such that Mar could not venture an attempt to force a passage, if he desired to move southward to assist a rising on the English border. Nor could he venture with his main body to cross the Frith of Forth, for a large naval force was cruising on that coast. Moreover, Mar, if these impediments could have been overcome, could not safely move his whole army; for he had received letters from Bolingbroke stating "that in all probability the king would land very quickly in the north of Scotland." It was therefore determined to send a large detachment of the rebel force to the aid of the southern insurgents; whilst the main army remained at Perth to await their expected royal leader. This determination was executed with skill and boldness. Two thousand five hundred men marched under the command of brigadier Mac Intosh, an experienced soldier, towards the coast of Fife, where a number of boats had been collected in various small harbours. To divert the English cruisers, an appearance of bustle in preparing craft was made in the neighbourhood of Burntisland; whilst an embarkation of troops took place at Craile, Anstruther, and other small places, where the estuary was broadest, and a passage in open boats would be considered hazardous. On the night of the 2nd of October sixteen hundred men were thus carried across to landing-places on the southern coast of the Forth, near North Berwick. Another detachment, which sailed later, was not so successful; for the government vessels were then on the alert, and a portion of the troops had to return to the Fife coast, whilst three hundred landed on the Isle of May, having been chased thither by ships of war. These men, under the leadership of lord William Murray, sustained great privations, having been blockaded on the island by the government vessels. The Master of Sinclair, who seldom indulges in panegyric, pays a tribute to the heroism of this fourth son of the duke of Athol,—"the school-boy" who kept his men together, and refused himself to leave the island, till he had brought them all safely off. Mac Intosh and his little army were tempted to depart from the instructions of Mar to go "on south, to meet our friends who are in arms there," so as to be out of Argyle's reach before he could come up with them. They resolved, on the contrary, to attack Edinburgh before Argyle could be there to defend it. But the delay of a day in their western march afforded time to the civic authorities to summon the duke from Stirling; and he was at Edinburgh with five hundred horse, as the foot soldiers of Mac Intosh arrived. They found no supporters waiting for them in arms; and they marched to Leith, which town they entered without resistance; and then posted themselves in the remains of the citadel, built by Cromwell, but demolished at the Restoration. Here, having seized some cannon and ammunition from vessels in the harbour, they were enabled to show so firm an attitude, that Argyle, having no artillery, thought it imprudent to attack them. After having held Leith for two days, the insurgents, on the night of the 15th, marched at the lowest ebb of the tide, along the sands beyond Musselburgh; and they reached Seton House, the castellated mansion of the earl of Winton, early in the morning of the 16th. Here they remained safely till the 19th; for Argyle had hurried back to Stirling, on receiving intelligence that Mar's army was moving southward. The movement of Mar was a judicious feint to avert the attack that would probably have been fatal to the band of Mac Intosh.

The march of these Highlanders to the south of Scotland, and onward to Preston, has been minutely described by one who deserted their cause and gave testimony against his confederates, but whose narrative is full of those



Seton House.

curious details which personal observation can alone supply.* On the first day of their march they reached Longformachus. On the 2nd day, at Dunse, they proclaimed king James, the Highlanders being drawn up in order of battle. On arriving at Kelso, on the 22nd, they were met, according to appointment, by a body of horsemen from the south of Scotland, and of Northumbrians. The Scots were under the command of lord Kenmure; the English under that of Mr. Forster. These leaders were chosen as being Protestants, to counteract the prevailing opinion that this was a Roman Catholic insurrection. The number of the English did not exceed three hundred. Having crossed the deep and rapid Tweed, they entered the town; and the Highlanders soon joined them from the Scottish side, "with their bag-pipes playing, led by old Mac Intosh; but they made a very indifferent figure; for the rain and their long marches had extremely fatigued them, though their old brigadier, who marched at the head of them, appeared very well." † Amongst the English was lord Derwentwater, who, with many friends, and all his servants, "mounted, some upon his coach-horses, and

* "The History of the late Rebellion, &c. By the Rev. Mr. Robert Patten, formerly chaplain to Mr. Forster." 2d edit., 1717.

† Patten, p. 39.

others upon very good useful horses, and all very well armed," had united his fortunes, and given the countenance of his excellent character, to this feeble attempt to overthrow a strong government. On Sunday, the 23rd, the reverend Mr. Patten was directed to preach "at the great kirk of Kelso,"—the grand old Norman abbey church. Protestants and Papists both attended the service; and the chaplain pays his tribute of admiration to the decency and reverence with which the common Highlanders behaved. A Presbyterian clergyman preached in the afternoon. On the Monday, king James was proclaimed, "with colours flying, drums beating, and bag-pipes playing;" and a long document was read, entitled "Manifesto by the noblemen, gentlemen, and others, who dutifully appear at this time in asserting the undoubted right of their lawful sovereign, James VIII., by the grace of God king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., and for relieving this, his ancient kingdom, from the oppressions and grievances it lies under." The evils of the Union were dwelt upon in this manifesto. It talked about the preservation of laws, liberties, and property, with freedom from foreign domination; and it inferred that the restoration of the Stuarts would be the best security for the Protestant religion. Never were words more unmeaningly used, to cover the one design which was clearly enough expressed in the text which Mr. Patten chose for his sermon; "The right of the first-born is his." And so the borderers who stood armed in the market-place at Kelso shouted "No Uhion! No malt-tax! No salt-tax!" and the poor Highlanders probably wondered how nobly the English gentlemen, who were assembled with their fiery racers and hunters, and were surrounded by their liveried servants, would be able to reward them for having left their native hills to engage in a cause of which nothing was said that they could comprehend. The insurgents lingered at Kelso for five days; and then the little army of about fourteen hundred men moved forward. They at last moved, after much debate whether they should march to the west of Scotland, and attack Dumfries and Glasgow; or return northward, and give battle to general Carpenter, who was following them, as they knew; or go boldly into England, where they were assured twenty thousand men of Lancashire would join them. This plan was at last resolved upon; and the march was commenced to Jedburgh, and thence to Hawick. Here the Highlanders resisted the decision to cross the Border. They separated themselves, and went to the top of a rising ground; there resting their arms, and declaring that "they would fight if they would lead them on to the enemy, but they would not go to England." Lord Winton had told them, that if they went to England, they would be all cut in pieces, or sold for slaves. They, however, agreed to keep together as long as they stayed in Scotland. As the little army advanced in a westerly direction along the border, their discontent became more manifest. They were threatened by their southern allies, whom they appeared more ready to fight than to obey. They were tempted by the offer of sixpence a day—a promise to them of fabulous wealth. But five hundred of the obstinate mountaineers went off, and dispersed themselves in the hills and moors, in the hope to reach, sooner or later, their distant homes. On the 31st of October, the diminished forces had reached Longtown. When they were on

English ground, the command of the whole band was assumed by Mr. Forster, who held his commission from the earl of Mar.

The insurgent force, although under imperfect discipline, and irregularly armed, was so formidable in its appearance, that fifteen thousand of the *posse comitatus*, called out to oppose them, fled in terror at their approach to Penrith. Of this valiant body lord Lonsdale and the bishop of Carlisle were the chief leaders. Patten, with a covert sarcasm, says that many blamed lord Lonsdale for his retreat; but those who knew how unprepared with arms and stores the multitude was, justly commended his wise conduct. At Penrith king James was proclaimed; and the Highlanders had the comfort of finding abundant good cheer which had been prepared for the English whom they had scared away. They conducted themselves with civility towards the inhabitants, who gazed with wonder, not unmixed with fear, upon the brigadier, who "looked with a grim countenance" as he rode at the head of his strangely accoutred men. Reaching Lancaster on the 7th of November, they were welcomed by Roman Catholic families; and it is recorded that "the gentlemen soldiers dressed and trimmed themselves up in their best clothes, for to drink a dish of tea with the ladies of this town."* Lancaster, with its castle, offered a strong position for defence; but, says Patten, "our infatuations were not yet over." Having halted for two days, they marched on to Preston, through roads which long after were described as the worst in England. This town obtained its name of "proud Preston," as being a favourite residence of the rich Catholic families. Two troops of dragoons quartered here moved off on the approach of the rebels. It seemed to them as if England could offer no resistance to their march. At Preston they were joined by many of the Catholic gentry, with their tenants and servants. Although this accession of strength fell far short of their expectation of a general rising in the northern counties, the insurgents were full of confidence. They abandoned themselves to the pleasures of the hour as if no danger were at hand. "The ladies in this town," writes one Peter Clark, "are so very beautiful, and so richly attired, that the gentlemen soldiers, from Wednesday to Saturday, minded nothing but courting and feasting." Mr. Forster, the commander of the rebel forces, seems to have been wholly unequal to the duty he had assumed. He relied upon the sanguine assurances of the Lancashire Jacobites that no force could approach Preston on the English side. He was contented to have intelligence of general Carpenter's movements in his advance from Scotland. On the night of Friday, the 11th of November, the news came that a force under general Wills was marching from Wigan upon Preston. A council of war was immediately held, but without the chief in command, who, it was alleged, had received "some damage at a convivial entertainment," so that it became necessary he should retire to bed. The orders given by this council were countermanded by Forster the next morning. He went forth to look upon the enemy when he could no longer doubt of their approach. At the bridge over the Ribble, about half a mile from the town, Forster had stationed a small detachment; but it was soon withdrawn by him; and the road to Preston from the south was left open instead of being resolutely defended. Patten says that general Wills expected that the rebels would have made a stand

* "Lancashire Memorials," quoted in Burton.

at the bridge, which they might have barricaded; and he therefore advanced cautiously through the deep and narrow lane which led from the bridge. This lane was the place where Oliver Cromwell was resisted in an uncommon manner, according to Patten's narrative, by the king's forces in 1648, "who, from the height, rolled down upon him and his men, when they had entered the lane, huge large mill-stones." Cromwell makes no mention of this incident in his despatch of the 20th of August; but he describes the place as "a lane, very deep and ill, up to the enemy's army, and leading to the town." In this lane, and on either side, Cromwell was fighting for four hours, in what he calls "a hedge dispute," before he "charged the enemy in the town and cleared the streets." * Along this famous lane Wills advanced cautiously. He began to think that the rebels had quitted the town; but when he entered the street, he found that barricades had been thrown up, which presented a formidable defence. Two of his dragoons having been shot, no summons to surrender was required; and an attack was immediately made on the barrier of the street, near the church, which led to the Wigan road. MacIntosh here commanded. A hundred and twenty of the king's troops fell in a few minutes from the deadly aim of the Highland marksmen. But other entrances to the town by bye-lanes were soon occupied by the besiegers; and they possessed themselves of two houses which became strong positions. Three other barriers were the scenes of sharp conflicts. Houses set on fire burnt on through the night, whilst the unceasing sound of musketry proclaimed how deadly was the struggle. The insurgents who had marched from Scotland held their ground bravely; but many of the new recruits took the opportunity of making their escape from such perilous strifes, over an unguarded ford of the Ribble.

The morning of Sunday, the 13th, brought to the rebel army the sad conviction that the game was nearly played out. General Carpenter had reached Preston with two thousand five hundred cavalry; and the town was effectually surrounded on every side. Carpenter, though of superior rank, did not supersede Wills in his command. The Highlanders wished to make a daring attempt to cut their way through the king's forces. Forster and the English made an effort to obtain favourable terms of surrender. In the subsequent trials of some of the unfortunate leaders of this insurrection, general Wills deposed, and his deposition was fully confirmed by other officers, that colonel Oxburgh, an Irishman, having been deputed by Mr. Forster, offered that the besieged should lay down their arms, on condition of being received as prisoners of war, and recommended to the royal mercy. Wills replied that he would not treat with rebels. All that he would do for them was, that if they laid down their arms, and submitted prisoners at discretion, he would prevent the soldiers cutting them in pieces, till he had further orders. Other negotiators came to the general; and the surrender was finally postponed to the next morning. But no promise of applying for the royal mercy could be obtained from Wills. Oxburgh, who forfeited his own life, declared upon the scaffold that the general said, "You cannot better entitle yourselves to that clemency than by surrendering yourselves prisoners at discretion." There were, of course, two modes of interpreting such a loose

* Despatch, in Carlyle's "Cromwell," vol. i. p. 290.

declaration. About fifteen hundred of the rebels surrendered, two thirds of whom were Scotch. Amongst the prisoners were eight noblemen. The number of the insurgent forces who escaped from Preston must have been considerable. The English troops marched into the town. The Highlanders were drawn up in the market-place, and were finally put into the church, "where," says Patten, "they continued about a month, the townspeople being obliged to find them water and bread; whilst they took what care of themselves they could, unripping all the linings from the seats or pews, and making thereof breeches and hose to defend themselves from the extremity of the weather." Some of the common men were subsequently tried, and, being found guilty, were executed or transported. Officers who had held commissions in the royal forces were summarily convicted by courts-martial, and were shot. The noblemen and other leaders were marched under strong guard to London. Patten relates that, "setting forward from Highgate, we were met by such numbers of people that it is scarce conceivable to express, who with 'Long live king George,' and 'Down with the Pretender,' ushered us throughout to our several apartments."

Whilst the English insurrection thus came to an end at Preston, important events were taking place in Scotland. The government, partly through the politic adhesion of Simon Fraser, who claimed to be lord Lovat, obtained possession of Inverness. At the same time the earl of Mar marched southwards from his camp at Perth, and Argyle led his forces northwards. The Master of Sinclair represents the movements of Mar as indecisive, and deficient in military organization;—that he encumbered his army with cannon without having powder or ball; and being prevented by the presence of the enemy from passing the Forth at Stirling, was wholly ignorant where the river was fordable at this winter season. "I never heard," he says, "of any man in our army who knew anything of these fords except Rob Roy; who, they themselves said, they could not trust." * On the 12th of November, the Master of Sinclair, with three squadrons of cavalry, and the greater number of the Highland clans, were in advance of Mar, whose quarters were at Ardoch. They were marching upon Dunblane, when the wife of a Jacobite laird sent a lame boy as messenger to say that Argyle was already there. The van ceased their advance; the rear formed a junction with them; and the whole army passed the night in a very narrow hollow of the hill near the Sheriffmuir—so called, as being the old place of meeting for the militia of the sheriffdom of Monteith. "All the night did our army lie in that small circumference; and I believe eight thousand men, for we were about that number, were never packed up so close together since the invention of gunpowder." † Early in the morning of the 13th the insurgents drew out of their confined quarters, and formed, in two lines, above the hollow where they had passed the night. From the elevated ground Mar saw some officers at a short distance examining his position. Argyle, who was now at the head of four thousand seasoned troops, was looking upon the irregular forces, twice in number, that he was preparing to encounter. He had pre-arranged that he would endeavour to bring the rebels to battle upon the Sheriffmuir. It was a very peculiar battle-ground—"a broad eminence, which is formed by a

* Memoirs, p. 201.

† *Ibid.*, p. 208.

spur of the Ochils, but swells so gently that at a distance it seems an elevated plain * * * * It has the peculiarity of being a regular curve, presenting in all parts a segment of a sphere, or rather an oblate spheroid. There are no rapid declivities and no plains. Hence, in every part of the hill, there is a close sky-line, caused by the immediate curve; and where there is so much of the curve as will reach a perpendicular of some eight feet between two bodies of men, they cannot see each other." * When Argyle's army was known to be at hand, there was little question how to act. When there was a doubt with some about venturing to attack, the Highland chiefs cried out "Fight! Fight!" The clans shouted, tossing up their caps and bonnets. Mar headed the Highlanders who were to oppose the left wing of the king's troops. He was superior in numbers. The English, under general Witham, were terrified and scattered under the rush of the Highlanders; and in a few minutes were in full retreat towards Stirling. The attack of the insurgents on the right wing, commanded by Argyle, had a totally different result. The night of frost had made a morass hard enough to bear a charge of cavalry; and whilst a squadron passing over the icy ground took the enemy in flank, Argyle with his remaining horse attacked their front. The rout was here complete; though many times in a distance of three miles did the Highlanders attempt to rally. It was a doubtful battle. Argyle had broken the left wing of the rebels, and had driven them over the river Allan. Mar had scattered the left wing of the royal army, and had chased them to Corntoun, a village near Stirling. Mar had been the first to return to the battle-field. He saw Argyle toiling along the road at the foot of the hill with his exhausted forces. "If they had but thrown down stones," writes sir Walter Scott, in a note to Sinclair's Memoirs, "they might have disordered Argyle's troops." Mar determined to leave the battle-field to Argyle; and then, whilst the wail of the bagpipes was heard in the retreat, was uttered, by Gordon of Glenbucket, the well-known apostrophe, "Oh, for an hour of Dundee!" But the ineffectual battle had for Argyle all the advantages of a great victory. The insurgents returned to Perth in numbers greatly reduced by desertion. "We were not long in our old quarters," writes the Master of Sinclair, "when the bad news of our friends' misfortune at Preston was brought us." Mar felt that the time was come when he might, through a friend, ask if Argyle was empowered to grant terms. Argyle replied that he would apply for such powers. Mar in his Diary says that no answer was returned to Argyle's application to the government in London.

It might have been wise in the government of George I. to have made some demonstration of a conciliatory policy. But the fear of a successful insurrection in England was overpassed. The affair of Preston had destroyed all the hopes of the northern Jacobites. Six thousand Dutch troops had landed, and were on their march to Scotland. Other reinforcements for Argyle's army were constantly arriving at Stirling. In this condition of strength no overtures towards oblivion were likely to be favourably regarded. An event now occurred which, if it had been well timed, might have rendered the struggle between the House of Brunswick and the House of Stuart more equal. James Edward had sailed from Dunkirk in a small armed vessel and

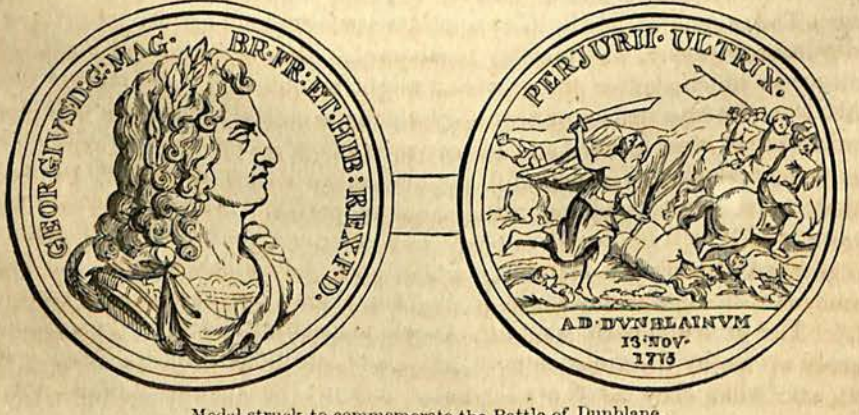
* Burton, vol. ii. p. 191-3.

had landed at Peterhead. He had only six followers, and proceeding through Aberdeen he reached the camp at Perth on the 16th of January, 1716. The advent of the prince was not so propitious to his cause as his adherents might have expected. The Highlanders gazed on a man of somewhat feeble frame and of listless action. In an account of the "Proceedings at Perth" it is said, "We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. Our men began to despise him. Some asked if he could speak. His countenance looked extremely heavy. He cared not to come abroad among us soldiers, or to see us handle our arms or do our exercise." The prince whose appearance was thus so disappointing, took up his residence at Scone, and surrounded himself with all the etiquette of royalty. He issued proclamations, one of which commanded all able-bodied male persons to repair to his standard; another fixed the day of his coronation for the 23rd of January. Alarm seems to have been felt at the Court in London. Lord Townshend, who may be considered prime minister, was apprehensive that the Chevalier would receive assistance from France. On the 26th of January Townshend wrote thus to Horace Walpole, the English minister at the Hague: "The Pretender is now at Perth, and to be crowned king of Scotland. This step his friends here would not have suffered him to take in the present situation of affairs, unless the regent [of France] had given strong assurances of assistance. They send over in single ships, arms and ammunition, and officers; and those who are in the secret of their affairs seem confident, they shall be farther and more openly assisted as soon as the season will permit. For my part I cannot think anything can divert the regent from taking vigorously part with the Pretender, but a strict union amongst our old friends and allies, by which he will see, that he cannot meddle with our affairs here without involving France in a new war with all Europe; and by the best intelligence we have, the passion of the French is so strong in favour of the Pretender, that nothing but the fear of a new and general war can prevent their assisting our rebels here." *

To have relied upon that union of strength with merciful conciliation which the ministers of George had in their own power, without regard to continental alliances, might have been the best course for defeating the hopes of the Pretender. The regent of France was not disposed to give the aid to the Pretender which Townshend dreaded. The open assistance did not arrive. Argyle, with his reinforced army, was moving northward. Between him and Perth were villages in which shelter and provision might be obtained; and a decree went forth from the royal palace of Scone, by which the military commanders of Mar's forces were ordered to burn and destroy each village,—houses, cows, and forage. Six happy abodes of a peaceful population were thus devastated: and the inhabitants were turned out in the snow to perish. Mar in a private letter wrote, "We shall be forced to burn and destroy a good deal of the country to prevent the enemy marching, which goes very much against the king's mind, as it does mine and more of us; but there's an absolute necessity for it." The prince himself wrote to Argyle respecting this act, "It was indeed forced on me by the violence with which my rebellious subjects acted against me, and what they as the authors of it must be answerable for—not I."

* Coxe—"Walpole," vol. i. p. 50.

Mar's belief was that Argyle's troops could not march when there was no cover left; for "how they can endure the cold for one night in the fields I cannot conceive; and then the roads are so that but one can go abreast." But Argyle did march, although, it is alleged, with some reluctance. On the 21st of January, a party of dragoons went forth to report how far it was practicable to advance through a country buried in snow. On the 29th the main body moved, the peasantry having been pressed to clear the roads. On the 30th Argyle was at Auchterarder, one of the desolated villages. Terror began now to prevail amongst the courtiers in Perth. James Edward attended a council of war, and manifested extreme reluctance to compromise his personal safety. The Highlanders desired to place the king in the midst of them, and fight to the death—a desire by no means agreeable to an unenterprising man who now saw before him little else than a prospect of more signal misfortune than had yet awaited him. On the 30th of January, a day of evil omen, the army was informed that it was determined to retreat from Perth. They crossed the Tay upon the ice; and passing through Dundee reached Montrose on the 4th of February. Many of the Highlanders had previously dispersed, and had sought the shelter of their valleys. In the offing were several French vessels. Murmurs went through the camp that they were about to be deserted by the prince who had come to lead them to victory. Appearances were kept up by a guard of honour patrolling round the royal quarters. But the plan of escape had been effectually arranged. James Edward and the earl of Mar passed at night by a lane to the harbour; got into a boat which was in waiting; were soon on board a French ship; and were safely landed near Gravelines. General Gordon, who was left chief in command, went on to Aberdeen with an army reduced to a thousand men. When Argyle entered Aberdeen on the 8th of February the whole insurgent army had melted away. The unhappy prince, whose attempt to regain the throne of his ancestors had thus so signally failed, wished to do a slight act of justice to the poor people who had been ruined by what he deemed a military necessity amongst rebellious subjects. With the letter to Argyle which we have mentioned, he sent a sum of money, desiring it to be given as a relief to those whose homes he had commanded to be destroyed.



Medal struck to commemorate the Battle of Dunblane.

The Parliament met on the 9th of January, 1716. The Rebellion was

necessarily the most prominent subject of the king's speech. The past successes were matter of congratulation; but the danger was not yet overpast. "Our enemies," said the king, "animated by some secret hopes of assistance, are still endeavouring to support this desperate undertaking; and the Pretender, as I have reason to believe, is landed in Scotland." Amongst the ill consequences of this rebellion was the extraordinary burden which it must create. "I take," added his majesty, "this first opportunity of declaring, that I will freely give up all the estates that shall become forfeited to the crown by this rebellion, to be applied towards defraying the extraordinary expense incurred on this occasion." This incentive to a sweeping measure of attainder was scarcely wanted to stimulate the zeal of the majority in the Commons. Not an hour was lost in the proceedings which were expected to consign many victims to the executioner. Before the House adjourned, Mr. Lechmere, in a speech which is reported at length, impeached James earl of Derwentwater of high treason. This speech of the Whig member is remarkable for its emphatic assertion that the punishment of the leaders of the rebellion was a national question, involving the great principle of the Act of Settlement as opposed to the bare claim of hereditary right. In justice to the king, as well as the people, they ought to take this prosecution into their own hands. The power of impeachment, Mr. Lechmere said, was the most valuable and useful privilege that belonged to the body of the Commons; and he maintained that no pardon under the Great Seal could discharge a judgment obtained under such an impeachment. Six other members severally impeached William lord Widdrington, William earl of Nithisdale, George earl of Winton, Robert earl of Carnwath, William viscount Kenmure, and William lord Nairn. The Commons agreed to the impeachments without any opposition; and on the same day the seven members carried their impeachments to the bar of the House of Lords. In a few days the articles against the seven noblemen were presented to the Peers; and on the 19th of January, they knelt at the bar, and each delivered his answer to the charges. The answers of all, with the exception of that of lord Winton, amounted to a plea of Guilty. When lord Derwentwater was asked by the Chancellor if he meant by his answer to plead Guilty, the reply was, "He does; and submits to the king's mercy, and humbly desires their lordships' intercession to his majesty." The same supplication for mercy, founded upon extenuating circumstances set forth in their answers, was urged by the five Scottish noblemen whose pleas of Guilty were recorded. On the 9th of February, lord Derwentwater and his companions in misfortune were again brought to the bar of the House of Lords, and the ancient sentence in cases of high treason was pronounced by Lord Chancellor Cowper, who had been appointed by the king to act as Lord High Steward.

That unavoidable struggle between the advocates of an exemplary punishment for the highest legal offence, and the advocates for mercy towards mistaken but conscientious political offenders, now went on under circumstances of intense interest. The ordinary feelings of compassion, and the national dislike of blood-shedding, were more than commonly excited when it was known that the young countess of Derwentwater, surrounded by the highest ladies of the court, had obtained an audience of the king, and

implored pardon for her lord. It was known too that the wives of the lords Nithisdale and Nairn, had suddenly appeared in an antechamber through which king George passed, and throwing themselves at his feet, had disturbed the phlegmatic monarch by attempts to present their petitions. Lady Nithisdale has described this scene:—"I caught hold of the skirt of his coat, that he might stop and hear me. He endeavoured to escape out of my hands; but I kept such strong hold, that he dragged me upon my knees from the middle of the room to the very door of the drawing-room. At last one of the blue ribbands who attended his Majesty took me round the waist, whilst another wrested the coat out of my hands. The petition, which I had endeavoured to thrust into his pocket, fell down in the scuffle, and I almost fainted away through grief and disappointment." Walpole, whose nature was wholly opposed to severity, took the statesman's view that condign punishment in the cases of these lords was essential to the public security. The lobbies of Parliament on the 21st of February were filled with high-born ladies who came in a body to petition the Lords and Commons. Many even of the Whig members of the Lower House, amongst whom was the kind-hearted Richard Steele, were advocates for mercy. Walpole, to prevent these appeals, moved the adjournment of the House to the 1st of March, during which interval the executions were to take place. Walpole only carried his motion by a majority of seven. In the House of Peers, upon a debate whether the king could pardon those condemned under impeachment, Nottingham, a member of the cabinet, opposed the opinion of his colleagues. The power of the king to pardon was affirmed; and an address to his majesty, to reprieve such of the condemned lords as should deserve his mercy, was voted by a small majority. The ministers could not wholly resist such manifestations. They met in council; resolved to reprieve the lords Nairn, Carnwath, and Widdrington; but issued an order for the execution of the lords Derwentwater, Kenmure, and Nithisdale on the following morning. On the 24th of February Derwentwater and Kenmure suffered death on a scaffold erected on Tower Hill. They each professed their remorse for having pleaded Guilty; and avowed their conviction that James III. was their rightful sovereign. The chamber in the Tower in which lord Nithisdale was confined was found vacant. His escape had been effected by the courageous agency of his devoted wife. The relation of this heroic adventure is contained in a letter from lady Nithisdale to her sister, after she had resided many years happily with her husband in France.* Having vainly striven to move the king to receive her petition, she formed the resolution to attempt her lord's escape. Seeing no prospect of his pardon, on the night before the morning appointed for his execution, she went in a coach to the Tower, accompanied by a tall and slender lady of the name of Morgan, who, in addition to her own clothes, carried under her riding-hood a complete dress, fitted for a tall and stout lady named Mills, about the same size as the noble prisoner. Lady Nithisdale took in the slight Mrs. Morgan to her husband, and disrobed her of the clothes intended for the portly Mrs. Mills. Mrs. Morgan was then dismissed, and sliding out unnoticed, sent up-stairs the

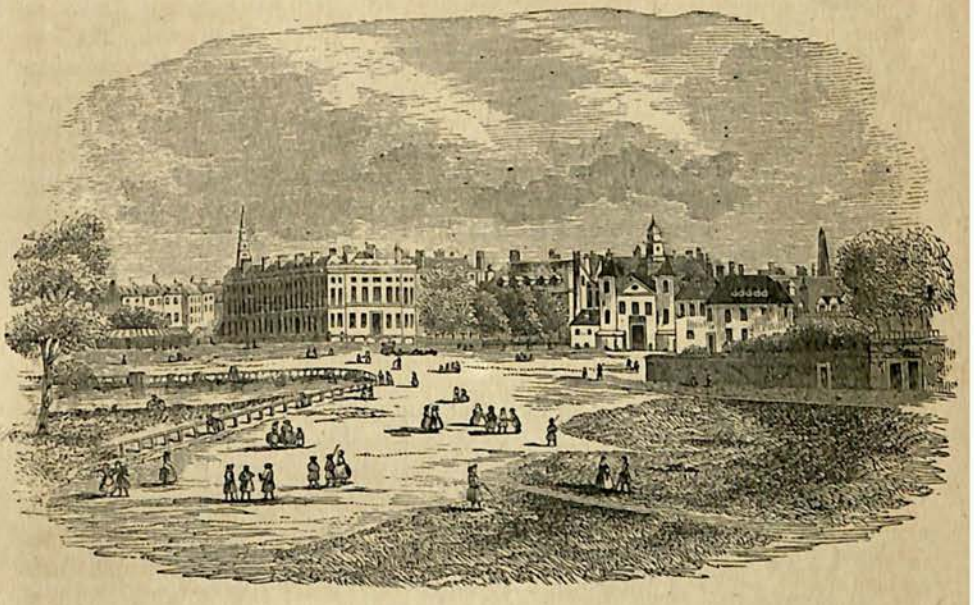
* Published in "Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland," vol. i. The chief passages are extracted in Lord Mahon's History, vol. ii. Appendix.

other lady, who was weeping, and covering her face with her handkerchief. The exchange of dress was soon effected by Mrs. Mills, who left her own clothes for the prisoner; and she took her departure with loud injunctions from lady Nithisdale to "dear Mrs. Catherine," who was no longer weeping, to send her ladyship's maid with a dress fitted for her to present a petition that night. The excellent manager then returned to her lord; whitened and rouged his face; concealed his beard; put on an artificial head-dress, and led him out with his handkerchief to his eyes, the very Mrs. Mills who had come in weeping and covering her face. At the outer door was the tardy maid, who in reality was an affectionate friend of lady Nithisdale; and by her care was the fortunate prisoner conducted to a place of security. The anxious wife now returned to her husband's chamber; talked, as to her lord, somewhat loudly; imitated his voice; finally bade him good night, so that all might hear; and then went quietly away. It is difficult to understand this without being apprised that lady Nithisdale had previously moved the compassion of the guards: had given them little presents; and was accustomed to pass to her husband without much notice. Having shared her husband's place of concealment in an obscure lodging for a day or two, the brave wife had the satisfaction of knowing that he got to Dover in the disguise of a footman to the Venetian ambassador, whose coach and six was going to meet his brother. Such details as these of the ingenuity which love may prompt in the hour of distress, are a welcome relief to the consideration of the severe course of penal infliction, which we should be scarcely justified in describing as political vengeance. The escapes of many of the prisoners—amongst whom was lord Winton immediately after his trial, Mr. Forster, and the old brigadier Mac Intosh—would lead to the belief that the government was not sorry that the stern necessity for the punishment of rebels taken in arms should be avoided by less direct modes than that of the royal clemency. In this case, as in many others, a government has much to contend with in the passions and prejudices of individuals. It might have been thought that, after the lapse of ten years, the hatreds of clanship, and the thirst for the fall of political enemies might have been laid aside. The following record is not creditable to the character of the duke of Argyle. In the Diary of lord King, who was Lord Chancellor in 1725, is the following entry:—"June 15, 1725. A regency, where, among other things, was read a petition of George lord Murray, setting forth that he was but eighteen years old when he went into the rebellion; that he stands indicted, but was never convicted nor attainted; praying the king's mercy: which being referred by the king to the regency for their opinions, we were all of opinion that there was nothing in law to stand in the way of the king's pardon, and that if he pleased he might do it. But it was desired that there might be a more explicit opinion, and what we should advise the king to do. I said I wished him pardoned, but I was unacquainted with the facts, and therefore could only say that if the king thought fit to pardon him, there was nothing in law to obstruct it; but to advise either one way or other I could not, because I was not sufficiently master of the facts. The archbishop would not advise anything in the case of blood. The duke of Argyle strongly against it, because this man's treason was attended with perfidy, in deserting the king's troops and running away to the rebels; and if this man were pardoned, others would immediately make

the same application. Roxburgh, Walpole, a majority were for it; so a letter ordered to advise the king to pardon him." *

The escapes, to which we have alluded, of some of the leaders in this rebellion, were very remarkable instances of boldness and perseverance. Mac Intosh, though advanced in years, on the day before his trial was to take place knocked down the keeper and turnkey of Newgate; fled into the London crowds; and reached a place of safety abroad. Forster, by the agency of his servant, got out of Newgate with the aid of a false key, and the master and the man had time to get off, having locked up the keeper in his own prison. Winton, whose adventurous life had given him some profitable experiences, having lived with a blacksmith in France, "was very curious," says Patten, "in working in several handicraft matters." He cut one of the iron bars of his window in the Tower with some small tool which he had concealed from his keepers. Some humbler instruments of the insurrection were less fortunate. Many were tried at Liverpool who had been taken at Preston. Some were executed, and more banished to the plantations. A large number of Scotch prisoners had been sent for trial to Carlisle; but Scots of all parties contended that this proceeding was a breach of the judicial independence of Scotland. An Act had been passed by which the rebels might be tried in other English counties than those in which they were apprehended. The Scottish lawyers maintained that this Act did not apply to prisoners taken in Scotland. The trials at Carlisle went on. Some were condemned; others were released; but no capital punishment was inflicted. The English judges did not choose to incur the responsibility of the possible misconstruction of a Statute.

* Lord King's "Notes on Domestic and Foreign Affairs," appended to "Life of Locke," vol. ii.



Old Horse Guards, St. James' Park.

CHAPTER II.

The Pretender in Paris—He discards Bolingbroke—The Septennial Act—The king leaves for Germany—His foreign predilections—Negotiations at Hanover for a French alliance—The king's jealousy of the prince of Wales—Lord Townshend dismissed from his office of Secretary of State—Arrest of the Swedish ambassador—Schism in the ministry—Stanhope prime minister—Trial of the earl of Oxford—The Quadruple Alliance—Open quarrel between the king and the prince of Wales—Byng's destruction of the Spanish fleet—Measures of toleration proposed by Stanhope—Spanish expedition to Scotland—Successes of France and England in Spain—Alberoni disgraced—Spain accedes to the Quadruple Alliance—The Peerage Bill.

WITHIN a fortnight after the fugitive prince, who had slunk away at night from the brave mountaineers who would have fought for him to the last, had landed on the Continent, king George announced the fact to Parliament. Both Houses addressed the king, desiring that the most effectual means should be taken "towards preventing the Pretender from finding refuge or protection in any country in amity with your majesty." The Pretender himself took the most effectual means to quiet the alarm of the Whig politicians. On his arrival at St. Germains, *incognito*, he was met by Bolingbroke; received from his secretary the sound advice to hasten to his old residence at Bar-le-duc; promised Bolingbroke that he would immediately set out, embracing him at their parting; and, instead of taking a journey to find a safe asylum, before it was too late, lingered in Paris, and sent to Bolingbroke,

by the hands of the duke of Ormond, a dismissal from his service. James at once fell into the hands of weak politicians and intriguing priests. He was politely refused admission to the territory of Lorraine; and he finally settled in the Papal States—a locality precisely calculated to render the Protestant feeling of Great Britain more acute. Bolingbroke never forgot the indignity he had received. He vowed that never more should his sword or his pen be employed for a Stuart; and he kept his word. The character which he drew of James is marked by the intensity of his dislike: "He is naturally inclined to believe the worst, which I take to be a certain mark of a mean spirit and a wicked soul . . . . Prone to judge ill of all mankind he will rarely be seduced by his credulity; but I never knew a man so capable of being the bubble of his distrust and jealousy." *

The vindictive and intolerant spirit of the English legislature against Roman Catholics was again called into action by the Rebellion of 1715. A few days after the execution of lord Derwentwater, whose adherence to the old religion and the old dynasty cost him his life, and bereft his family of their fair possessions, a Bill was brought in by Mr. Lechmere, "to strengthen the Protestant interest in Great Britain by enforcing the laws now in being against Papists." One of its provisions was to punish Papists for enlisting in the king's service. All such securities for the Protestant interest have happily yielded to the influence of time. One important Act of Parliament, which was mainly intended to avert the dangers which threatened the peaceful continuance of the Hanoverian succession, remains in force, after nearly a century and a half, when all such apprehensions have long since passed away. Amidst the vital changes in Parliamentary Representation which we have seen in our time, the Septennial Act of George I. has endured, and will probably continue to endure, without reference to the temporary objects of its original enactment. The Bill which provided that no Parliament should in future sit more than three years, upon which William III. exercised his Veto in 1693, was passed in the year following. Before the passing of this Triennial Act of the 6th of William and Mary, the duration of Parliament was only limited at the will of the reigning sovereign, or was determined by his death. The second Parliament of Charles II. sat for seventeen years. The preamble to the Septennial Act, after reciting the portion of the Statute of William and Mary regarding the duration of Parliament, says, "Whereas, it hath been found by experience, that the said clause hath proved very grievous and burdensome, by occasioning much greater and more continued expenses, in order to elections of members to serve in Parliament, and more violent and lasting heats and animosities among the subjects of this realm, than were ever known before the said clause was enacted; and the said provision, if it should continue, may probably, at this juncture, when a restless and Popish faction are designing and endeavouring to renew the rebellion within this kingdom, and an invasion from abroad, be destructive to the peace and security of the government." The Septennial Act was called by Dr. Priestley, "a direct usurpation of the rights of the people; for by the same authority that one Parliament prolonged their own power to seven years, they might have continued it to twice seven." Had the Parliament of George I. simply

* Letter to Sir W. Wyndham.

repealed the Triennial Act, they might have sat to the end of his reign without interruption except from the pleasure of the Crown. The preamble to the Septennial Act looks to its temporary expediency; to the evils that might have been produced in the agitated state of parties—(when the greater number of Tories had become Jacobites, as Bolingbroke asserts)—if a general election were to take place in 1717. The debates on this question had principally relation to the Septennial Bill as a permanent measure. It was introduced in the House of Lords, where it passed by no very preponderating majority. In the Commons the proportionate majority was much greater. Amongst the people generally the measure appears to have excited very little interest, and scarcely any opposition; there being only petitions against it from ten boroughs, half of these being places of small population,* and open to that corruption which made frequent elections occasions for dishonest traffic. During the passing of the Bill lord Somers was in his last fatal illness. His intellect was sufficiently clear for a short time to give an opinion upon the measure to lord Townshend: "I think," he said, "it will be the greatest support possible to the liberty of the country." The great constitutional lawyer died on the day the Bill was read a third time in the House of Commons. Speaker Onslow often declared that the passing of the Septennial Bill formed the era of the emancipation of the British House of Commons from its former dependence on the Crown and the House of Lords. † The period would arrive when this greater power of the House of Commons produced by the Septennial Act would be looked upon with jealousy by large portions of the middle classes, and of those beneath them in station; and when a principle even more democratic than that of triennial elections should be ardently desired, as one of the modes of converting the member of parliament into a delegate instead of a representative. Practically, very few parliaments of recent times have had a septennial existence; and many thinking persons have been disposed to agree with Mr. Hallam, that under the existing custom of considering six years as the natural life of a House of Commons, "the usual term of duration should be permitted to take its course, except in cases where some great change of national policy may perhaps justify its abridgment." Our constitutional historian holds that "the Crown would often obtain a very serious advantage over the House of Commons, if it should become an ordinary thing to dissolve Parliament for some petty ministerial interest; or to divert some unpatable resolution." ‡ Whilst the Septennial Bill was passing through committee in the Commons, Mr. Lechmere desired to introduce a clause to disable the holders of pensions during pleasure from becoming members of *either house* of Parliament. This was opposed as interfering with the privileges of the Peers. But Stanhope, one of the Secretaries of State, brought in a Bill, which provided that no person having a pension from the Crown during pleasure, or for a term of years, either in his own name, or in the name of any person for his benefit, should sit or vote in the House of Commons, under a penalty of twenty pounds for every day in which he should so sit or vote. §

* Lord Mahon—"History," vol. i. p. 307.
† Coxe's "Walpole."
‡ "Constitutional History," chap. xvi.
§ 1 Geo. I. stat. 2, c. 56.

By the Act of Settlement, the descendant of the princess Sophia of Hanover, who should be called to the throne of Great Britain, was restricted from going out of the kingdom without the consent of Parliament. A Bill was brought in to repeal that clause of the Act; and becoming law without opposition, the king prepared to set forth to his German dominions. Previous to his majesty's departure there was a creation of eight peers. The king's anxiety to visit Hanover at this juncture was extremely objectionable to his responsible advisers. But their remonstrances were useless. When Addison eulogized what he described as the "uniformity and firmness of mind" of George I.,* he, of course, did not recognize that family characteristic which carried firmness, too often, into obstinacy. "His majesty was bred up from his infancy with a love to this our nation," continues Addison. He did not speak of the greater love which the king, not unnaturally, bore to his own hereditary dominions. "By his succeeding to the dukedom of Zell," writes the political essayist, "he became one of the greatest princes of Germany, and one of the most powerful persons that ever stood next heir to the throne of Great Britain. The duchy of Bremen, and the bishopric of Osnaburg, have considerably strengthened his interests in the empire, and given a great additional weight to the Protestant cause." Happier might it have been if this great prince of Germany, and his successor, could have mitigated their excessive "predilection for their native country, which alone could endanger their English throne." † There was a constant suspicion, during their reigns, that continental alliances and wars were in the interest of Hanover rather than in that of Great Britain; and although this belief was in some instances unjust, every minister had to contend against the unpopularity which it threw upon the government. Every minister, from Walpole to Chatham, was, in his turn, obliged to yield, however unwillingly, to the "uniformity and firmness of mind" which governed the continental policy of these princes. Their repeated absences from England were no light interruption to the tranquil progress of English affairs. These absences became a positive danger when each of these kings was known to stand upon the worst terms with his eldest son. Speaking a foreign language, surrounded by foreign mistresses and favourites, and constantly called away to his foreign states, George I. never ceased to be regarded by the English people as a foreigner. He was imperfectly acquainted with the character of the people he had been called upon to govern; and he took no pains to understand their reasonable wishes, or to conciliate their unreasonable prejudices. The government of the kingdom naturally fell into the hands of the ministers who represented the stronger party. It was fortunate that eventually a minister obtained almost exclusive power, who for many years kept the nation quiet, and allowed its growing industry to become the source of great material prosperity. The system of sir Robert Walpole was little fitted to call forth any high political aspirations; to originate any great reforms; to widen and deepen the foundations of freedom and toleration. But it preserved the country from convulsions, if it failed to destroy the bitterness of parties. Walpole was neither tyrannous nor unjust. He governed by corruption, in our present improved view of what is corruption, when a bribe is no longer

* "Freeholder," No. 2. † Hallam.

termed "a consideration;" but having obtained his parliamentary supremacy by unworthy methods, he did not employ his venal instruments to trample upon the liberties of his country. He laughed at the noisy patriots whom he did not care to buy, or was unable to buy; but during the twenty years of his unassailable possession of power, amidst the constant sense of danger from the tendency of Toryism to identify itself with Jacobitism, he proscribed no political enemy. It has been truly said, "Sir Robert Walpole was the minister who gave to our government that character of lenity which it has since generally preserved."* Before Walpole became the supreme director of affairs, there was much complication of foreign policy, which we will endeavour to relate as succinctly as the necessary details will permit.

In the spring of 1716, defensive alliances had been concluded by the British government with the States-General and with the Emperor, to operate in case of aggression on either by France or other powers. The issue, however, of the Rebellion of 1715 had entirely indisposed the government of the Regent of France to any rupture with England. The duke of Orleans was moreover anxious to procure the support of England to his succession to the crown of France, in the event of the death of Louis XV., a sickly boy. The claim to that crown had been renounced by the Bourbon king of Spain; but Philip V. might interpret that renunciation according to the power which he might possess of setting his agreement at nought. Whilst George I. was at Hanover this summer, negotiations were going forward between Stanhope, his Secretary of State, and the Abbé Dubois, the profligate but most able servant of the Regent. The English government desired the expulsion of the Pretender from France and its dependencies; and was anxious to stipulate that a new harbour should be abandoned which Louis XIV. had begun to construct at Mardyke, to serve the same warlike purposes as Dunkirk, which had been demolished according to the terms of the treaty of Utrecht. The agent of the Regent was ready to yield these points, to secure the friendship of the government of king George. Thus the policy of England and France tended towards peace and a more intimate alliance. On the other hand, the continental objects of George I. threatened to involve his island subjects in a war, in which they would certainly not have engaged had their king not also been Elector of Hanover. When Charles XII. of Sweden, in 1714, after those five years of seclusion at Bender which followed the disastrous day of Pultowa, burst upon Europe again, he found a large part of his territories divided among many rapacious neighbours, with whom he would have to fight if Sweden were to regain any semblance of her old power. Frederick IV. of Denmark, in 1712, had conquered Schleswig and Holstein, Bremen and Verden. To strengthen himself against Charles, "the Swedish-iron hero"—as Mr. Carlyle calls him,—Frederick bartered away Bremen and Verden to the Elector of Hanover, in 1715, for a hundred and fifty thousand pounds, on condition that George should join a coalition against Sweden. George's son-in-law, Frederick William of Prussia, had gone to war that same year, with his giant grenadiers, to compel Charles to resign his pretensions to Stettin, which Prussia had obtained in pawn for a payment of sixty thousand pounds. The northern war blazed furiously. The Elector of

* Macaulay—"Essay on Horace Walpole."

Hanover sent a British fleet into the Baltic to coerce Sweden; and with six thousand Hanoverians joined the Prussians, Danes, and Russians, against "the Lion-king." At Stralsund Charles made his last effort. He was overpowered; and getting away to Sweden, meditated schemes of vast import, but thoroughly impracticable. Charles endeavoured to gratify his revenge against England in stirring up another Jacobite insurrection. Northern Europe was now still more agitated; for the Czar Peter had marched with his Muscovites into Mecklenburg, and was threatening Denmark. George was for violent measures against Russia, which his minister Stanhope very wisely discountenanced. This smoke did not burst into flame. In the conduct of the negotiation with France there was a difference of opinion between Stanhope at Hanover, and Townshend at home; and this, with other less dignified causes, produced a partial-breaking-up of king George's first Whig ministry.

The history of the schism which drove Townshend from the helm is given with great minuteness by the excellent descendant of Stanhope; and with a laudable anxiety to acquit his ancestor of any paltry attempt to abuse the confidence of George I., to the prejudice of his honest and able minister at home.* It is scarcely necessary for us to enter generally upon these details. One point, however, connected with this ministerial change is of importance, as a characteristic of the domestic politics of the first, second, and third princes of the House of Brunswick who were kings of England. From the second year of George I. may be dated the manifestation of that national calamity which our country had to endure during three successive reigns,—the hateful exhibition of a party in opposition to the government of the actual sovereign gathering round the heir apparent. When king George set out for Hanover in the summer of 1716, he was extremely jealous of entrusting, during his absence, any special power and authority to the prince of Wales. The king wished to join others in commission with the prince. Townshend opposed this. The king so far yielded as to appoint his son Guardian of the Realm and Lieutenant; but he withheld the title of Regent from him, and imposed several restrictions upon his administrative power. The popularity which the prince acquired during the king's absence was looked upon with fear and suspicion at Hanover. He was affable; appeared fond of English customs; spoke our language tolerably well; and went amongst the people in a free and unreserved manner. Party-writers began to contrast the son with the father. The prince was not discreet in a position where discretion was so essential. He manifested an eagerness to open the parliament in person during the king's absence; whilst the king desired that the prorogation might be extended, to enable him to remain longer at Hanover. Townshend, in his communications with Stanhope, had pressed that the king should speedily decide as to his return; intimated the prince's wish to open parliament; and suggested that in certain emergencies a larger discretionary power should be given to the "Guardian of the Realm." The king was enraged; and avowed his determination to dismiss his chief minister from his office of Secretary of State. To soften this dismissal Townshend was offered the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The Secretary at first stoutly refused. His colleagues were indignant. Stanhope, from Hanover, tried to

* Lord Mahon—"History," vol. i. ch. vii.

persuade them to acquiesce in the king's determination. The Whigs, he wrote to Mr. Methuen, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, "may possibly unking their master, or (which I do before God think very possible) make him abdicate England; but they will certainly not force him to make my lord Townshend Secretary." * When Townshend was removed from the administration, the public indignation was loudly expressed. He was considered to be sacrificed to the cabal which looked upon Hanover as more important than England. He was known to be hated by the rapacious Mademoiselle de Schulenberg, the king's mistress, who was afterwards created duchess of Kendal. George hastened his return to England; and having probably been made aware of the danger he incurred in breaking with the most important members of the great Whig party, expressed his regret to Townshend for having acted with precipitation. The fallen minister was at last induced to accept the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland; and Methuen was appointed Secretary of State as the colleague of Stanhope. The apparent renewal of the friendly relations of the sovereign and his ministers was not of long duration.

The king opened the Session of Parliament on the 20th of February, 1717. He announced that a Treaty of Alliance had been concluded between Great Britain, France, and the States-General. There were to be no longer apprehensions about Dunkirk and Mardyke; the Pretender was to be removed beyond the Alps. This Treaty, concluded on the 4th of January, 1717, is known as "the Triple Alliance." The king farther notified that he had directed papers to be laid before Parliament, "which contain a certain account of a projected invasion." These papers were "Copies of letters which passed between count Gyllenburg, the barons Gortz, Spaar, and others, relating to the design of raising a rebellion in his majesty's dominions, to be supported by a force from Sweden." The discovery of this scheme had delayed the opening of the Session. In October, some letters between baron Gortz, the bold and intriguing minister of Charles XII., and count Gyllenburg, the Swedish envoy in London, had been intercepted and deciphered by the English government. On the 29th of January, Stanhope, as Secretary of State, laid the information thus obtained before the Council; and it was determined to resort to the extraordinary measure of arresting the Swedish envoy, and of seizing his papers. Gyllenburg, of course, stoutly resisted; and pleaded the protection to which the representatives of foreign governments are entitled by the law of nations. That law, however, does not sanction an ambassador in being the active instrument of plots against the government to which he is accredited. General Wade carried off the contents of the Swede's escrutoire; and put a guard over his prisoner. The contents of the papers fully justified the act of the government. Gortz had organized a scheme for an insurrection in England, and a simultaneous invasion of Scotland by the king of Sweden. Spain had entered into the confederacy. Its prime minister, Alberoni, had remitted a million of French livres to Spaar, the Swedish envoy in Paris, to set the forces of Charles XII. in motion. The Pretender had offered sixty thousand pounds for the same object. The whole affair exploded upon the arrest of Gyllenburg. The king

* Coxe—"Life of Walpole."

of Sweden did not disown the acts of his ministers, neither did he own them; but he ordered the British resident at his court to be put under arrest. Apprehensions of danger from Sweden were still professed by the English ministry; and on the 3rd of April, Stanhope delivered to the Commons a royal message, asking for an additional supply, "not only to secure his majesty's kingdoms against the present dangers with which they are threatened from Sweden, but likewise to prevent as far as possible the like apprehensions for the future." In the debate which ensued, strong objections were made to the proposition. "It must needs be very surprising to the whole world," said one member, "that a nation, not long ago the terror of France and Spain, should now seem to fear so inconsiderable an enemy as Sweden." The motion for a Supply was only carried by a majority of four votes. It was opposed by many of the Whigs, and coldly supported by others. Walpole, to whom the House looked up on all financial questions, spoke indeed in favour of the motion, but with a reserve that was more significant than censure. It was clear that the most important of the Whig leaders were jealous of the influence of Sunderland, who was now held to be the king's chief adviser. The result of this debate was that the same evening Townshend was dismissed from his office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and that, the next morning, Robert Walpole resigned—firm in his resistance to the entreaties of the king to keep the seals of Chancellor of the Exchequer. Other resignations followed, including that of Methuen. Stanhope now became the head of the government; Sunderland and Addison were appointed Secretaries of State; and James Craggs Secretary at War.

Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, having been two years a prisoner in the Tower, presented a petition to the House of Lords, praying that his confinement might not be prolonged. The day of his trial was therefore fixed for the 24th of June. The Peers were assembled in Westminster Hall; the Commons were in attendance as prosecutors; the prisoner stood at the bar with the axe by his side; one of the managers opened the first article of impeachment regarding the treaty of Utrecht. Lord Harcourt, the ex-chancellor, then moved that the Peers should retire to their own House; and he there proposed a resolution, which was carried by a majority of thirty-two, "that no evidence should be received on the charges for misdemeanour till the charges for high treason were disposed of." It was known that the evidence was insufficient to convict Oxford of the crime that would have affected his life and estate. The Commons were indignant at this proceeding of the Peers, which it is affirmed was suggested by Walpole; and they refused to comply with it, regarding it as an infringement of their privileges. The Lords persevered; and named the 1st of July as the day when the trial should proceed according to the principle they had laid down. The Commons resolved that, justice being denied to the nation, they would abandon the prosecution. The defeat of the government was no doubt fortunate. Oxford was acquitted, as no prosecutor had appeared. The multitude cheered, and the nation generally, as well as the Tories, was not displeased that there should be some oblivion of political offences. The Session of Parliament was concluded by an Act of Grace, from which Oxford and Prior were excluded; but which released from prison the lords Carnwath, Widdrington, and Nairn, and others who

were under sentence of death, or in confinement, for their participation in the Rebellion of 1715.

The period during which Stanhope had the chief administration of affairs, from 1717 to his death in 1721, was a period of extraordinary excitement in the complicated policy of various European States, and of momentous embarrassment in the financial operations of the English people and the English government. It is difficult to describe our foreign relations in a brief narrative; and it would not be very interesting to relate the events connected with them in any lengthened detail. The whole course of these events is calculated to show how, in many cases, those territorial arrangements which appear to have been finally settled by Treaties, are suddenly broken up by unforeseen combinations; how the restless ambition of princes and ministers, the pretensions of rival dynasties, the dissatisfaction of peoples shifted from master to master, render what is called the Balance of Power a condition of things in which those who fancy they may preserve an equilibrium, fall under the necessity of perpetually throwing a weight into one scale, or taking a weight out of another. Such attempts being generally failures, the blindfolded phantom of Justice terminates the abortive labour by throwing away the scales, and drawing the sword.

The chief instigator of the disputes which in 1717 threatened to involve Europe again in a general war was cardinal Alberoni, the prime minister of Spain. Philip V. had never displayed any vigour of mind; and he was now governed by his queen, over whom Alberoni had an absolute control. This remarkable Italian, the son of a labourer, had been in Spain with the duke de Vendôme during the war of the Succession. His agreeable qualities had gained him the favour of Vendôme; and he had gradually worked his way to the highest trust and dignity. When general Stanhope was a prisoner in Saragossa he became acquainted with Alberoni; and when the same general became king George's Secretary of State, their correspondence on the subject of a commercial treaty was marked by a more than usual manifestation of a desire on the part of the Spanish minister to be on good terms with the British government. But the emperor had never recognised Philip as king of Spain. Under the peace of Utrecht he held the dominions in Italy which had formerly belonged to Spain. In the defensive treaty between Great Britain and the emperor the territorial guarantee was thus offensive to the court of Philip V. The alliance with France was still more offensive. The tone of Alberoni towards the British government became wholly changed. He had great projects in view, which he thought would raise Spain in the scale of nations. He prepared an armament at Barcelona, whose destination was wholly unknown. In August, 1717, a Spanish fleet anchored in the bay of Cagliari; and eight or nine thousand troops made a descent on the island of Sardinia, of which they took possession after a stout resistance from Spaniards of the Austrian party. The expedition was not merely intended to seize this barren territory. Spain had an eye to Sicily, which had been ceded at the peace to Victor Amadeus. England interposed, in the endeavour to preserve the peace of Europe. Negotiations went forward, without much effect; Stanhope having sent his cousin, afterwards earl of Harrington, as ambassador to Spain. The Regent of France also sent his ambassador. But the bold and crafty Alberoni wanted only to gain time, and he made the most

extensive preparations for war upon a great scale. Spain, directed by the energy of this adventurer, threw off her accustomed lethargy. In a year or two he had set in motion every instrument of intrigue against France and England. The Turks had been totally defeated by prince Eugene at the great battle of Peterwaradin. Alberoni urged the Sultan to persevere in the war with the Emperor. He had encouraged baron Gortz in his schemes for the invasion of England by Sweden. He entered into correspondence with the Pretender, and proposed a Spanish expedition to land in Britain, to be commanded by James, or by the duke of Ormond. He fomented insurrections and conspiracies in France. In 1718 it became evident that the British government must prepare for warlike operations; and give up its attempts at mediation. Alberoni, whose vanity made him presumptuous, but whose acuteness gave him signal advantages over ordinary politicians, must have offered many a rude shock to the complacency of diplomatic routine. The English negotiators had to attempt the difficult task of reconciling the conflicting interests of the Emperor and the Bourbon king of Spain. The treaty of Utrecht had failed in placing the peace of Europe on a durable foundation. There must be other territorial arrangements, which it was the object of the Quadruple Alliance of England, Holland, France, and the Emperor to effect. Exchanges of dominion were to be made between the rivals; something gained and something yielded on either side; doubtful successions guaranteed; compensations; all interests consulted but that trifling one, the welfare of those handed about from potentate to potentate. It is impossible not to feel a sort of respect for the vain and insolent Alberoni, when he encountered with words such as these the solemn bargain-makers whom the English cabinet employed to arrange articles of accommodation between the Austrian and Bourbon rivals: "You made war to establish the Balance of Power; and you concluded a peace without any balance whatever. . . . . There are certain men who would cut and pare states and kingdoms as though they were so many Dutch cheeses." Thus treating their projects of pacification with contempt, he went his own way to redress the wrongs of which he complained, describing the peace of Utrecht as "a treaty made by the devil," and the scheme of another Balance as a monster which he termed "a goat-stag." He resolved for war, exclaiming "The Lord's hand is not shortened."

With this threatened interruption to the peace to Europe, the administration of Stanhope, who was now raised to the peerage, had to meet the Parliament which was summoned for the 21st of November. Just at this time a scene took place within the walls of St. James's Palace, which threatened as much embarrassment to the tranquil progress of government as any complication of foreign affairs. The king and the prince of Wales openly quarrelled. The rupture was deemed of sufficient importance to warrant the Secretary of State in writing an explanation of the circumstances to the foreign ministers. This official account does not differ in any material point, from the more lively narrative of Horace Walpole: "The princess of Wales had been delivered of a second son. The prince had intended his uncle, the duke of York, bishop of Osnaburg, should with his majesty be godfather. Nothing could equal the indignation of his royal highness when the king

named the duke of Newcastle for second sponsor, and would hear of no other. The christening took place as usual in the princess's bedchamber. Lady Suffolk, then in waiting as lady of the bedchamber, and of most accurate memory, painted the scene to me exactly. On one side of the bed stood the godfathers and godmothers; on the other the prince, and the princess's ladies. No sooner had the bishop closed the ceremony, than the prince, crossing the feet of the bed in a rage, stepped up to the duke of Newcastle, and, holding up his hand and fore-finger in a menacing attitude, said, 'You are a rascal, but I shall find you;' meaning, in broken English, 'I shall find a time to be revenged.' 'What was my astonishment,' continued Lady Suffolk, 'when going to the princess's apartment next morning, the yeomen in the guard-chamber pointed their halberds at my breast, and told me I must not pass! I urged that it was my duty to attend the princess. They said, No matter; I must not pass that way.'" * The prince of Wales had been put under arrest in his own apartment, into which lady Suffolk was forbidden to pass; and was finally commanded to leave the palace, which he did with the princess Caroline of Anspach, his sensible wife. Then was exhibited the unbecoming spectacle of the heir-apparent in opposition to the government of his father; of the Court of Leicester-House in rivalry to the Court of St. James. The discarded members of the Whig cabinet could at Leicester-House lament, in common with Tories and Jacobites, over their exclusion from power. Walpole and Shippen could make common cause as assailants of the existing government, however irreconcileable themselves upon the principles upon which the government should be conducted. The king, on the other hand, was surrounded by some indiscreet and unscrupulous adherents. After his majesty's death, queen Caroline found amongst his private papers a proposal from the earl of Berkeley, first lord of the admiralty in 1718,—which proposal was in the hand-writing of Charles Stanhope—to seize the prince of Wales, and carry him off to America. George I. had too much sense to adopt the kidnapping project; but he formed a crude plan to obtain an Act of Parliament that the prince should be compelled to relinquish his German possessions upon coming to the throne of Great Britain. The friends of a constitutional monarchy were alarmed at these proceedings; and it was fortunate that the power which the great abilities of Walpole eventually secured under George I., enabled him to use, for the purpose of outward reconciliation, the influence which he had obtained over the prince of Wales during his term of opposition politics.

Into fightings arising out of the squabbles of the Empire and of Spain—or rather, out of the squabbles of "Kaiser Karl VI. and Elizabeth Farnese, termagant queen of Spain" †—was England precipitated. When the number of troops to be maintained came to be discussed in parliament, "downright Shippen" said, that some expressions of the king's speech "seem rather calculated for the meridian of Germany than of Great Britain." He added, "It is the only infelicity of his majesty's reign that he is unacquainted with our language and constitution; and it is therefore the more incumbent on his British ministers to inform him, that our government does not stand on the

* "Reminiscences of the Courts of George I. & II."
† Carlyle—"Friedrich II," vol. i. p. 499.

same foundation with his German dominions, which, by reason of their situation, and the nature of their constitution, are obliged to keep up armies in time of peace." * For these expressions Mr. Shippen was sent to the Tower, and there remained till the prorogation of parliament in March. There were interesting debates in both Houses on the evident tendency to engage in war indicated by the number of troops to be employed; but the Parliament was prorogued with the royal expression of a hope that such Treaties might be concluded, "as will settle peace and tranquillity amongst our neighbours." The hope was illusive; and indeed was contrary to a message from the Crown, just at the close of the Session, pointing out the necessity of an increase of the navy. No specific object was named; but Walpole observed that the message and the address which was voted, had the air of a declaration of war against Spain. On the 4th of June, Admiral Byng sailed for the Mediterranean, having twenty ships of the line under his command; for intelligence had been received that an armament of twenty-nine ships of war, with transports for thirty-five thousand soldiers, had sailed from Barcelona with sealed orders. The English prime minister, lord Stanhope, in the desire to avert war, had proceeded to Madrid; and he was even prepared to give up Gibraltar, which it appears he thought "of no consequence." Alberoni, amidst pacific professions, had manifested no disposition to abate his pretensions. Whilst Stanhope was talking of peace, the Spanish fleet had sailed into the bay of Solento, and having landed a large force upon Sicilian ground under the Marquis di Lede, the troops in a few days had become masters of Palermo. The chief military operation was the siege of Messina. On the 31st of July the citadel was invested. On the 1st of August, Sir George Byng's fleet was anchored in the Bay of Naples, where he took on board two thousand German troops to reinforce the Piedmontese garrison of Messina. The Spanish fleet would have been in comparative safety if they had remained at anchor in the road of Messina, in line of battle, with the batteries behind them that di Lede had constructed. The admirals chose to put to sea, and Byng hurried after the Spaniards, through the straits of Faro. On the 11th of August the English squadron was carried by a breeze into the heart of the Spanish fleet, off Cape Passero. Six of their men of war had been separated from their main body, and a division, commanded by Captain Walton, was despatched by the English admiral to intercept them. The battle, it is held, was commenced by the Spaniards. Byng was superior in force; and the Spanish admirals acted without a settled plan. But they fought bravely, till the main fleet was all taken or destroyed. The report of Captain Walton to his admiral, is the very model of a business-like despatch: "Sir, we have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships which were upon the coast: the number as per margin." The Spanish fleet was thus swept away; but Byng, in a letter to di Lede, affected to consider this catastrophe as not necessarily involving a war between the two nations. Messina fell before the Spanish troops, at the end of September; and Byng again anchored in the Bay of Naples. Alberoni did not quietly endure the pacific mode in which his fleet had been annihilated. He seized all British vessels and goods in Spanish ports.

* "Parliamentary History," vol. vii. col. 508.

The war smouldered on during two years; for an object which has been truly said, "could not be excelled in insignificance." * King George, in opening Parliament on the 11th of November, announced that he had concluded terms and conditions of peace and alliance between the greatest princes of Europe, but that Spain "having rejected all our amicable proposals, it became necessary for our naval forces to check their progress." Walpole headed in the Commons the opposition to an Address of Thanks, contending, that by their giving sanction to the late measures, they "would screen ministers, who, having begun a war against Spain, would now make it the Parliament's war." The motion for an Address of Thanks was carried by a majority of sixty-one.

A domestic measure of real interest to the nation, and honourable to the ministry to have proposed, was carried during this session, with some curtailments of its original design. It was a Bill for the relief of Protestant Dissenters, entitled "a Bill for strengthening the Protestant interest in these kingdoms." Stanhope took a liberal view of the religious differences which had so long agitated the nation, and he desired to repeal, not only the Act against Occasional Conformity, the Schism Act, and the Test Act, but to mitigate the penal laws against Roman Catholics. It was contended, and perhaps prudently, by some of his colleagues, that by aiming at too much nothing would be accomplished. The debates were warm in both Houses; and finally, by a majority of only forty-one, the measure was passed, without the repeal of the Test Act, and without any attempt to put the Roman Catholics upon a juster footing of equality, however limited, with their fellow-subjects.

The hostility of Alberoni towards the government which had proved the most formidable enemy to his designs for the extension of the power of the Spanish monarchy, now assumed the somewhat dangerous form of an alliance with the Pretender, and a direct assistance to him in another attempt at the invasion of Great Britain. There was no longer to be hope for the House of Stuart in the rash designs of Charles of Sweden. He had fallen by a stray bullet—probably by the hand of an assassin—in the trenches of Frederickshall. He no more will terrify the world with his volcanic outbreaks. Alberoni was to accomplish, by weaving his web of intrigue around the persevering adherents of James, what his brother intriguer Gortz had failed to accomplish. Upon the sister of Charles XII. succeeding to the crown of Sweden, there had been a political revolution, and the restless minister of the late king had perished on a scaffold. Alberoni had failed in the issue of a conspiracy which he had stirred up against the regent Orleans. It was effectually crushed; and, whatever were the private views of the Regent, his lenity in this affair was a proof that he possessed one of the best attributes of power, "the quality of mercy." The plot of the duke and duchess of Maine being clearly traced to the schemes of the Spanish minister, war was declared by France against Spain. There was one great card more to play. The Pretender was invited to Madrid. He safely reached that capital from Italy, and was received with signal honours. The duke of Ormond, and the earl Marischal and his brother, had also passed from France into Spain. An

* Carlyle.

expedition had been prepared by Alberoni, which it was originally intended that James should lead. But it was at length arranged that Ormond should land in England; that lord Marischal should sail with some forces to Scotland; and that Keith, his brother, should go through France to gather together the Jacobites who had taken refuge there. The armament which sailed from Cadiz, consisting of five men-of-war, with twenty transports, carrying five thousand men, was scattered by a great storm in the Bay of Biscay. The crews threw overboard the stands of arms, the munitions of war, and the horses, to lighten their vessels; and the greater part of the armada returned to Spanish ports, in a dismantled condition. The earl Marischal, with two frigates, carrying about three hundred troops, proceeded to Scotland; and his brother, with Tullibardine, Seaforth, and a few other noble refugees, joined him in a small vessel. The whole proceeding was known to the British government, through information furnished by the Regent of France. The adventurers, with the Spanish soldiers, landed on the banks of Loch Alsh, in the month of May, 1719. The vessels returned to Spain; and the Scottish leaders were left to face their desperate enterprise. They established themselves in an old castle in the inner reach of the Loch; but their attempts to fortify it afforded them no safety. Three English vessels of war entered these solitary waters, and battered the rude tower to the ground. Scattered parties of Highlanders joined the Spaniards; and the whole body, about fifteen hundred—some accounts say two thousand—encamped at Glenshiel. In this valley, surrounded by mountains, whose pathways were known only to the natives, they remained inactive, expecting to be joined by large bodies of insurgents. No general rising took place in the Highlands. No great chiefs again ventured to appear in arms against a strong government. In June, general Wightman, with sixteen hundred troops, marched from Inverness. He hesitated to attack desperate men in their formidable pass; but a sharp struggle took place with detached bodies on the mountain sides, which lasted three hours. The next day the Spaniards surrendered as prisoners of war; but the Highlanders had disappeared. Wightman had twenty-one men killed, and a hundred and twenty-one wounded. He brought into Edinburgh two hundred and seventy-four Spanish prisoners. The Scottish leaders took shelter in the Western Isles; and finally escaped to Spain.

Whatever opposition might be raised to the origin and objects of the war in which England was engaged against France, no one could complain that the naval power of the country was inefficiently employed. No British admiral could have manifested more energy and promptitude than admiral Byng displayed, in exploits that required the utmost courage and decision of character. He rendered the most efficient aid to the forces of the emperor in the contest with the Spaniards for the possession of Sicily. By his sagacious counsels he gave a successful direction to the languid efforts of the imperial commanders, who were jealous of each other, and divided in their plans. Their troops were destitute of provisions, and he supplied them by sea with stores, to prevent them starving in the interior of the island. They were insufficiently supplied with ammunition, and he furnished them with the means of attack and defence. With such aid the Austrians, after a serious defeat at Franca Villa, in June, 1719, were enabled to besiege the

Spaniards in Messina, of whose citadel they obtained possession in October. There were military operations of less importance before the Spaniards finally evacuated Sicily and Sardinia. Meanwhile, the French had sent an army against Spain, under the command of the duke of Berwick, the natural son of James II.—the general who had won the victory of Almanza for the Bourbon king of Spain. Berwick was now to lead an army against the same king; and he was to be assisted by English sailors belonging to the government of the sovereign who was regarded as an usurper by the head of his own family. The French made themselves masters of Fuenterabia and St. Sebastian; and lord Cobham, with an English squadron, captured Vigo. These disasters might have convinced Alberoni that the conflict with these great powers, in which Spain had engaged, was an undertaking in which his own abilities could not supply the want of material resources. But he probably was not prepared to be deserted by the court which he had so ably served in the endeavour to increase its power and importance. Before the reverses in Sicily, Alberoni had made overtures for peace. Stanhope proposed to Dubois, to demand from king Philip the dismissal of his minister. His ambition, said Stanhope, had been the sole cause of the war; and "it is not to be imagined that he will ever lose sight of his vast designs, or lay aside the intention of again bringing them forward, whenever the recovery of his strength, and the remissness of the allied powers, may flatter him with the hopes of better success." King Philip submitted to this dictation. In December, 1719, Alberoni, by a royal decree, was dismissed from all his employments, and was commanded to leave the Spanish territory within twenty-one days. Incapable grandees rejoiced that the son of an Italian gardener no longer ruffled their solemn pride; some loftier spirits testified their respect to fallen greatness. The cardinal went back to Italy, a poor man. After vain attempts to resist or evade the demands of the Allies that Spain should accede to the Quadruple Alliance, that accession was proclaimed in January, 1720; Philip declaring that he gave peace to Europe at the sacrifice of his rights. He renewed his renunciation of the French crown. Europe was again at peace. Even the Czar of Muscovy had been warned by the presence of an English fleet in the Baltic, that he would not be permitted utterly to destroy Sweden. By England's protection of the female successor of Charles XII., the elector of Hanover secured Bremen and Verden. The policy of foreign affairs did not exclusively contemplate the safety of king George's island subjects, but there was no advocacy of merely German policy of which the nation had a right to complain. The reputation of Great Britain was not damaged by the mode in which the war had been carried on. Her naval strength had been successfully exerted. A peace of twelve years, with a very trivial interruption, was the result of the Quadruple Alliance.

The two parliamentary Sessions of 1719 were remarkable for ministerial attempts to carry a measure which would have produced a vital change in the composition of the House of Lords. It was proposed to limit the royal power of creating peers; and the king was persuaded to send a message to the Lords, that his majesty has so much at heart the settling the Peerage of the whole kingdom upon such a foundation as may secure the freedom and constitution of Parliament in all future ages, that he is willing his prerogative

stand not in the way of so great and necessary a work. In February, Resolutions were proposed in the Upper House that the English peers should not be increased beyond six of their present number; with the exception of princes of the blood; and that instead of there being sixteen elective peers for Scotland, the king should name twenty-five as hereditary peers. In the House of Lords, the Resolutions were carried by a large majority. The proposition produced an excessive ferment. The Whig members and the Whig writers took different sides. Addison supported the Bill; Steele opposed it. The measure was abandoned on account of the strong feeling which it produced on its first introduction; but it was again brought forward in the Session which commenced on the 23rd of November. It passed the Lords, with very slight opposition. In the Commons the Bill was rejected by a very large majority, 269 to 167. On this occasion Walpole, generally the plainest and most business-like of speakers, opposed the Bill with a rhetorical force which, according to the testimony of Speaker Onslow, "bore down everything before him." The exordium of his speech is remarkable: "Among the Romans, the wisest people upon earth, the Temple of Fame was placed behind the Temple of Virtue, to denote that there was no coming to the Temple of Fame, but through that of Virtue. But if this Bill is passed into a law, one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, since there would be no arriving at honour but through the winding-sheet of an old decrepit lord, or the grave of an extinct noble family; a policy very different from that glorious and enlightened nation, who made it their pride to hold out to the world illustrious examples of merited elevation:

"'Patere honoris scirent ut cuncti viam.'"

The opponents of the Peerage Bill did not fail to use the obvious argument, that although the prerogative of the Crown might be abused by the creation of Peers, as in the late reign, to secure a majority for the Court; there was a greater danger in so limiting the peerage as to make the existing body what Walpole called "a compact impenetrable phalanx."

Arms of George I.

The South Sea House.

CHAPTER III.

The South Sea scheme—Public infatuation—The bubble bursts—Parliamentary measures—Session of 1722—Plot for Invasion and Insurrection—Trial of Atterbury, bishop of Rochester—His banishment—Wood's Patent for a Copper Coinage in Ireland—The Drapier's Letters—The Ale-duty in Scotland—Riot at Glasgow—Impeachment of Lord-Chancellor Macclesfield—Foreign Affairs—Treaty of Hanover—Siege of Gibraltar—Peace—Death of George I.

THE great event of the sixth year of the reign of George I. was the exciting affair of the South Sea scheme—an event upon which, after the lapse of a hundred and forty years, we may still look with greater interest than upon the Treaties and the Wars of which it is said, with some truth, that they are to us as the "mere bubblings up of the general putrid fermentation of the then political world." * Few people of that time clearly understood what this famous South Sea project meant; and it is somewhat difficult to make it intelligible now.

In the infant days of the National Debt the great terror of statesmen was

* Carlyle—"Friedrich," vol. i. p. 559.

its increase and duration. At the accession of queen Anne, the debt amounted to sixteen millions; at her death it had reached fifty-two millions. In 1711 there was a floating debt of about ten millions. Harley, then Lord Treasurer, proposed to create a fund for that sum; and to secure the payment of interest, by making certain duties of Customs permanent. Capitalists who held debentures were to become shareholders in a Company incorporated for the purpose of carrying on a monopoly of trade to the Spanish Coasts of South America; making the new fund a part of their capital stock. Thus was established the South Sea Company. When the peace of Utrecht was completed, Spain refused to permit any approach to the free trade which would have made such a commercial Company of value. One ship only was allowed to be sent annually. A few factories were established, and the one ship sailed in 1717. Alberoni broke the treaty, and seized the British goods. But the Company had other means for the employment of capital; and many opulent persons were amongst its shareholders and directors.

At the opening of the Session of Parliament in November, 1719, the king said to the Commons, "I must desire you to turn your thoughts to all proper means for lessening the debts of the nation." In January, 1720, a proposal was read to the House of Commons from the South Sea Company, in which it was set forth that if certain public debts and annuities were made part of the capital stock of the Company, it would greatly contribute to that most desirable end adverted to in his majesty's speech. Before that speech was delivered, sir John Blunt, a South Sea director, had been in communication with the ministers, who gave a favourable ear to his projects. There was an annual charge upon the revenue of eight hundred thousand pounds, for irredeemable annuities granted in the reigns of William and Anne. To buy up these annuities was the advantageous point in the proposal of the Company. The House of Commons agreed in the necessity of reducing the public debts. "Till this was done," said Mr. Brodrick, who moved that other Companies should be allowed to compete, "we could not, properly speaking, call ourselves a nation." The Bank of England accordingly sent in a rival proposal; and the two Companies went on outbidding each other, till the South Sea Company's large offer to provide seven millions and a-half to buy up the Annuities was accepted. The annuitants were not compelled to exchange their government security for the Company's Stock; and the chief doubt seemed to be whether the greater number would consent to this transfer. Although the terms offered by the Company to the annuitants were not encouraging, there was a rush to accept them. To hold Stock in a Company whose exclusive trading privileges might realise that "potentiality of wealth" which is never "beyond the dreams of avarice," was a far grander thing than to receive seven, eight, or even nine per cent. upon annuities. Within six days of the announcement of the Company's terms, two-thirds of the annuitants had exchanged their certain income for the boundless imaginary riches of South America.

Upon this foundation was built the most enormous fabric of national delusion that was ever raised amongst an industrious, thrifty, and prudent people. It had been long manifest that there was a great amount of superfluous capital, especially of the hoardings of the middle classes, which wanted opportunities for employment. To obtain interest for small sums was scarcely

practicable for the mass of those who were enabled to keep their expenditure below their incomes. Before the beginning of the century, Companies, more or less safe, had been formed to meet this desire for investments. In spite of the long wars of the reigns of William and Anne, and the Jacobite plots and rebellions which threatened the Protestant succession, the country was going steadily forward in a course of prosperity. Wherever there is superfluous wealth, beyond the ordinary demands of industry for capital, there will be always projectors ready to suggest modes for its co-operative uses. The machinery of directors and managers,—an organization with which our countrymen are now as familiar as that of a parish vestry,—was as ready, though not quite as efficient, at the beginning of the eighteenth century as in the middle of the nineteenth. There was then to be seen many a type of the subtle attorney, and the impudent secretary, who have spread such consternation in our own times. There was then to be seen the magnificent list of noble names, such as continue to attract the unwary to have confidence in some Board where very few know the secret transactions. Even the prince of Wales was then the Governor of a Welsh Copper Company. But it seems to us that the belief of all the schemes of that scheming time being fraudulent and delusive is a mistake. Many of these schemes might be premature; and having chiefly in view the profit to be made by the rise of shares, might be called "Bubbles." But it is scarcely reasonable to class the following projects amongst the ridiculous schemes of that gambling time: For improving alum works; for paving the streets of London; for supplying various towns with water; for improving the art of making soap; for improving the paper manufacture; for making iron with pit coal; for extracting silver from lead. It had been justly said by a writer who decried, in 1695, "many pernicious projects now on foot," that "some were very useful and successful whilst they continued in a few hands, till they fell into stock-jobbing, now much introduced, when they dwindled to nothing: others of them were mere whims, of little or no service to the world."* Such, no doubt, was the general character of the manifold projects of 1720. In the summer of that year, the South Sea year, "the dog-star rages" over Exchange Alley with a fury that has never been equalled; because no capitalist, even to the possessor of a single shilling, was then too humble not to believe that the road to riches was open before him. Subscribers to projects recommended by "one or more persons of known credit," were only required to advance ten shillings per cent. A shilling, and even sixpence per cent. was enough to secure the receipt for a share in the more doubtful undertakings. Shares of every sort were at a premium, unless in cases where the office that was opened at noon on one day was found closed on the next, and the shillings and sixpences had vanished with the subscription books. But the great impulse to the frantic stock-jobbing of that summer was the sudden and enormous rise in the value of South Sea Stock. In July, Secretary Craggs wrote to earl Stanhope, who was abroad with the king, "It is impossible to tell you what a rage prevails here for South Sea subscriptions at any price. The crowds of those that possess the redeemable annuities is so great, that the Bank, who are obliged to take them in, has been forced to

* "Anglicæ Tutamen," quoted in Anderson's "Commerce."

set tables with clerks in the streets."* The hundred pound shares of the South Sea Company went up to a thousand pounds in August. The shares of the Bank of England and of the East India Company were transferred at an enormous advance. Smaller companies of every character—water-companies, fishery-companies, companies for various manufactures, companies for settlements and foreign trade—infinite varieties, down to companies for fatting hogs and importing jackasses from Spain—rushed into the market amidst the universal cry for shares and more shares. The Directors of the South Sea Company opened a second, a third, and a fourth subscription. They boldly proclaimed that after Christmas their annual dividend should not fall short of fifty per cent. upon their £100 shares. The rivalry of the legion of projects of that season was odious to these great lords of the money-market. The government itself began to think that some fearful end would come to the popular delusion; and a Royal Proclamation was issued against "mischievous and dangerous undertakings, especially the presuming to act as a corporate body, or raising stocks or shares without legal authority." It was calculated that the value of the stock of all the Companies, with corporate authority or no authority, amounted at the current prices to five hundred millions sterling; being five times as much as the circulating medium of Europe, and twice as much as the fee simple of all the land of the kingdom. The attempt of the South Sea Company to lessen the number of their competitors was the prelude to their own fall. At their instance, writs of *scire facias* were issued, on the 18th of August, against four Companies; and the subscribers to these, and to all other projects not legalised, were ordered to be prosecuted by the officers of the Crown. A panic ensued. In a day or two, the Stocks of all the Companies not incorporated rapidly fell; and with the downward rush went down every description of Stock. Before August, knowing and cautious holders of South Sea Stock began to sell out. Walpole, who had originally opposed the scheme, did not carry his opposition to the extreme of neglecting his opportunity of largely adding to his fortune, by investing at the proper time, and selling out at the proper time. The earl of Pembroke applied to Walpole for his advice as to the great question of selling when the shares were at their culminating point. The adroit financier coolly answered—"I will only tell you what I have done myself. I have just sold out at £1,000 per cent., and I am fully satisfied." † By the middle of September, holders of South Sea Stock were crowding the Exchange, not as eager buyers, but as more eager sellers. The Stock was at 850 on the 18th of August; in a month it had fallen to 410. Mr. Brodrick, on the 13th of September, writes, that the most considerable men of the Company, "with their fast friends, the Tories, Jacobites, and Papists," had drawn out; "securing themselves by the losses of the deluded thoughtless numbers, whose understandings were overruled by avarice, and hopes of making mountains of mole-hills. Thousands of families will be reduced to beggary. . . . . The consternation is inexpressible; the rage beyond expression; and the case is so desperate, that I do not see any plan or scheme for averting the blow." ‡ On the 29th of September, South Sea Stock had

* Coxe's "Walpole," vol. ii. p. 189.

† Coxe, vol. i. p. 730.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 190.

fallen to 175. This greatest of bubbles had burst. Many persons of rank and station were not so prudent as Walpole and the earl of Pembroke had been. The duke of Portland, lord Lonsdale, and lord Irwin, were provided with colonial governments to enable them to live;—a species of consideration for ruined nobility which is rather in bad odour in our days. Merchants, lawyers, clergy, physicians, passed from their dream of fabulous wealth and from their wonted comforts into poverty; some "died of broken hearts; others withdrew to remote parts of the world, and never returned." * It has been observed that "the calamitous effects of the madness were rather individual and immediate, than permanent or general. There was little, if any, absolute destruction of capital. The whole miscnief consisted in a most quick and violent shifting of property from one hand to another." † But the derangement of the ordinary course of industry was to be added to this shifting of property. Serious as was this temporary evil; furious as it made the sufferers in their reproaches against every one but themselves; eager as it rendered the Legislature for confiscation of the property of the South Sea Directors, the national credit was not permanently impaired by the infatuation which produced so much private misery. In this respect, the issue of the South Sea scheme was essentially different from the Mississippi scheme of John Law in France, which also exploded in that fatal year for projectors; producing there what was equivalent to a national bankruptcy. When the South Sea crash came, there was alarm for its public consequences. But Walpole, who had again joined the government, though in a subordinate office, applied his great financial abilities to avert the difficulties which this convulsion might occasion to the State; and instead of joining the first cry for vengeance upon the South Sea Directors, he calmly said in Parliament, that if London were on fire, wise men would endeavour to extinguish the flames before they sought for the incendiaries. When the king opened the Session on the 8th of December, the royal speech recommended measures "to restore the national credit." Walpole was regarded by all parties as the man to effect this.

To endeavour to equalise, to the most inconsiderable extent, the losses and gains of individuals by the extravagant rise and sudden depression of South Sea Stock, would have been a task far beyond the province of any minister of state. The financial abilities of Walpole were necessarily directed to the very difficult labour of disentangling the government from the embarrassments of the South Sea Company. The English ministry had never attempted to sustain the value of the Company's shares by arbitrary edicts; or to interfere with their fall by regulations that were based upon other principles than the great natural laws by which the money market, like every other market, must be governed. The French ministry, when the scheme of Law for relieving its exhausted finances by a paper currency, based on the imaginary riches of Louisiana, was in the course of breaking down, gave its orders that individuals should not retain in their possession any sum beyond a small amount of gold and silver, and should be compelled to carry on their transactions in Law's substitute for money. The shares were not to fall according to the rate at which their owners were willing to sell them, but

* Anderson. † G. L. Craik, "History of British Commerce," vol. ii. p. 194.

to sink in nominal value, by a monthly reduction, till they had reached half their original price, at which rate they were to be fixed. All this, of course, was the merest convulsion of despotism. The Regent had shifted a large amount of the debts of the State to the deluded people, and no attempt was made to retrieve the national credit. Walpole had to pursue a policy which was the only possible one under a limited monarchy; and which indeed was not beset with the difficulties that the government of the Regent would have had to encounter in any struggle to be honest. The French finances were hopelessly embarrassed by a long course of extravagance, before Law thought he could perform the part of the magician in the Arabian story, making a scrap of paper pass as a piece of silver. The English finances were healthy, though the national debt amounted to fifty or sixty millions. The French government adopted the schemes of Law, to furnish the means of new extravagances. The English government went into the scheme of the South Sea Company, with the view of redeeming a portion of the national debt, and thus of lessening the amount of taxation. Voltaire records that he had seen Law come to court, with dukes, marshals, and bishops following humbly in his train. The English Court was not free from shame in the South Sea project. Half a million of fictitious Stock had been created by the Directors, previous to the passing of the Bill. The duchess of Kendal, as well as other favourites of the king, had large douceurs out of the profits which the Directors made by the transfer of these shares; and it is lamentable to add that Craggs, the Secretary of State, his father the Postmaster-General, and Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, were amongst the recipients of this bribery. It was the business of parliament to trace the extent of the corruption; and to punish in some degree those Directors for vengeance upon whom the nation was frightfully clamouring. Although in the petitions to Parliament "for justice on the authors of the present calamities," we may see how individuals come to consider the losses produced by their own insensate desire for sudden riches as national misfortunes, we may yet observe how general is the calamity when a people think to grow rich by gambling instead of by work. The petition of the county of Kent avers that it was lately one of the most flourishing in the kingdom, "and is now reduced to a most unhappy condition by the execrable fraud of the late wicked South Sea Directors." The petition of the borough of Leicester states that "no sooner had the South Sea Directors, and the vile emissaries they dispatched over the kingdom to propagate lies and forgeries, so imposed upon the honest credulous people as to draw all their ready money and treasure into their infamous hands, but we saw trade instantly struck dead, our manufactures disregarded, our combed wool (once the staple and glory of our industrious corporation) lie neglected in our work-houses, our poor increasing for want of employment." Maidstone cannot pay the duty on hops, for there is no money in circulation. Somerset represents that the clothier's trade is gone to decay. Warwick says that the South Sea parricides have reduced a plundered people, in the space of one year only, "to as deplorable a state of calamity and distress as they ever yet suffered by any civil tumult or foreign war." Birmingham complains that its trade is wonderfully reduced, and that there is no money to pay the poor workmen. Want of money is the universal cry. No branch of industry had been exempted, according to these petitions,

from suffering.* There may be exaggeration in these complaints. But it is nevertheless easy to understand how difficult it would be, in a condition of society where commercial credit was not upheld by large banking operations, to escape very serious evils, when the many streams and rills in which capital ordinarily flowed were diverted into one vast flood, and thus for a while the channels were left dry from which industry derived its regular nourishment.

The Commons, through the entire Session, were occupied with investigations and discussions connected with the financial convulsion. Walpole brought forward his plan for sustaining the national credit, and had induced the House to agree that the public contracts with the South Sea Company should be undisturbed. His first proposal, to engraft a portion of the Stock of that Company into the Bank of England, and another portion into the East India Company, was carried after much debate; but this plan was ultimately merged into another measure. The private estates of the Directors were to be regarded as a fund to provide some remedy for the public embarrassment. A Bill was passed, to compel them to deliver on oath an estimate of the value of their property, and to prevent them going out of the kingdom. A secret Committee of Inquiry was appointed. After they had examined Mr. Robert Knight, the cashier of the Company, he fled to Brabant. A reward of £2000 was offered for his apprehension; but it was believed that there were influences at work powerful enough effectually to screen him. Knight was arrested at Antwerp; but the States of Brabant refused to give him up. "Screen" became a bye-word. Caricatures—which it is said were become common at this period for political objects—had for their point the duchess of Kendal and the flight of the Cashier. "The Brabant Screen" exhibited the king's mistress sending Knight upon his travels, giving him his despatches from behind a Screen.† The prudent Cashier took care to obliterate, as far as possible, the evidence that great ladies, and ministers of state, had been corrupted by the South Sea Directors. The Committee of the Commons reported that "in some of the books produced before them, false and fictitious entries were made; in others entries with blanks; in others entries with erasures and alterations; and in others leaves were torn out." They found, further, that some books had been destroyed, and others taken away or secreted. Out of the mouths of the Directors the Committee extracted evidence to show that there had been extensive appropriation of Stock to "certain ladies," at the instance of Mr. Secretary Craggs; and the proof was clear that persons high in office had received and held Stock, during the time that the Company's Bill was depending in Parliament, "without any valuable consideration paid, or sufficient security given for the acceptance of, or payment for, such Stock." Nevertheless, Charles Stanhope, one of the accused, was cleared by a majority of three. The earl of Sunderland was exonerated by a larger majority; but he could not stand up against the popular odium, and resigned his post of first Commissioner of the Treasury. Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was expelled the House, and was sent to the Tower. James Craggs died of small pox, during the heat of this inquiry. His father, the Postmaster-General, destroyed himself by poison.

* See the Petitions in "Parliamentary History," vol. vii. col. 761 to col. 797.
† Wright—"England under the House of Hanover," vol. i. p. 79.

The charges against the Directors were founded upon their practice of "selling their own Stock at high prices, at the same time that they gave orders for buying Stock upon account of the Company;" and upon their various contrivances "to give his majesty's subjects false notions of the value" of the South Sea Stock. Their punishment, under the Bill that was passed, was severe. Their estates, amounting to two millions sterling, were confiscated for the relief of the sufferers by their schemes. A small allowance was made to each; but they were disabled from ever holding any place, or for sitting in Parliament. Such visitations for their offences were thought far too lenient by the greater number of their contemporaries. They may now be considered excessive. Edward Gibbon has recorded his opinion of what he held to be the oppression endured by his grandfather, one of the Directors. "Of the use or abuse of the South Sea scheme, of the guilt or innocence of my grandfather and his brother directors, I am neither a competent nor a disinterested judge. Yet the equity of modern times must condemn the violent and arbitrary proceedings which would have disgraced the cause of justice, and would render injustice still more odious. No sooner had the nation awakened from its golden dream, than a popular and even a parliamentary clamour demanded their victims: but it was acknowledged on all sides, that the South Sea Directors, however guilty, could not be touched by any known laws of the land. The speech of lord Molesworth, the author of 'The State of Denmark,' may show the temper, or rather the intemperance, of the House of Commons. 'Extraordinary crimes (exclaimed that ardent Whig) call aloud for extraordinary remedies. The Roman lawgivers had not foreseen the possible existence of a parricide; but as soon as the first monster appeared, he was sewn in a sack, and cast headlong into the river; and I shall be content to inflict the same treatment on the authors of our present ruin.' His motion was not literally adopted; but a bill of pains and penalties was introduced, a retro-active statute, to punish the offences which did not exist at the time they were committed. Such a pernicious violation of liberty and law can be excused only by the most imperious necessity; nor could it be defended on this occasion by the plea of impending danger or useful example." *

During a debate in the Lords upon the conduct of the South Sea Directors, the duke of Wharton, as profligate as he was able, made a furious attack upon Stanhope, comparing him to Sejanus. The anger to which the earl was moved produced a rush of blood to his head. A temporary relief by cupping was obtained; but the next day the skilful and honest Secretary of State suddenly expired. No suspicion of improper connection with the South Sea scheme had affected his honour. Lord Townshend again became Secretary of State. With Walpole, Chancellor of the Exchequer, salutary measures were pursued to restore confidence. The South Sea Company were relieved from certain engagements to make advances to the government; and the credit of their bonds was sustained at its just value.

The Session of 1722 was a busy Session. Questions more important than those connected with party interests were discussed. An Act had been passed in the last Session—under the apprehension of the plague, which was raging in France—for the building of pest-houses, to which infected persons,

* "Memoirs of Edward Gibbon."

and even the healthy of an infected family, were to be removed; and lines were to be drawn round any infected town or city. Earl Cowper, the ex-chancellor, a man of liberal and enlightened views, moved for the repeal of these powers, as unknown to our constitution, and inconsistent with the lenity of our free government. But his motion was rejected. "The people called Quakers" had presented a petition, complaining that, under their present form of affirmation, they were unable to answer in courts of equity, take probates of wills, prove debts on commissions of bankruptcy, take up their freedoms, and be admitted to poll at elections for their freeholds. Upon a debate in the Lords, Atterbury, the bishop of Rochester, spoke against indulgences "to be allowed to a set of people who were hardly Christians." The London clergy petitioned against a Bill for their relief, contending that, however the Quakers might be injured in their private affairs, "an oath was instituted by God himself as the surest bond of fidelity amongst men," and that any relaxation of that principle would only tend to multiply a sect "who renounce the divine institution of Christ, particularly that by which the faithful are initiated into his religion." The Bill for the relief of the Quakers was passed, in spite of the hard terms in which they had been assailed. The Session was prorogued to the 15th of March; and it was previously dissolved, under the provisions of the Septennial Act. During the prorogation, the earl of Sunderland died; and his father-in-law, the great duke of Marlborough, terminated his chequered career of political time-serving and of military glory. When he was borne to Westminster Abbey, with funereal pomp proportioned to his great achievements, we may believe that there were few who did not feel that his wonderful services to his country ought in some degree to obliterate the memory of the infirmities of an ambitious and selfish nature—the failings which have prevented him taking his place in history as one of the grandest of England's sons.

In 1720, the wife of James Edward carried forward the aspirations of the House of Stuart into another generation, by giving birth to a son. Atterbury, the most uncompromising of partizans, considered this "the most acceptable news which can reach the ears of a good Englishman." Charles Edward Louis Casimir, whose royal descent was put beyond suspicion by the presence of seven cardinals in the chamber of the princess, was destined even in his cradle to give the signal for conspiracies and possible insurrections. The duke of Ormond was again to lead foreign forces to the invasion of Britain. The Jacobites in England, amongst whom there were five earls, and the undaunted bishop of Rochester, were to get possession of the Tower, seize all the deposits of public treasure, and to proclaim James III. The delusions of these men are to be pitied. They were enthusiasts. They looked upon the fallen House of Stuart through a haze of sentiment; and saw in Charles I. and James II., only the images of legitimate kings, murdered and deposed by their wicked and rebellious subjects; and in the exiled descendants of these kings only princes who had an absolute right to eject the unlawful possessors of their crowns. The nation—the people—were, in their view, but men born to obey, in whose obedience there could be no discretion. They saw, moreover, in a dominant Church, that supreme authority over the consciences of Christian believers which would admit of no scruples as to doctrine or ceremonials. Dissent was simply heresy and

schism. A judicious, and in many respects impartial, historian, ascribes what he calls "the second growth of Jacobitism" to the publication in the reign of Anne of Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion." Atterbury was one of its editors. The "gray discrowned head" of Charles; the exile and the restoration of his son—these were the stirring recollections that made the remnant of the old Cavaliers, now bearing the somewhat less glorious name of Tories, turn to the first Charles's grandson "pining in a distant land, under circumstances not far unlike to those of Charles Stuart in France."* We may reasonably doubt whether so clever a man as Atterbury had not read other histories besides those of Clarendon; whether he could only see the popular gladness of the Restoration, and not direct one thought to the degradation of the monarchy, to the struggles to make his countrymen slaves and Papists, which followed the Restoration. Yet some men do read history in the way which is held to have produced "the second birth of Jacobitism," and Atterbury might have been of the number.

The departure of the king, in the summer of 1722, upon his usual visit to his German dominions, was to be the signal for an invasion of England by the Pretender and his faithful Ormond. Disbanded troops of various countries were being collected together for this enterprise. The managers of the plot had the supreme folly to apply to the Regent of France for the aid of five thousand men; and the Regent, having more respect for Treaties than Louis XIV., informed the British minister at Paris of the application. The vigilant Walpole was soon acquainted with the plan of action and the names of the actors. The king was advised not to go to Hanover; a camp was formed in Hyde Park; and some of the conspirators—two non-juring clergymen, two Irish priests, a young barrister, and two lords—were apprehended. After a delay of three months, the bishop of Rochester was arrested, and, after examination before the Council, was sent to the Tower. For nearly thirty years had Francis Atterbury been known as the keenest of controversialists, as well as the most impressive of preachers. From the beginning of the century he had been considered as the leader of the High-church party; the great asserter of the independence of Convocation. Gradually he had become identified with the most extreme principles of passive obedience; was the prompter of Sacheverel in his defence in 1710; was recognised as having earned a bishopric when Harley came into power; and had, upon the death of queen Anne, taken a very decided part in his hostility to the Hanoverian succession. His arrest in August 1722 produced the most violent ferment amongst his church party. The episcopal order, it was proclaimed, was outraged. Atterbury was prayed for in the London churches. Atterbury was represented, in a print intended to move the popular sympathy, as standing behind his prison-bars, gazing upon a portrait of Laud. The plot, it was maintained, was a base fiction. The new Parliament met in October; and the king, in his speech on the 11th, announced the discovery of a dangerous conspiracy, and the arrest of some of the conspirators. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended for a whole year; and the consent of the House of Peers was desired to sanction the detention in the Tower of the bishop of Rochester, lord North and Grey, and the earl of Orrery. A foolish

* Lord Mahon—"History," vol. ii. p. 51.

Declaration, signed "James Rex," had been issued on the 22nd of September, in which James III., king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, proposed that George should quietly deliver to him the throne of those kingdoms; when he, king James, would bestow upon George the title of king in his native dominions, and invite all other States to confirm it. Moreover, the British crown should be confirmed to the penitent usurper, if ever he should attain it in the due course of legitimate succession. This wonderful production was ordered by Parliament to be burnt by the common hangman, as "a false, insolent, and traitorous libel." On the 1st of March, 1723, a Committee of the Commons made a report of their examinations into the evidence of the conspiracy. It is a document of great length. It involved other eminent persons besides those who had been arrested. Christopher Layer, the barrister, had been previously tried and condemned in the King's Bench. He was the only person who suffered capital punishment. Bills of pains and penalties were passed against the two Irish priests. The most important person amongst the accused, the bishop of Rochester, was also proceeded against by Bill, enacting his punishment and deprivation. This Bill passed the Commons without a division. Atterbury declined making a defence before the Lower House; but on the 6th of May he stood at the bar of the House of Lords; and after the evidence against him had been gone through he defended himself with great ingenuity and eloquence.

The debate amongst the Peers on the question that the Bill do pass was remarkable for the constitutional opposition of lord Cowper, the ex-chancellor. He said, "My Lords, this Bill carries in the frame of it an invincible objection to it; for the preamble and the enacting part, the crime and the punishment, bear no proportion to each other. The preamble contains a charge of high treason against the bishop; and pray, my lords, why should he not be punished accordingly . . . . What reason can be given why the bishop should not be punished, at least equal with others, in case of high treason? Why truly, the want of legal evidence is the only reason pretended. . . . To palliate the matter a little, a distinction is endeavoured to be made between legal evidence and real evidence, or between such evidence as our law requires, and such as in natural justice and equity ought to be admitted. But, my Lords, this is a distinction entirely without a difference; for what is evidence of a fact before any judicature whatsoever, but such testimony as the nature of the case requires, to induce a moral certainty of the truth of the thing testified? . . . . The wisdom and goodness of our law appear in nothing more remarkably, than in the perspicuity, certainty, and clearness of the evidence it requires to fix a crime upon any man, whereby his life, his liberty, or his property may be concerned: Hereon we glory and pride ourselves, and are justly the envy of all our neighbour nations. Our law, in such cases, requires evidence so clear and convincing, that every bystander, the instant he hears it, must be fully satisfied of the truth of it. It admits of no surmises, innuendos, forced consequences, or harsh constructions, nor anything else to be offered as evidence but what is real and substantial, according to the rules of natural justice and equity." These arguments of a great legal authority have a lasting importance far beyond the immediate question of Atterbury's guilt or innocence. The Bill of pains and penalties was a mischievous precedent, "open to the same objection as the attainder of

Sir John Fenwick—the danger of setting aside those precious securities against a wicked government which the law of treason has furnished."* The possible guilt of the offender does not justify an irregular and arbitrary mode of dealing with his offence. It might be merciful in the government thus to proceed against the bishop in a mode which did not affect his life; but that mode was more probably the only way in which they could secure a conviction at all. The connection of Atterbury with the exiled family, before his banishment, has been abundantly proved by other evidence than that within the reach of his accusers and judges. The Bill against him was passed by a majority of forty peers; most of the bishops voting against him—possibly with some higher motive than that imputed to them in the sarcasm of lord Bathurst, of believing, as the wild Indians believed, that they would inherit the abilities as well as the spoils of any great enemy whom they slew. The estate of Atterbury was not forfeited by his attainder. He embarked for France in June, 1723; and died at Paris in 1732.

In 1724, through the ordinary course of ministerial rivalries and jealousies, the accomplished lord Carteret was removed from the office of Secretary of State, which he held in conjunction with lord Townshend, and the same course was pursued towards him, as towards Townshend himself in 1716. Carteret was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—a post considered of far less anxious responsibility than that of Secretary of State. During his lord-lieutenancy Ireland became no bed of roses. Amongst the many real wrongs which Ireland has borne, and the not less numerous imaginary grievances of which she has complained, in her connection with England, there is probably no example of a national ferment so wholly disproportionate to the extent of the injury, as that of Wood's patent for a coinage of copper farthings and halfpence. No one can doubt that when a nation is in almost utter want of money of the lowest denomination, the extortions practised upon the humblest classes must be considerable. Ireland was so completely without a currency to conduct the smaller operations of trade, that labourers were paid by cards bearing the seals and signatures of their employers. In all such cases of a questionable or a depreciated currency, it is the poor man who has to bear the largest amount of trouble or loss. In 1722, a patent was granted to William Wood, a proprietor and renter of iron and copper mines in England, to enable him to coin farthings and halfpence for Ireland to the value of £108,000. There is no doubt that the patentee was to make a profit, for the duchess of Kendal had been bribed to promote the grant of the patent. But Walpole and his subordinates took every reasonable measure of precaution that the coinage should not become an opportunity for fraud or excessive gain. Sir Isaac Newton, as Master of the Mint, approved the terms of the contract; and when the coins were in circulation, and it was seen that discontent was assiduously stirred up, an assay was made by the officers of the Mint, and it was declared that in weight and fineness of metal the pieces were satisfactory. The difference of exchange between England and Ireland had been thought a satisfactory reason for a slight diminution in weight of the copper currency for Ireland.

The Irish parliament, moved in some degree by the apparent neglect of

* Hallam—"Constitutional History," chap. xvi.

this exercise of the royal prerogative, without consulting the Irish Privy Council, voted an address to the king, that the terms of the patent would occasion a loss to the nation of 150 per cent. Walpole was astonished, as he well might be, at this impudent declaration of a legislative body. He examined the matter carefully; and perceived that the assertion was founded upon a computation that the rough Irish copper was worth twelvepence a pound, and that a pound of halfpence and farthings coined out of fine copper were to pass for thirty pence. He found that the Mint of London paid eighteenpence per lb. for prepared copper; that the charge of coinage was fourpence per lb.; and that the duties and allowances upon copper imported into Ireland amounted to 20 per cent. A Committee of the English Privy Council went into a searching examination of the whole affair; and fully justified the patentee from any charge of having abused the fair terms of his patent. It was, however, conceded that the amount of farthings and halfpence issued should not exceed £40,000 in value; and that this money should not be a legal tender for a larger sum than fivepence halfpenny in one payment.

Under these circumstances, in 1724, a Letter was published by M. B. Drapier, addressed "to the tradesmen, shopkeepers, and country people in general, of the kingdom of Ireland, concerning the Brass Halfpence coined by one William Wood, hardwareman," which Letter thus solemnly opens: "What I intend now to say to you is, next to your duty to God and the care of your salvation, of the greatest concern to yourselves and your children: your bread and clothing, and every common necessary of life, entirely depend upon it." The writer, as every one guessed, was the famous Dean of St. Patrick's; and certainly no pen was so able as that wielded by Jonathan Swift, to raise a popular clamour by the most skilful treatment of his subject; and, what was perhaps as much to the purpose, by the most unscrupulous assertions. In England the Drapier said, halfpence and farthings pass for little more than they are worth; if you were to beat them to pieces and sell them to the brazier, you would not lose much more than a penny in a shilling. But Mr. Wood made his halfpence of such base metal and so much smaller than the English ones, that the brazier would hardly give you above a penny of good money for a shilling of his; so that the sum of £108,000 in good gold and silver must be given for trash that will not be worth eight or nine thousand pounds real value." The Irish parliament falsely asserted that the depreciation amounted to 150 per cent. The more mendacious demagogue asserted that the depreciation amounted to 1100 per cent. "For example, if a hatter sells a dozen of hats for 5*s.* a-piece, which amounts to £3, and receives the payment in Wood's coin, he really receives only the value of 5*s.*" Throughout the whole of the Drapier's Letters, Swift's argument rests upon the most solid basis of political economy; but his premises are utterly false. He knew well what England and Ireland had suffered by the depreciation of the coin. This bold opponent of the government which had delivered his country from despotism, says, "I intend to truck with my neighbours, the butchers and bakers and the rest, goods for goods; and the little gold and silver I have I will keep by me, like my heart's blood, till better times, or until I am just ready to starve; and then I will buy Mr. Wood's money, as my father did the brass money in king James' time, who could

buy £10 of it for a guinea." Against such logic as this what could simple truth avail? The Irish went mad about Wood's halfpence. The mischievous Dean not only stirred the nation up with Drapier's Letters, but with songs that were sung in every street. Wood was to be scalded in his own melted copper. He was to be hanged:

> "The halfpence are coming, the nation's undoing;
> There's an end of your ploughing, and baking, and brewing;
> In short, you must all go to rack and ruin."

When Carteret came over, he found the Irish people in a state of frenzy. He tried what are called strong measures. He offered a reward of £300 for discovering the author of the Drapier's Letters. He prosecuted their printer. The grand jury threw out the bill; and another grand jury made a presentment, setting forth, that "several quantities of base metal coined, commonly called Wood's Halfpence, have been brought into the port of Dublin, and lodged in several houses in this city, with an intention to make them pass clandestinely;" and that "having entirely his majesty's interest and the welfare of our country, and being thoroughly sensible of the great discouragements which trade hath suffered by the apprehensions of the said coin, whereof we have already felt the dismal effects; and that the currency thereof will inevitably tend to the great diminution of his majesty's revenue, and the ruin of us and our posterity, do present all such persons as have attempted or shall endeavour by fraud or otherwise, to impose the said halfpence upon us, contrary to his majesty's most gracious intention, as enemies to his majesty's government, and to the safety, peace, and welfare of all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom." It was in vain that the government attempted to stand up against this storm. The grand jury said, "we do, with all great gratitude, acknowledge the services of all such patriots as have been eminently zealous for the interest of his majesty and this country, in detecting the fraudulent imposition of the said Wood, and preventing the passing of his base coin." Swift wrote this eulogy upon his own patriotism. He had beaten the government of king George. The patent was withdrawn. It was believed by the few who knew how baseless were the exaggerated complaints of Wood's Halfpence, that the Drapier had asserted the independence of Ireland. The multitude believed whatever he had predicted of national ruin. This victory was in some respects the triumph of genius; but it must not be forgotten,

Wood's Irish Halfpennies.

that if the genius manifested in the Drapier's Letters could lead one admirer of Swift to regard them as the most perfect examples of oratory since the

days of Demosthenes,* a calmer view of the limits to which genius ought to be confined by honesty, would lead us to say, that out of the four names which the great partizan chose to bear,

"Dean, Drapier, Bickerstaff, or Gulliver,"

that of Drapier ought to be as odious to those who justly estimate the duty of a public writer, as that filth in which Swift delighted to wallow,—more his own filth than the filth of his age.

Walpole restored Ireland to quietness by cancelling Wood's Patent. He had the rare wisdom of yielding even to popular prejudice, when perseverance was clearly more perilous than concession. With Walpole such a course may be regarded as prudence. With a less skilful and powerful administrator it would have been weakness. In 1725 Scotland was also firing-up upon a domestic question. The House of Commons, in opposition to the opinion of Walpole, had determined that the Malt Duty, which had been constantly evaded in Scotland, should be merged in a duty of threepence on every barrel of ale. The duty was to come into operation on the 23rd of June. On that day there was considerable restlessness amongst the population of Glasgow. Daniel Campbell, the member of Parliament for Glasgow—one of the class which had been raised to opulence by the commercial freedom which the Union opened—was considered by the populace to have supported the government in devising the ale duty. Campbell's house was attacked at midnight, and destroyed. Military force was called in; and the next day, the soldiers being beset by the mob in their guard-house, the people were fired upon, and several were killed and wounded. General Wade, whose troops had been employed in the most useful service of constructing the great military roads of the Highlands, marched into Glasgow, and effectually quelled the riot. At Edinburgh, the resistance to the tax took another form. The brewers refused to brew. The Scotch lawyers talked of prosecution and imprisonment. The wiser Secretary for Scotland indeed threatened; but he saw that such a combination would break down of itself. The brewers had a meeting, and resolved to put the question "Brew or not?" One man said he would not be bound by a majority, and voted "brew." The assembly broke up; and all the brew-houses of Edinburgh were at work that night. Walpole wrote to lord Townshend in September, "I think we have once more got Ireland and Scotland quiet, if we take care to keep them so."

In 1725 England presented the miserable spectacle which she had witnessed in the reign of James I.,—a Lord Chancellor impeached for malversation in his great office. Thomas Parker was a very different man from Francis Bacon; and the offences of which the earl of Macclesfield was accused were of another character than those which were the ruin of the viscount St. Alban's. The Chancellor of king James was disgraced upon the charge of having received bribes from suitors. The Chancellor of king George was impeached, found guilty, excluded for ever from office, and fined thirty thousand pounds, upon the charges of selling Masterships in the Court of Chancery, and of conniving at the frauds of the Masters in trafficking with the trust-money of the suitors, and the estates of widows and orphans. Lord Campbell, in controverting a disposition in some writers of recent times to

* Isaac Hawkins Browne.

consider that lord Macclesfield was unjustly condemned, holds that "his conviction was lawful and his punishment was mild."*

The foreign policy of George I., under the able administration of Walpole, had become decidedly pacific. The nation was manifestly prospering under the relief which peace had brought. The fear of the Pretender, and of Spanish or Swedish invasions, had passed away. The House of Brunswick, after ten years of struggle, was firmly fixed on its constitutional throne. Yet there were still threatenings of war. The Congress of Cambrai, to which the difficulties that had not been finally settled by the peace of 1720 had been referred, had been wearily discussing certain royal claims and disputes—"baling out water with sieves"—for four or five years. The regent Orleans had died during these tedious protocollings, in 1723. Louis XV., declared of age, had taken the government of France into his own hands, with the duke de Bourbon as his minister. The alliance of France with England continued uninterrupted. But the emperor Charles, and the king of Spain, Philip, were coming to a closer understanding about territorial arrangements than England, France, and Russia thought safe. Philip of Spain was a mere shadow in the management of these affairs. His queen was the restless agitator; and Elizabeth had found a most active successor to Alberoni in the duke de Ripperda—a Dutch adventurer, who found it as easy to change from Protestantism to Catholicism, as he afterwards did to change from Catholicism to Mahometanism. Ripperda was sent upon a secret mission to Vienna, to accomplish, by a direct treaty between the two great rival powers, what the congress of Cambrai had been vainly hammering at for a time not to be borne by royal patience. The courts of France and Spain had, moreover, got into a very pretty quarrel in 1725. When Philip acceded to the Quadruple Alliance, his reluctance had been smoothed over by a plan for marrying the infanta of Spain to the youthful king of France; and also of marrying his son, Don Luis, to a daughter of the regent Orleans. The children were betrothed, after the then usual fashion of sovereigns. When Louis XV., though only fifteen years old, was held of age to govern, the Infanta was only eight years old. The duke de Bourbon, and probably the young king also, had no disposition to complete a marriage which so long postponed the prospect of succession. The Infanta was returned to Spain with little ceremony; and another queen of France was looked out for. The court of Madrid was of course in a fever of indignation. The national pride was wounded, as well as the royal honour. All Frenchmen were ordered to leave Spain. The Congress of Cambrai was at an end. Ripperda was to make any bargain with the emperor. As king George hesitated about taking part in the quarrel, the alliance of the courts of Madrid and Vienna was to be one of hostility to the courts of Versailles and St. James's. The Treaty of Vienna, in 1725, was ominous to the peace of Europe.

Looking back upon these affairs, they excite very small interest in our day; they pass over as the summer cloud "without our special wonder." It was fortunate that England and France had no desire for war. Cardinal Fleury had succeeded the duke de Bourbon as prime minister of Louis XV., and he and Walpole were not going to rush into hostilities. But they would

* "Lives of the Chancellors," vol. iv. p. 555.

take measures of precaution. The Treaty of Hanover bound England, France, and Prussia—the date, September 3, 1725—in an engagement to hold by each other, if either were attacked. The tables were turned since the War of the Succession. The old foes were fast friends, and the old friends bitter foes; and all these changes took place, as in private friendship, for "some trick not worth an egg." War seemed imminent, however pacifically disposed were Fleury and George. When the English Parliament met on the 20th of January, 1726, the king announced the conclusion of his defensive treaties with the Most Christian king and the king of Prussia, to which several of the powers had been invited to accede. There was some opposition to the Address approving the Treaty; but the government majority was very large. Some change might have been expected in the policy of Spain, by the fall of Ripperda, who was dismissed from his employments, and, apprehensive of royal or popular resentments, had taken refuge in the house of the English minister. He was accused of having exaggerated the desire of Austria for so intimate an alliance with Spain, as would have warranted an offensive league between them. Ripperda was dragged from Mr. Stanhope's apartments and sent to prison. The rights of ambassadors were considered to have been violated, and the remonstrances of the English government embittered the disputes between the two countries. They were more embittered by the revelations that Ripperda made to Stanhope, in revenge for his disgrace, and in gratitude for the asylum that had been afforded him. He disclosed the secret articles of the Treaty of Vienna; and declared that its chief object was the extirpation of the Protestant religion.

Warlike movements were very soon organised in England. The czar Peter was dead. The czarina Catherine I., had prepared a fleet for co-operation with Austria and Spain. Admiral Wager sailed to the Baltic with an English fleet; and the politics of Russia became more pacific. A squadron under admiral Hosier blockaded Porto Bello,—an unfortunate enterprise, for the brave admiral and a large number of his fleet's crews perished of yellow fever in the Spanish Main. If this activity was not war, it was very like war. In the Parliament which met in January, 1727, the king announced that he had received information upon which he could wholly depend, that one of the secret articles of the Treaty of Vienna was an agreement to place the Pretender upon the throne of Britain. The Parliament instantly voted a large increase of the army and navy. The emperor was advised by Palm, his minister at London, to disavow such a secret agreement. The indiscreet resident addressed a memorial to the king, a translation of which was printed and published; in which the secret articles were disavowed, and the royal word was spoken of with disrespect. The two Houses were indignant at "the insolence" of the imperial minister in dispersing his memorial through the kingdom; declaring "their utmost abhorrence of this audacious manner of appealing to the people against his majesty." Palm was commanded immediately to leave England. Spain was assembling an army for the siege of Gibraltar, under the command of the conde de Las Torres; who boasted that in six weeks he would drive the heretics into the sea. On the 11th of February the siege was commenced. English men-of-war in the harbour secured a constant supply of provisions for the garrison

from the coast of Africa. Lord Portmore—one of the men whose energy age appears unable to cripple—hastened from England, in his eightieth year, to defend the fortress of which he was the governor. For four months the Spaniards ineffectually fired upon the rock, and then they raised the siege.

On the 15th of May, 1727, king George closed the Session of Parliament preparatory to his departure for Hanover. He adverted to the attack upon Gibraltar. He had suspended, he said, his resentments under such provocation; and instead of having immediate recourse to arms, and demanding that assistance of his allies which they had engaged, and were ready, to give, he had concurred with France and the States-General in making overtures of accommodation. Sweden had acceded to the Treaty of Hanover; and a Convention had been signed by Denmark. The overtures of accommodation, thus mentioned, had been successful. The Austrian ambassador signed, on the 31st of May, preliminaries of peace with England, France, and Holland. Spain remained alone; neither prepared for war, nor acceding to the conditions of peace. At this juncture the power of Walpole seemed to be somewhat endangered. Bolingbroke,—who had been allowed by the intervention of Walpole to return to England; who was about to embark at Calais at the close of his exile, when Atterbury landed there a banished man; who had been restored to his estates by Act of Parliament in 1725,—was intriguing to reach once more the possession of power under George which he had obtained under Anne. He had secured, by bribes and protestations, the favour of the duchess of Kendal, the mistress, or according to some, the left-handed wife of the Hanoverian king. The duchess presented to her royal admirer a memorial from Bolingbroke, in which he denounced Walpole as the author of every public evil. The king put this paper into the hands of Walpole, with his usual straightforward mode of action. The ambitious statesman therein requested an interview with his sovereign. George was indisposed to grant this meeting. Walpole earnestly pressed it, with his never-failing sagacity; for, as he himself said, "if this was not done, the clamour would be, that I kept his majesty to myself, and would allow none to come near him to tell the truth." George told his minister that Bolingbroke's complaints and representations were "bagatelles." The king set out for Hanover on the 3rd of June, accompanied by the duchess of Kendal and lord Townshend. The unhappy wife of George had died on the 13th of November, 1726; after many schemes of escape. The king landed on the 7th at Vaert, in Holland. On the 8th he proceeded on his journey, leaving the duchess of Kendal on the Dutch frontier. On the 9th, he slept at Delden; and was again in his coach at four o'clock in the morning of the 10th, accompanied by two official persons of the court of Hanover. In the forenoon of that day he was struck by apoplexy. He refused to stop at Ippenburen, as his attendants wished. His hands fell; his eyes were heavy; but his will was strong. "Osnabruck! Osnabruck!" he exclaimed. His one surviving brother, the prince bishop, had his palace at Osnabruck. The king's voice grew fainter. He murmured in his death-sleep, "C'est fait de moi" (All is over with me). All was over. When the bishop was roused by the gallop of horses in his court-yard at midnight, George, king of Great Britain, and elector of Hanover, was dead. He was buried at Hanover.

GEORGE III

QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

Crown. (There is no perfect example of the Great Seal.)

CHAPTER IV.

Accession of George II.—Walpole confirmed in power—Frederick, the heir-apparent—Course of foreign policy—The Stuarts—Arrival in England of prince Frederick—Townshend leaves office—What is History?—The Dissenters—Inquiry into the state of the Gaols—Law proceedings in English—Party Quarrels and Libels—Parliamentary Opposition—The Salt-tax—The Excise Scheme—Wars in Europe—Neutrality of Great Britain—Motion for the Repeal of the Septennial Act—Wyndham's character of Walpole—Walpole's character of Bolingbroke—Bolingbroke quits England.

Sir Robert Walpole is seated at dinner in his villa at Chelsea on the 14th of June, 1727. An express arrives from lord Townshend, who has accompanied George I. to the Continent as Secretary of State. The king is dead. The First Commissioner of the Treasury is instantly in the saddle on his road to Richmond, where the prince of Wales is staying. The prince of Wales has dined and is asleep in his bed-chamber, the princess sitting by his side. Sir Robert Walpole must see the prince immediately. At that moment the great minister probably regarded his tenure of power as more uncertain than when the duchess of Kendal was intriguing with Bolingbroke against him. The prince looked upon his father's chief adviser with suspicion and resentment. "I am come to acquaint your Majesty with the death of your father," was Walpole's hasty communication. He then asked certain questions about the king's pleasure as to the Council being summoned, and as to other necessary formalities. "Go to Chiswick, and take your directions from sir Spencer Compton," was the uncourteous reply.* Sir Spencer Compton was Treasurer to the prince of Wales. He was Speaker of the House of Commons and Paymaster to the Army—"a plodding heavy fellow, with great application but no talents," says lord Hervey. Walpole told Compton it was clear that the king meant him for his minister. Walpole professed that he had no desire of power for himself—a small office in the household would be sufficient to show that he was not disgraced. The minister expectant, who was "always more concerned for the manner and form in which a thing was to be

* "The Memoirs of John, Lord Hervey, from the Accession of George II. to the Death of queen Caroline," edited by Mr. Croker, and first published in 1848, have drawn aside the veil from many a courtly scene, although the mutilation of the MS. has left some enigmas yet unsolved.

done than about the propriety or expediency of the thing itself," was charmed with the moderation of the man who had been the ruler of England. He asked Walpole to make for him a draught of a speech to be delivered by the king to the Council, while he went to the king at Leicester House. When he returned, the speech was ready. Sir Spencer made a copy of it; and went back to Leicester House. One passage in the speech was objected to by the king; and sir Spencer, not seeing his way to alter it, requested sir Robert to see his Majesty and implore him to leave it as originally drawn. The shrewd Caroline of Anspach, who was the firm friend of Walpole—"a better judge than her husband of the capacities of the two men, and who had silently watched for a proper moment for overturning the new designations,—did not lose a moment in observing to the king how prejudicial it would be to his affairs to prefer a man in whose own judgment his predecessor was the fittest person to execute the office." * The next day, when the son-in-law of Walpole was displaced from his office of Master of the Robes, all thought the fall of the ministry was certain. The king had been known, in his father's time, to speak of Walpole as a rogue; of his brother, Horace, as a dirty buffoon; of Newcastle, as an impertinent fool; of Townshend as a choleric blockhead. But the king made no decided movement towards a new administration. The courtiers flocked around sir Spencer; they got out of the way of sir Robert. The Civil List was to be settled by Parliament in a fortnight. The Court moved to Kensington; "where the king," says Hervey, "by the audiences that were asked, and the offers that were made to him by the great men of all denominations, found himself set up at auction, and every one bidding for his favour at the expense of the public." Walpole outbid his rivals. He proposed in Parliament that the entire revenue of the Civil List should be settled on the king, being an increase of about 130,000*l.*; and that queen Caroline should receive a jointure of 100,000*l.* Not a voice was raised against the proposal, but that of Shippen. Walpole and his party continued in power. Compton was consoled with the Presidency of the Council, and a peerage. Horace Walpole, as well as lord Hervey, attributing the triumph of Walpole to the strong influence which the queen possessed over her husband, intimate that Walpole's political opponents, and even some of those who acted with him, thought that the prince's favourite mistress, Mrs. Howard (afterwards Lady Suffolk) would be the dispenser of court favours in the new reign. "Sir Robert's sagacity discerned that the power would be lodged with the wife, not with the mistress; and he not only devoted himself to the princess, but totally abstained from even visiting Mrs. Howard." †

Queen Caroline's jointure, and an addition of a hundred and thirty thousand pounds to the royal income, provoked only the remonstrance of Shippen. He did not even find a seconder to his amendment. The time was not yet ripe for agitating the question of a distinct provision for the eldest son of the king, independent of any allowance the Crown might bestow upon him. Frederick was about twenty years of age; was not a resident in England; and was not yet created Prince of Wales. The case of his father was different, when he was Prince of Wales. He was thirty-two years of age;

* Horace Walpole, "Reminiscences." † *Ibid.*

he came to England at the accession of George I.; and he lived here with his wife and daughters. Unhappily, both on the part of the father and the mother of Frederick, there was a deep rooted antipathy towards this eldest son —an unhappy circumstance which probably interfered with such an arrangement as would not have left him wholly dependent upon what lord Hervey

Queen Caroline. (From a Painting by Vanderbank.)

terms "the discretion and generosity of his father." George II. was not very discreet, and he was very far from generous. The unkingly passion of avarice was predominant in his most trivial disbursements. But this precise little man had one supreme royal virtue, that of an inflexible love of justice. Personal courage he signally possessed—it is an attribute of his race. He fought under Marlborough at Oudenarde in 1708. He headed the charge of his infantry at Dettingen in 1743. In queen Caroline, George, for ten years of his reign, had such an adviser and friend as few sovereigns have ever been blessed with. She possessed the rare wisdom—difficult even in private life, but far more difficult in the relations of a king and his consort—of governing her husband without appearing to govern. She never offered an opinion when any matter of state was discussed between the king and his ministers in her presence; but her opinion was ever certain to prevail. Queen Caroline and Robert Walpole perfectly understood the system under which the succession of the house of Brunswick became less and less assailable. Expediency was their great principle—let well enough alone—*quieta non movere*. Keep the nation as much as possible at peace with

its neighbours. Abstain from asserting any prerogative that might appear to interfere with parliamentary government. Secure a majority in parliament, even at the cost of pandering to the cupidity of the dishonest and time-serving. Surrender even what you know to be right, if the danger of popular clamour against a measure be greater than the good which it proposes to accomplish. These are not noble maxims of government; but they were not without their beneficial results upon a nation that had been disturbed by conflicting principles for nearly a century. The consequence of this policy was that there are fewer stirring events in the first fourteen years of the reign of George II. than in any period of like duration in our history. Happy is the family which is reared without any adventures to record beyond the "migrations from the blue bed to the brown." Happy the nation which has little to offer to the notice of the historian, during the period of half a generation, but its steady progress in the arts of industry; its growth of capital; its abundant provision of the funds for sustaining labour; its general contentment, which some silly outbreak of popular prejudice only renders more remarkable; its leisure to examine into social evils, which chiefly affect those masses of the people that politicians have been too apt to neglect, till they have become dangerous in their impatience of intolerable abuses.

The foreign policy of England had ceased to be perplexed with apprehensions of insurrection and invasion for restoring the Stuart family. At the accession of George II. there was a momentary hope amongst the Jacobites that something might be done. Atterbury, who had thrown off all disguise, described to James the spirit of caution and fear which possessed his friends "at home,"—how nothing could be expected of them without foreign assistance. The British and French governments were in entire accord. Spain, although still grumbling about Gibraltar, had consented to a peace. All unsettled questions with the Emperor and others were to be referred to a Congress at Soissons. Eighteen months were the Deputies at this Congress, pretending to debate about The Pragmatic Sanction,* and other nice points of diplomatic subtlety. "The cooks of the Plenipotentiaries," says lord Hervey, "had much more business there than their secretaries." The ministry of George became tired of a state of things which was neither peace nor war; and, when their patience was worn out by the never-ending discussions of Soissons, they, in conjunction with France and Holland, concluded the Peace of Seville with Spain, leaving the Emperor to fight his own battle. Some sixteen months later, by the Treaty of Vienna with Great Britain and Holland, there was obtained a guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, by which Charles, the Emperor, who had no sons, had provided that the succession to the hereditary estates of Austria should rest in the female line. Spain, shortly after, acceded to the Treaty. The disputes as to the Spanish Succession came to an end—"the problem with which creation had groaned for some twenty years past, finally accomplished better or worse."† During the twelve years in which England was at peace with all nations, the Pretender fell into a state of humiliation which compelled his supporters long to remain in hopeless apathy. There were always scheming priests and unprincipled adventurers about him, to tell him

* See Table of Treaties, *ante*, vol. v. p. 389. † Carlyle, "Friedrich II." vol. ii p. 68.

of some party-quarrel, or some popular discontent, in England and Scotland, as being propitious to his return. But no man of any mark or influence could now be induced to engage in a dangerous adventure for the cause of a man who was faithless and ungrateful—who had quarrelled with Bolingbroke and Atterbury, and had chosen his advisers from amongst the weakest and most bigoted of his adherents. James Edward's character was such as to alienate his warmest friends. The cause of the Stuarts they thought was utterly lost, unless the grandson of James II. should burst out in a more propitious day, to witch the world with a revival of the heroic attributes claimed for some of Scotland's ancient line of kings.

The year 1728 is chiefly noticeable for the arrival in England of Frederick, now styled duke of Edinburgh, but afterwards prince of Wales. In the Session of Parliament which commenced in January, 1729, the Commons congratulated the king upon this arrival—a congratulation which the king could have well dispensed with. At the debate upon the Address, the prince was present, "to satisfy a laudable curiosity with the manner of proceeding in the House of Commons." * The young heir to the crown was in a somewhat unhappy position—stinted of pecuniary means by his parsimonious father; brought up from his childhood to believe that he was to marry Wilhelmina, the pretty, clever, and accomplished princess of Prussia, as Friedrich, Crown Prince of Prussia, was to marry the English Princess Royal. This double-marriage project was always liable to wreck upon some political rock a-head, some petty quarrel or jealousy between the royal cousins —the fidgetty George, Elector of Hanover, and the fiery Friedrich Wilhelm, king of Prussia; a leaning to French and Spanish alliances on the English part —a clinging to German interests, represented by the Emperor, on the Prussian part. The prince of Wales, who had never seen his destined bride, professed to be madly enamoured of her. The princess rather affected indifference, although her mother was set upon the match, and her ladies saluted her as princess of Wales. An envoy is sent from England in 1730, to settle these nuptial projects at Berlin. Sir Charles Hotham is to insist upon the double marriage; the passionate Friedrich Wilhelm will hear only of one, at the present time. The prince of Wales writes to the envoy to get the affair finished—for he is desperately in love. Though there is much feasting, and immoderate libations, the affair will not get finished. Hotham goes back to England to report his ill success. In four years, Frederick, prince of Wales, has another wife provided for him; the clever Wilhelmina having in 1731 been compelled to marry the prince of Baireuth—a happier fate, probably, than that of keeping a petty Court as princess of Wales; the central point of opposition to the government of her husband's father.†

In 1730, lord Townshend and sir Robert Walpole quarrelled; and the quarrel ending in Townshend's resignation of office, Walpole became supreme in the administration. It is related by Coxe, under the date of 1729, that a personal scuffle took place between the two ministers. The famous quarrel scene of Peachem and Lockit in the "Beggar's Opera" has been held to have been derived from this unseemly exhibition; which lord Mahon considers to have occurred in 1730, just before Townshend's resignation. Mr. Croker

* "Historical Register." † See Carlyle, vol. ii. pp. 31, 147, 151.

has pointed out that, "as the 'Beggars' Opera' was played on the 29th of January, 1728, it is certain either that the date of the historians is an anachronism, or that Gay alluded to some earlier dispute, or that the story was made from the scene." * Lord Townshend did not conduct himself ungenerously towards his old friend and brother-in-law. He did not join the violent faction by which Walpole was assailed. He retired to the country; and by the encouragement which he gave to the turnip-husbandry, he led the way to that system of cultivation which enabled the agricultural production of England to keep pace with her growing population.

The same keen critic who notices the anachronism of the quarrel scene as caricatured by Gay, points out that "it is remarkable that Coxe [Life of Walpole] passes, in two lines, the period from May 1730, to January 1733, as wholly unmarked by any public event;" and that "lord Hervey's Memoirs make exactly the same leap."† We do not assume that history has nothing to record during this period. It is our duty to notice some matters as public events, which those who chiefly deal with the grand affairs called history—rivalries of ministers, intrigues for places and honours, wonderful adjustments of the balance of power—very frequently pass over. If we dilate somewhat upon topics that have more especial reference to the progress of "the people" in material prosperity and in good government, than we have found in the complexities of the Congress of Soissons, of the Peace of Seville, and of the Treaty of Vienna—topics perhaps more useful than a minute inquiry into the equivocal relations of George II. with lady Suffolk—we must be content to bear the reproach of a school that defines "the people" as "the lower orders." The "eminent hands" of the last century invariably denominated "the people" as "the mob;" and they have successors who divide society into "upper classes" created to govern, and "lower orders" sent into the world to obey.

The alleged leap of two years and a half in the 'Memoirs' of lord Hervey is not strictly correct. He notices, at considerable length, as occurring in the latter end of the summer of 1730, a design "projected among all the Dissenters of England to petition the Parliament in the next Session for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts." ‡ From lord Hervey's official position of vice-chamberlain to the king—which he attained in May 1730, when he left the opposition party of Pulteney, around which he had been hovering, to become the adherent of the minister whose power was now firmly established—he acquired an intimate acquaintance with the inner workings of the court life. The Dissenters represented their steady support of the government on Revolution principles—their unwavering adherence to the Protestant succession. Walpole could not deny their claims; but he knew the storm that would be raised if he gave them encouragement. The queen was persuaded to send for Hoadley, then bishop of Salisbury, to persuade him that "all times were not proper to do proper things,"—that the bringing forward such a measure as the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts would still further divide the already divided Whig party—that "as the clergy had hitherto been kept quiet by a promise of everything in their province remaining as it was, so consequently,

* Note in Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 117. † *Ibid.*
‡ "Memoirs," chap. vii. pp. 144 to 158.

when that promise was broken, it would set all the turbulent spirits and ill-humours of that body again afloat." Hoadley declared that as he had so often given his opinion as to "the unreasonableness of these laws in a social light, and the profaneness of them theologically considered," he must always support the repeal of them; but that he would nevertheless employ his interest among the Dissenters to divert "the immediate trying of this point." A report soon got abroad that the bishop had told the queen that the request of the Dissenters was so unreasonable that he could not give them his support. The bishop was indignant, and urged Walpole to allow him to hold out some promise of future relief to the Dissenters. Sir Robert was firm, and would give no such assurance. The adroit minister, whose power of management was ready to grapple with every difficulty, got the body of London Dissenters to choose a Committee. "As the honest gentlemen who composed that committee were all moneyed men of the city, and scriveners, who were absolutely dependent upon sir Robert, and chosen by his contrivance, they spoke only as he prompted, and acted only as he guided." They were induced to meet the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the two Secretaries of state, and sir Robert; and these great men convinced them that, as there was no prospect of success, the present was an improper time for any application to Parliament for their relief. The Committee reported their negociations to a general assembly of the London Dissenters especially convened; and that assembly adopted their convictions, and communicated them to all their brethren in England. "In this manner this storm that threatened the Administration from the Presbyterian party blew over." Looking at the manœuvre of Walpole, and the subserviency of his committee of Dissenters, we must not altogether forget that in 1727 and 1728 Acts of Indemnity had been passed in favour of those who had not duly qualified for office. In 1729 such an Act was intermitted; in 1730 it was renewed; in 1731 it was again intermitted. During the remainder of Walpole's administration this relief was regularly granted. With four other exceptions, in the reign of George II., the Indemnity was passed every year, till the repeal of the obnoxious laws in 1828.

The Parliamentary Records of 1729 and 1730 present us with three Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons "on the State of the Gaols of this Kingdom." These reports contain a minute exposure of as horrible a system of oppression and cruelty as probably ever existed in any civilised country. The inquiry was confined to the three London prisons for debtors—the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and the King's Bench. This exposure was one of the most important steps in the slow march of a just administration of the law—that step which at last arrives at the capacity to discriminate between the criminal and the unfortunate. It was the preparation for that onward progress which counts it wisdom, as well as mercy, not to drive the criminal out of the pale of humanity. To one man it was principally owing that these terrible abuses were dragged to light. Mr. Oglethorpe, afterwards general Oglethorpe—the philanthropist whose "strong benevolence of soul" is eulogised by Pope—the accomplished veteran whose life Johnson desired to write, and for whose earnest commendation of his "London," when he was friendless and unknown, Johnson was ever grateful—was Chairman of the Committee that penetrated into the dismal recesses of

the Fleet prison, personally to examine into the condition of the prisoners. The Fleet was an ancient prison, in which the illegal punishments of the Star Chamber had been administered without control. When that jurisdiction was abolished in the reign of Charles I. it became a prison for debtors, and for those committed for contempts by the Courts of Chancery, Exchequer, and Common Pleas. Although the statutes of the 22nd and 23rd of Charles II. vested the government of all prisons in the judges of the higher courts, and in justices of the peace, the Warden of the Fleet enjoyed a patent office, to be purchased by a large payment to some minister of the crown. John Huggins gave 5000*l.* to lord Clarendon for his patent; and John Huggins sold his patent for a like sum to Thomas Bambridge and Dougal Cuthbert, esquires. The committee of the House of Commons imputed the evil practices of this prison chiefly "to the venality of the warden's office." The worthy patentees had a tolerably profitable investment. By the payments of the prisoners for lodging, they made 811*l.* 4*s.* per annum; by the commitment and dismission fees, 766*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*; by liberty of rules, 1500*l.*; by chaplain's fees, which they farmed upon a small payment to the chaplain, 813*l.* 16*s.*; by rents of various premises, 740*l.*; making a total of 4632*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.* per annum. A system of fraud and extortion was laid bare by the inquiries of the Committee, which showed how impossible it was for any but the affluent prisoner to obtain the humblest lodging and the coarsest food. Those without money were handed over to "the common side;" too happy if disease, engendered by filth and starvation, soon released them from their miseries. Those prisoners who refused to bear their oppressions without remonstrance, were put in irons—were confined in damp and loathsome dungeons. The case of captain John Macpheadris, who had been a flourishing merchant till the South Sea year, when, being surety to the crown for a friend, he failed, is narrated in the Report of the Committee with a pathos rarely excelled by writers of fiction. Macpheadris furnished a room, but refusing to pay an extravagant price for it, and offering what was legally due, "Bambridge locked the prisoner out of his room, and forced him to lie in the open yard, called the Bare. He sat quietly under his wrongs, and getting some poor materials, built a little hut, to protect himself, as well as he could, from the injuries of the weather." Bambridge was disgusted at his "unconcernedness." He ordered his officers to pull down the little hut; he would put the culprit who dared to be "easy" into the Strong Room to-morrow. Through a rainy night the wretched man lay on the ground. But this was comfort compared to the Strong Room. Loaded with irons he continued for three weeks, without a bed, in that dungeon. The irons were so closely riveted that his torture nearly brought him to the point of death, and he became lame for life. The Report of this case thus concludes: "The prisoner, upon this usage, petitioned the judges; and after several meetings, and a full hearing, the judges reprimanded Mr. Huggins and Bambridge, and declared that a gaoler could not answer the ironing of a man before he was found guilty of a crime; but, it being out of term, they could not give the prisoner any relief or satisfaction." Instance upon instance of similar cruelties came before the Committee. Huggins and Bambridge, with four of their agents and accomplices, were ordered by the House of Commons to be committed to Newgate, and to be prosecuted by the attorney-general. A

bill was subsequently brought in to deprive Bambridge of his office. The inquiry into the prison of the Marshalsea disclosed similar enormities on the part of the keeper, who "hath arbitrarily and unlawfully loaded with irons, tortured, and destroyed, in the most cruel and barbarous manner, prisoners for debt under his care." Thumb-screws and iron skull-caps were here the received instruments of torture. But the horrors of "the common side" of the Marshalsea far exceeded those of the Fleet. Three hundred and thirty prisoners were crowded into a few narrow wards; forty or fifty being locked up, through the night, in a room not sixteen feet square. If they escaped the gaol distemper, famine destroyed them; for the prison allowance was insufficient to support life, and the donations of the charitable were intercepted by the scoundrels in authority. The Committee saw in the Women's Sick Ward many miserable objects lying, perishing with extreme want; and "in the Men's Sick Ward yet much worse." The prison of the King's Bench was found exempt from the most revolting of these abuses. The lord chief justice Raymond did not accept fees or presents from the marshal, and he did hear and redress the complaints of the prisoners.

Examination of the Warden of the Fleet. (From Hogarth's Picture)

In the Session of Parliament which commenced in January 1731, petitions were presented to the Commons from the magistracy of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire, complaining "That the obliging grand-jurymen at the sessions of the peace, to make their presentments in a language which few of them understood; and the suffering in any of the proceedings of the courts of

justice, or in any of the transactions of the law, whereby the person or property of the subject may be affected, the use of a language not intelligible, and of a character not legible, but by the learned in the law, were great occasions of the delay of justice, and gave room to most dangerous frauds." The ancient practice of using a corrupt Latin for written pleadings had been abolished, with many other legal abuses, in the time of the Commonwealth. When the Restoration gave back the Monarchy, with much of its inherent good and a considerable portion of its trappings of evil, it was held wise and reverential to restore the old law language. During five reigns the people had borne this mischievous absurdity. Lord Chancellor King, the son of an Exeter grocer—one of "the people"—saw the necessity of attending to the prayer of the Yorkshire petitions. He directed a Bill to be introduced in the House of Commons to enact "That all proceedings in courts of justice shall be in the English language." The Bill was passed, after some opposition, such as is always at hand to resist what is dreaded as "innovation." In the House of Lords, the judges, speaking through the Lord Chief Justice, were decidedly against the change—difficulties would arise in translating the law out of Latin into English; law-suits would be multiplied, in regard to the interpretation of English words. The duke of Argyle contended that our prayers were in our native tongue that they might be intelligible, and why should not the laws, wherein our lives and properties are concerned. The complaint came from "the people"—from magistrates, from jurymen. There never was a period in our history, even in the darkest times, in which the remonstrances of the middle classes against prescriptive abuses were not faithfully seconded by some of an aristocracy that did not stand, as a caste, apart from "the people." The Bill passed; and the Lords added a clause to provide that records and other documents should be written in a plain legible hand, such as that in which Acts of Parliament are engrossed. The tenacity with which some minds, even of a high order, cling to custom and precedent, is shown in the lament of Blackstone that the old Law Latin was disused. Lord Campbell adds, "I have heard the late lord Ellenborough, from the bench, regret the change, on the ground that it has had the tendency to make attorneys illiterate." There were two other complaints in the Yorkshire petitions which required the labour of a century to redress: "That Special Pleadings, by their intricacy and dilatoriness, rendered the prosecution of the rights of the subject difficult and expensive; that the Recovery of Small Debts, as the Law then stood, was impracticable."

The king, in opening the Fifth Session of Parliament in 1732, adverted to the foreign policy by which peace had been secured, and the consequent ease which his subjects enjoyed. "This happy situation of affairs, I promise myself, will inspire you all with such temper and unanimity, and such a seasonable zeal for the public good, as becomes a Parliament sensible of the great blessings they enjoy." It was not probable that the royal recommendation of temper and unanimity would have much influence upon the violent spirit of party. There was a strong opposition to the Address, in which Pulteney took the lead. The great opponent of Walpole was not likely to be in a placid mood. In the summer of 1731 his name had been struck out of the list of Privy-Councillors by the king's own hand, and he was removed from all commissions of the peace. At that period the war of pamphlets and

periodical works was conducted as fiercely by Bolingbroke and Pulteney as in the day when Swift headed the great battle against the Whigs. The organ of Walpole's bitter assailants was "The Craftsman." Pulteney had been visited with the anger of the Court, for publishing a private conversation between Walpole and himself, in which the king's minister had spoken very freely of his present master when prince of Wales. Neither of these rivals hesitated to violate the confidence of familiar intercourse in their party-quarrels. In the attacks upon Walpole the licence used was such as gentlemen of a later period would disdain to employ. The great minister was nicknamed "Sir Blue String"—"Sir Robert Brass"—"Iago." Caricatures, issuing from the "Craftsman's" publisher, set forth "Robin's Reign." He was "the harlequin of state"—Satan's minister. Franklin, the printer of the "Craftsman," was convicted of a libel. The mob huzzaed Pulteney, who had attended the trial. Never was such a season of quarrel and scandal. Lord Hervey and Pulteney fought a duel about an article in the "Craftsman," which is gone to the region of all worthless effusions of party-spite. Pope libelled lord Hervey, in a character which, for its brutal virulence, must ever be execrated, but which for its concentration of all the powers of satire will never be forgotten. As the supporter of Walpole in the House of Commons —as the confidential intimate of queen Caroline—Hervey is thus delineated:

> "Whether in florid impotence he speaks,
> And, as the prompter breathes, the puppet squeaks;
> Or, at the ear of Eve, familiar toad,
> Half froth, half venom, spits himself abroad,
> In puns, or politics, or tales, or lies,
> Or spite, or smut, or rhymes, or blasphemies." *

A pleasant world to live in, for statesmen and authors!

The parliamentary history of 1732, imperfectly as the debates are reported, give us some notion not altogether inadequate of the vigour which characterised a British House of Commons, at a period of a strong government encountered by a powerful opposition. To us, who have escaped some of the dangers to the constitution which were then predicted by those whom Walpole contemptuously termed "patriots and boys," denunciations such as those of Pulteney against Standing Armies may appear trite and juvenile. Nevertheless, we cannot but admire the spirit which called them forth, when we look around, even at this day, upon other states. "The nations around us," said Pulteney, "are already enslaved, and have been enslaved by those very means. By means of their standing armies they have every one lost their liberties." That is true now, as it was true then. But when he goes on to say that "it is impossible that the liberties of the people can be preserved, in any country where a numerous standing army is kept up," we ask, how has England preserved its liberties with a Standing Army? The answer is at hand. England never lost the safeguard of a free expression of public opinion. Vain were the attempts to prevent the publication of proceedings in Parliament. In 1729, Mr. Raikes, of Gloucester, was ordered to attend at the bar of the Commons, upon a complaint that he had printed speeches purporting to have been delivered in that House; and it was unanimously resolved, "that it is an indignity to, and a breach of the privileges of, this House, for any person

* "Prologue to the Satires."

to presume to give, in written or printed newspapers, any account or minutes of the debates, or other proceedings of this House, or of any Committee thereof; and that upon the discovery of the authors, printers, or publishers, this House will proceed against the offenders with the utmost severity." In 1738, William Pulteney, whose memory is of small historical value if disconnected with what we have learnt of his speeches in Parliament, was eager to join in that most solemn resolution against any publication of the debates, which compelled the use of fictitious names in "Debates in the Senate of Great Lilliput"—a device which Johnson made so famous in the "Gentleman's Magazine." The jealousy with which parliamentary privilege was guarded made even "patriots" insensible to the value of a power of influencing public opinion legitimately through the press, instead of by the publication of virulent personal attacks upon the party opposed to them. Pulteney dreaded that the publication of speeches in Parliament, even if they were not misrepresented, would look very like making members "accountable without doors for what they say within." The boldness of sir William Wyndham might have contributed to the eagerness of all parties to debate without publicity. "I don't know but what the people have a right to know what their representatives are doing," said the staunch old Tory.

The financial measures of Walpole,—although the sober judgment of later times does not condemn them in the unmeasured manner in which they were denounced by his contemporaries as arbitrary and unjust,—had in some cases more regard to the strengthening of his government than to the statesman's obligation to raise supplies in the manner least oppressive to the national industry. His great object was to propitiate the country-party. In 1732 he revived the Salt-Duty, which, only two years before, had been held to be injurious, and was abolished by Statute. In proposing the revival of a tax, which he contended was the most just because the most general, he made it perfectly understood that the tax to which the poorest labourer would contribute what was deemed a trifle, was to relieve the proprietors of estates from the necessity of paying a Land-tax of two shillings in the pound instead of one shilling. He calculated that if the population consisted of eight millions, and the sum of £230,250 were raised by a Salt-tax, it would not amount to sevenpence a head. There were men in the House of Commons who saw the fallacy of this argument—who told the minister that he was about to injure the agriculture and manufactures of the country by imposing a duty upon an article of essential importance in the operations of industry. Pulteney truly said, "If any of our neighbours can sell but one tenth part of a farthing in a yard cheaper than we can do, they will at last turn us entirely out of the business. This holds as to all our manufactures in general, but as to some particular manufactures, such as glass, leather, earthenware, it is still more grievous. I find it is granted by all, that the making use of salt is an improvement to land." We cannot be surprised that these arguments were of no avail in the days of George II. when we look back upon their fruitless repetition for nearly a century, during which period the importance of salt in the arts had increased a hundred fold. In what condition would be our manufacturing industry if Salt were now taxed as it was taxed in the reign of George IV.?

Walpole carried his revived Salt-duty by a majority of only thirty-eight.

The most popular argument against the government was that this measure was a step towards a General Excise. "Every Excise," said Pulteney, "is a General Excise, if the whole body of the people, the poor, the needy, the most wretched, are obliged to contribute thereto. * * * * If this be granted, and tamely submitted to by the people, it may be an encouragement to ambitious and wicked ministers in future times to proceed a step further, and lay another Excise upon some other commodity used by the generality of the people; that again will give encouragement to a third attempt, and so on; till at last the people of this country be subjected, as well as some of our neighbours, to a General Excise in the most extensive sense; that is, an Excise upon every person, and almost every thing, that can be converted to the use of man." Walpole certainly could not have calculated what would be the effect of such a cry as this, sent through the country, however imperfect the means of publicity. In the Session of Parliament which commenced in January 1733, such a storm was raised by the very name of Excise as went nigh to shake the monarchy to its foundations.

The first imposition of a tax known as Excise was by the Parliament after the commencement of the Civil War. Beer, ale, cyder, and perry were so taxed in 1645. The royalists raised money by a similar tax. These duties were continued at the Restoration, with additional imposts on the new luxuries of tea and coffee. In the reign of James II. there was a temporary excise upon wine, vinegar, tobacco, and sugar. In the reign of William, salt, malt, and distilled liquors were thus taxed. The Custom's duties on tobacco, tea, brandy, and wine, although very productive to the Revenue, were diminished by frauds of enormous magnitude. A Committee of the House of Commons reported, in 1732, that in the article of tobacco alone, the government was defrauded of one-third of the import duties, by perjury, forgery, and collusion. The smuggling of tea and brandy was conducted with such systematic violence by gangs of armed men, that from 1723 to 1732, two hundred and fifty custom-house officers had been beaten and abused, and six had been murdered. The prosecutions of persons concerned in the illicit trade had amounted to two thousand. The plan of Walpole had chiefly in view the prevention of these frauds and outrages. The Warehousing System upon goods imported was not then in existence. The merchant had to pay his duties at once at the custom-house upon the arrival of a cargo. Walpole proposed that the duties upon wine and tobacco should be inland duties;—that the imports should be warehoused, and removed from time to time by permit, upon due payment; that the retail dealers in the articles so taxed should come under the same excise laws. Before Walpole proposed his scheme an outcry was raised, in Parliament and out of Parliament, an outcry of which Johnson's celebrated definition of "Excise" is a faint echo: "A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged, not by common judges of property, but by wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid." On the 14th of March, Sir Robert brought forward his plan. He denied that he had ever intended a General Excise. The shameful frauds upon the revenue with reference to the duties on wine and tobacco, had induced him to propose that these duties should come under the laws of excise. The gross produce of the Customs upon tobacco was £750,000. The complicated frauds, such as arose out of drawbacks, reduced the net receipts to £160,000. By changing

the mode of collection, the revenue would be so increased that he should be able wholly to abolish the Land-tax. Such a proposal does not appear so tyrannical as to drive a people to madness. The actual duties were not to be increased by their collection as inland duties. Warehouses and shops were to be entered at the Inland Office, and were liable to be searched by the officers of revenue; but the officers of Customs possessed a like power of search. Yet Wyndham declared that "in all countries excises of every kind are looked upon as badges of slavery;" and he suggested the warning example of the "two noted ways-and-means men," Empson and Dudley, who administered to the insatiable desire for money of their master, Henry VII., but who met their reward when their master's son took off both their heads when he came to the throne. The allusion was palpable; for the prince of Wales sat under the gallery. Pulteney exclaimed that the inscription on sir Robert Walpole's tomb should be, "This is the man who would have enslaved his country by an Excise." Round the door of the House of Commons, an extraordinary concourse of people was assembled. Walpole intimated that such a multitude had been assembled by the influence of magnates of the city: "Gentlemen may give them what name they think fit; it may be said that they came hither as humble supplicants, but I know whom the law calls Sturdy Beggars." The imprudent phrase was never forgotten. It was bandied about that night in the lobby; and when sir Robert was leaving the house, after having carried his motion by a majority of sixty-one, he was roughly assailed, and was saved from injury by the interposition of Mr. Pelham.

For three weeks the Excise Bill was debated fiercely at every stage. The ministerial majority gradually dwindled. The ferment throughout the country, stimulated by pamphlets and ballads, alarmingly increased. Tindal, a looker on, says, "the public was so heated with papers and pamphlets that matters rose next to a rebellion." There were greater dangers to the government than ordinary riots, which appeared imminent. Lord Scarborough told the queen that he would answer for his regiment against the Pretender, but not against the opposers of the Excise. The same nobleman said to Walpole, two days before the day appointed for the second reading of the Bill, that "the soldiers had got a notion that it would raise the price of tobacco; and upon this notion were so universally set against the scheme, that they cursed the Administration and the Parliament, murmured treason even under the walls of the palace, and were almost as ripe for mutiny as the nation for rebellion." * Lord Hervey relates that sir Robert, when the clamour was at its height, told the king and queen that there was only one of two courses to be pursued,—either that the Bill should be dropped, or that the author of it should resign. The king and queen both assured their minister that they would never forsake him, and that they would stand or fall together. On the 10th of April the petition of the City was presented to the House of Commons, attended by the citizens in a train of coaches that reached from Temple-bar to Westminster. The petitioners prayed to be heard by Counsel against the Bill. Such a concession in the matter of a tax before the House was contrary to its rules and orders; yet the demand was rejected only by a

* Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 187.

majority of seventeen. Walpole felt that this was a defeat. "He stood some time after the House was up, leaning against the table with his hat pulled over his eyes, some few friends with melancholy countenances round him; whilst his enemies, with the gaiety of so many bridegrooms, seemed as just entering upon the enjoyment of what they had been so long pursuing."* After the debate sir Robert assembled about a dozen of his friends at supper. He told them, gaily, "This dance it will no farther go; and to-morrow I intend to sound a retreat." On the 11th Walpole proposed in the Commons that the second reading of the Bill should be deferred for two months. This was carried without a division. As sir Robert passed through the lobby this night, there was a serious scuffle between the multitude and the civil power; and the portly minister had a narrow escape from being trampled to death amidst friends and foes. Universal was the rejoicing at the defeat of the government-measure. Bonfires and illuminations lighted up every town. Cockades were worn, inscribed "Liberty, Property, and no Excise." The Court and the ministry were revenged upon some of the great household officers, whose connexions had voted against the measure, by dismissing the lukewarm friends from their employments. Colonels were deprived of their regiments for their obnoxious votes—a practice unjustifiable, but which was not laid aside even in the reign of George III. In the next Session, when the dealers in tea petitioned against the excise regulations of an Act of George I., and Pulteney suggested that "the wicked scheme of an honourable gentleman" might not yet be laid aside, Walpole thus replied: "As to the wicked scheme, as the gentleman is pleased to call it, which he would persuade gentlemen is not yet laid aside, I, for my own part, can assure this House, I am not so mad as ever again to engage in anything that looks like an Excise, though in my own private opinion I still think it was a scheme that would have tended very much to the interest of the nation."

The last Session of the Parliament chosen in 1727 was opened by the king on the 17th of January, 1734. The policy of a government anxious to maintain neutrality whilst other nations were at war, and at the same time to make it understood that a strong desire for peace was no symptom of national weakness, was never more emphatically expressed than in the words which Walpole put into the mouth of George II. A new quarrel had broken out in Europe upon the death, in 1733, of Augustus II., king of Poland. Austria and Russia advocated the succession of his son. France supported the election of Stanislaus, who had been king before Augustus. The war assumed a more general character, and revived some of the old disputes between France, Spain, and Austria. An army of French, Spaniards, and Sardinians overran Austria. Lombardy, Naples, and Sicily were invaded by Don Carlos, duke of Parma, the son of the queen of Spain; and the Austrians being unable to resist, he was crowned king of Naples and Sicily as Charles III. On the Rhine the war was conducted by prince Eugene, still vigorous, against Marshal Berwick. The son of James II. was killed at the siege of Philipsburg. The companion in arms of Marlborough held his ground in this campaign, and died two years after. Under the circumstances which we can only thus briefly indicate, the king of England wisely spoke

* Lord Hervey, vol. i. p. 195.

to his Parliament: "The war, which is now begun, and carried on against the Emperor, with so much vigour, by the united powers of France, Spain, and Sardinia, is become the object of the care and attention of all Europe; and though I am no ways engaged in it, and have had no part, except by my good offices, in those transactions, which have been declared to be the principal causes and motives of it, I cannot sit regardless of the present events, or be unconcerned for the future consequences, of a war, undertaken and supported by so powerful an alliance. * * * The resolutions of the British parliament, in so nice a juncture, are of too great moment not to be carefully attended to, and impatiently expected, by all, and not the least by those, who will hope to take advantage from your determinations, whatever they shall be, and to turn them to the prejudice of this kingdom. It must therefore be thought most safe and prudent, thoroughly to weigh and consider all circumstances before we come to a final determination. As I shall have, in all my considerations upon this great and important affair, the strictest regard to the honour of my crown, and to the good of my people, and be governed by no other views, I can make no doubt, but that I may entirely depend on the support and assistance of my parliament, without exposing myself, by any precipitate declarations, to such inconveniences, as ought, as far as possible, to be avoided. In the mean time, I am persuaded you will make such provisions as shall secure my kingdoms, rights, and possessions, from all dangers and insults, and maintain the respect due to the British nation. Whatever part it may, in the end, be most reasonable for us to act, it will, in all views, be necessary, when all Europe is preparing for arms, to put ourselves in a proper posture of defence."

The great merit of sir Robert Walpole, in resolutely maintaining the policy of neutrality, may be better appreciated from the circumstance that the king and queen were opposed to his pacific views. George used daily to tell his minister "that it was with the sword alone he desired to keep the balance of Europe. He could not bear the thought of growing old in peace, and rusting in the cabinet, whilst other princes were busied in war, and shining in the field."* The observant Vice-Chamberlain says that the queen, with all her good sense, was as unmanageable as the king. "Wherever the interest of Germany and the honour of the empire were concerned, her thoughts and reasonings were often as German and Imperial as if England had been out of the question."† The perseverance of Walpole had its reward. He was odious at Vienna; but before the end of the summer of 1734, George said to his minister, "I have followed your advice, Walpole, in keeping quiet, contrary often to my own opinion, and sometimes I have thought contrary even to my honour, but I am convinced you advised me well."‡ The king had discovered that overtures of friendship from all parties had been the result of the pacific policy of his minister; that as a possible mediator he was of more importance than as a rash belligerent. Walpole continuing firm in maintaining the neutrality of England, in conjunction with the States-General, the emperor sent an emissary to London, to intrigue with some members of the Opposition against the prime minister. Sir Robert detected the Austrian agent, and the Abbé Strickland, bishop of

* Lord Hervey, "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 3 † *Ibid.*, p. 373. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

Namur, was obliged to depart, although he had been graciously received at court. The pacific minister had an argument for the king and queen, which sounds like insular selfishness, but which insular common sense will always applaud: "There are fifty thousand men slain this year in Europe, and not one Englishman." Under the mediation of England and Holland, peace was concluded in 1735. By this pacification, France added Lorraine to her territory. This acquisition, it has been argued even of late years, "disturbed the balance of Europe to a degree that Europe never has recovered." We are told that "as a general question, it cannot be doubted that Austria is a natural ally of England, because France has been, and always must be, the most formidable enemy to both." *

The repeal of the Septennial Act was the great domestic question of this Session. The party that advocated a return to triennial parliaments would possess the superior popularity in the coming elections. No doubt many who now opposed the government upon this measure would be open to the charge of inconsistency; for "Whig patriots," especially Pulteney, had supported the Septennial Act of 1716. Bolingbroke, the arch enemy of Walpole, was at hand to combat every scruple of conscience, and induce the listeners to his sophistries to believe that political tergiversation was a virtue. The prime minister must be struck down, and for that purpose any weapon was lawful. In the debate upon this constitutional question, sir William Wyndham, the great Tory chief, made an attack upon Walpole, which Walpole treated as the inspiration of Bolingbroke. Over the parliamentary bitterness of adverse factions oblivion mercifully spreads her veil in most cases. But in this case, the portrait of Walpole drawn by Wyndham, and the portrait of Bolingbroke drawn by Walpole, are master-pieces of invective, which take us into the very heart of those days when the right honorable member in the blue ribbon had to endure the taunts of his adversaries with rare equanimity, or to turn upon them like a noble animal at bay, as he did upon this memorable occasion.

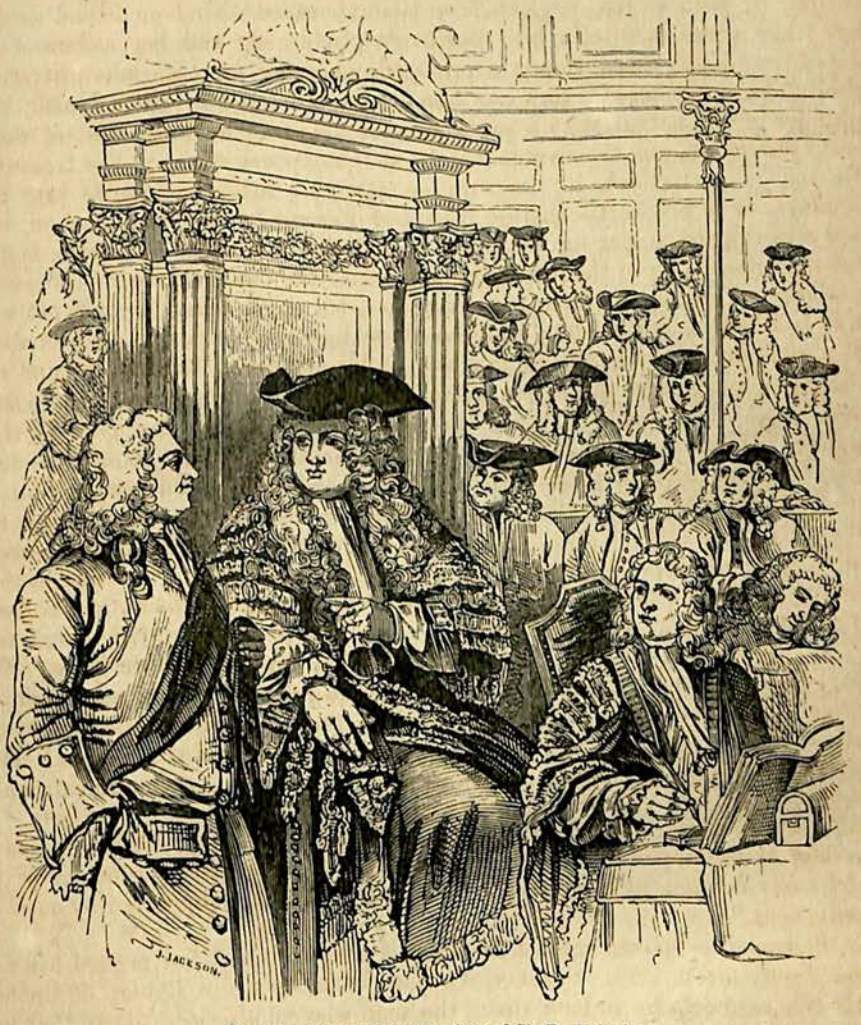
There has been a call of the House. The debate has been proceeding during several hours. Sir William Barnard, the Whig member for London, has spoken for the repeal with that strong sense which Walpole always acknowledged as more difficult for him to answer than the declamation of Pulteney, Lyttelton, or Pitt. Sir William Wyndham rises in reply to sir William Yonge. He goes through all the arguments against the Septennial Act with the adroitness of a ready debater. At the close of his speech he rises to a height of eloquence which scarcely belongs to his parliamentary character: "We have been told, sir, in this House, that no faith is to be given to prophecies, therefore I shall not pretend to prophesy; but I may *suppose* a case, which, though it has not yet happened, may possibly happen. Let us then suppose, sir, a man abandoned to all notions of virtue or honour, of no great family, and of but a mean fortune, raised to be chief minister of state by the concurrence of many whimsical events; afraid or unwilling to trust any but creatures of his own making, and most of them equally abandoned to all notions of virtue or honour; ignorant of the true history of his country, and consulting nothing but that of enriching and aggrandizing

* Mr. Croker. Note on Lord Hervey, vol. i. p. 375.

himself and his favourites; in foreign affairs, trusting none but those whose education makes it impossible for them to have such knowledge or such qualifications as can either be of service to their country, or give any weight or credit to their negotiations. Let us suppose the true interest of the nation, by such means, neglected or misunderstood; her honour and credit lost; her trade insulted; her merchants plundered; and her sailors murdered; and all these things overlooked, only for fear his administration should be endangered. Suppose him, next, possessed of great wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament of his own choosing, most of their seats purchased, and their votes bought at the expense of the public treasure. In such a parliament, let us suppose attempts made to inquire into his conduct, or to relieve the nation from the distress he has brought upon it; and when lights proper for attaining those ends are called for, not perhaps for the information of the particular gentlemen who call for them, but because nothing can be done in a parliamentary way, till these things be in a proper way laid before parliament; suppose these lights refused, these reasonable requests rejected, by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular interest, by granting them those posts and places which ought never to be given to any but for the good of the public. Upon this scandalous victory, let us suppose this chief minister pluming himself in defiances, because he finds he has got a parliament, like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us further suppose him arrived to that degree of insolence and arrogance, as to domineer over all the men of ancient families, all the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation, and, as he has no virtue of his own, ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or corrupt it in all. I am still not prophesying, sir, I am only supposing; and the case I am going to suppose I hope never will happen. But with such a minister and such a parliament, let us suppose a prince upon the throne, either for want of true information, or for some other reason, ignorant and unacquainted with the inclinations and the interest of his people; weak, and hurried away by unbounded ambition and insatiable avarice. This case, sir, has never yet happened in this nation. I hope, I say, it will never exist. But as it is possible it may, could there any greater curse happen to a nation, than such a prince on the throne, advised, and solely advised, by such a minister, and that minister supported by such a parliament."

Pelham has spoken against the motion, and Pulteney has argued briefly and feebly for it. The Speaker, Onslow, calls upon sir Robert Walpole. All eyes turn eagerly to look upon the man who calmly rises, to say that he did not intend to trouble the House in this debate, but as pictures of imaginary persons had been drawn, he hoped he might be allowed to draw a picture in his turn: "Now, sir, let me too *suppose*, and the House being cleared, I am sure that no one that hears me can come within the description of the person I am to suppose. Let us suppose in this, or in some other unfortunate country, an anti-minister, who thinks himself a person of so great and extensive parts, and of so many eminent qualifications, that he looks upon himself as the only person in the kingdom capable to conduct the public affairs of the nation; and therefore christening every other gentleman who has the honour to be employed in the administration by the name of Blunderer.

Suppose this fine gentleman, lucky enough to have gained over to his party some persons really of fine parts, of ancient families, and of great fortunes, and others of desperate views, arising from disappointed and malicious

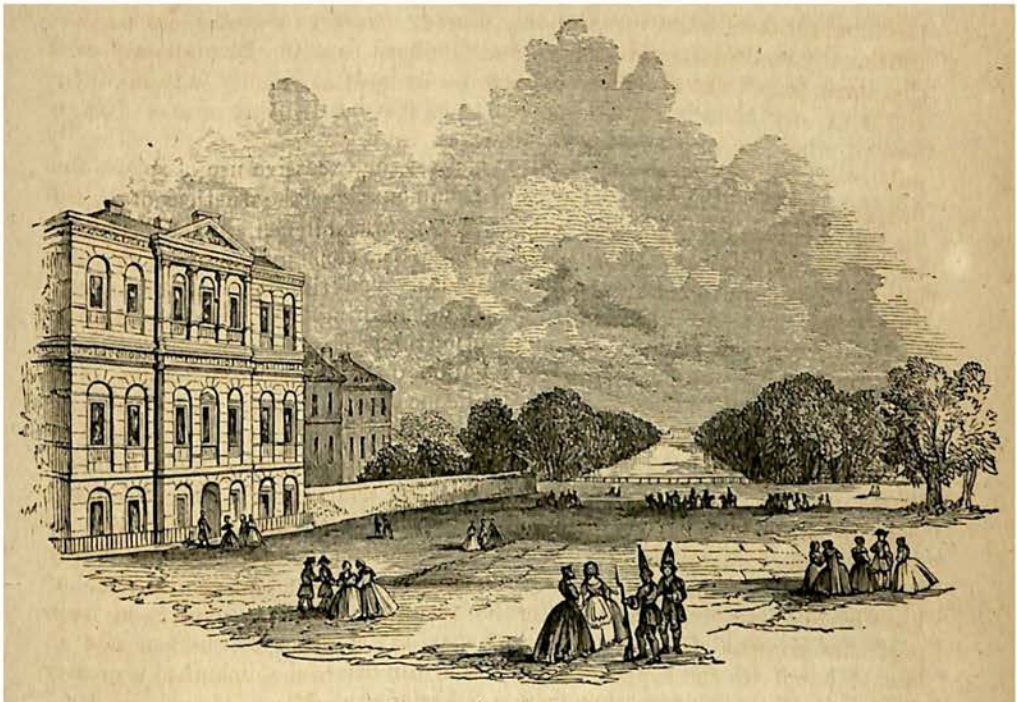


House of Commons in the time of Sir R. Walpole.

hearts; all these gentlemen, with respect to their political behaviour, moved by him, and by him solely; all they say, either in private or public, being only a repetition of the words he has put into their mouths, and a spitting out of that venom which he has infused into them; and yet we may suppose this leader not really liked by any, even of those who so blindly follow him, and hated by all the rest of mankind. We will suppose this anti-minister to be in a country where he really ought not to be, and where he could not have been but by an effect of too much goodness and mercy; yet endeavouring, with all his might and with all his art, to destroy

the fountain from whence that mercy flowed. In that country suppose him continually contracting friendships and familiarities with the ambassadors of those princes who at the time happen to be most at enmity with his own; and if at any time it should happen to be for the interest of any of those foreign ministers to have a secret divulged to them, which might be highly prejudicial to his native country, as well as to all its friends; suppose this foreign minister applying to him, and he answering, 'I will get it you; tell me but what you want, I will endeavour to procure it for you.' Upon this he puts a speech or two in the mouths of some of his creatures, or some of his new converts. What he wants is moved for in parliament, and when so very *reasonable* a request as this is refused, suppose him and his creatures and tools, by his advice, spreading the alarm over the whole nation, and crying out, 'Gentlemen, our country is at present involved in many dangerous difficulties, all of which we would have extricated you from, but a wicked minister and a corrupt majority refused us the proper materials.' And upon this 'scandalous victory,' this minister became so insolent as 'to plume himself in defiances!' Let us further suppose this anti-minister to have travelled, and at every court where he was, thinking himself the greatest minister, and making it his trade to betray the secrets of every court where he had before been; void of all faith or honour, and betraying every master he ever served. I could carry my suppositions a great deal farther, and I may say I mean no person now in being; but if we can suppose such a one, can there be imagined a greater disgrace to human nature than such a wretch as this?"

The Session was closed on the 16th of April, and on the 18th the Parliament was dissolved. The boldness with which Walpole had stood up against attack had produced a sensible effect upon his adversaries. To Walpole's philippic against Bolingbroke has been attributed the resolution of that most able but dangerous man to leave England and English politics. This view is perhaps overstrained. But he was a disappointed intriguer. He retired to France. "My part is over," he said, "and he who remains on the stage after his part is over deserves to be hissed off."



The Treasury, from St. James's Park.

CHAPTER V.

New Parliament of 1735—Peace of Vienna—The Gin-Act—The Porteous Riots—Parliamentary proceedings on these Riots—Unpopularity of the king—Marriage of the prince of Wales—Royal animosities—Birth of a princess—Illness of queen Caroline—Death of queen Caroline.

The first Session of the new Parliament, which met in January, 1735, was prolonged only till May. The king announced his determination to visit his dominions in Germany, and the queen was appointed regent. George was sorely tempted to engage in the war by an offer of the command of the imperial army on the Rhine. Walpole had foreseen such a possible flattery of the king's military ambition; and had prepared him to say, that he could not appear at the head of an army as king of England, and not have an English man to fight under him.* The summer passed without any important military operations. On the 22nd of October the king returned from Hanover—according to lord Hervey in very bad temper, and dissatisfied with everything English. His majesty had left a lady in Hanover, Madame Walmoden, to whom he wrote by every post. Soon after his return the preliminaries of a

* Lord Hervey, vol. ii. p. 7.

general peace were signed at Vienna. Europe would be at rest again for four years. "The happy turn which the affairs of Europe had taken" was announced at the opening of Parliament in January, 1736. The tranquillity of England and Scotland was seriously disturbed in this season of foreign pacification.

On the 20th of February a Petition against the excessive use of spirituous liquors was presented to the House of Commons from the Justices of Peace for Middlesex. The drinking of Geneva, it was alleged, had excessively increased amongst the people of inferior rank; the constant and excessive use of distilled spirituous liquors had already destroyed thousands, and rendered great numbers of others unfit for labour, debauching their morals, and driving them into every vice. Upon the motion of sir Joseph Jekyll, it was proposed to lay a tax of twenty shillings a gallon upon gin, and to require that every retailer should take out an annual licence costing £50. Walpole gave no distinct support to this measure, nor did he oppose it. He saw that a greatly reduced consumption of spirituous liquors would affect the revenue; that a high duty would produce less than a low duty; and he therefore proposed that £70,000 which had been appropriated to the Civil List from the smaller duties on spirits should be guaranteed, if the prohibitory rate were adopted. Pulteney opposed the Bill altogether, upon the principle that he had heard of sumptuary laws by which certain sorts of apparel had been forbidden to persons of inferior rank; but that he had never before heard of a sumptuary law by which any sort of victuals or drink were forbidden to be made use of by persons of a low degree. Yet the magnitude of the evil certainly warranted some strong legislative measure. It was stated that within the bills of mortality there were twenty thousand houses for retailing spirituous liquors. Sudden deaths from excessive gin-drinking were continually reported in the newspapers. The extent of this vice was too obvious, to allow the arguments against the impossibility of preventing evasion of the duties to have much weight. Compliance with the Statute was to be enforced by the machinery of the Common Informer. So the Bill was passed, and was to come into operation after the 29th of September. On that day the signs of the liquor-shops were put in mourning. Hooting mobs assembled round the dens where they could no longer get "drunk for a penny and dead-drunk for twopence." The last rag was pawned to carry off a cheap quart or gallon of the beloved liquor. As was foreseen, the Act was evaded. Hawkers sold a coloured mixture in the streets, and pretended chemists opened shops for the sale of "Cholick-water." Fond playful names, such as "Tom Row," "Make Shift," "The Ladies' Delight," "The Baulk," attracted customers to the old haunts. Informers were rolled in the mud, or pumped upon, or thrown into the Thames. Gin riots were constantly taking place, for several years. "The Fall of Bob" was the theme of ballad and broadside, which connected the minister with "Desolation, or the Fall of Gin." * The impossibility of preventing by prohibitory duties the sale of a commodity in large request, was strikingly exemplified in this gin-struggle. It became necessary in 1743, when the consumption of gin had positively increased, to reduce the excessive duty. A ludicrous example of one of the abortive attempts at

* See Wright's "England under the House of Hanover," vol. i. p. 159 to p. 163.

minute legislation is exhibited in a rejected clause of the Act of 1736. In the wish to protect the sugar-colonies by encouraging the consumption of rum, it was proposed to exempt punch-houses from the operation of the Gin-Act, provided the agreeable liquor so retailed was made of one-third spirit and two-thirds water, at the least, so mixed in the presence of the buyer. If the liquor were stronger than what sailors call "two-water grog," the tippler might pay for his bowl by laying an information.

The Porteous tragedy of Edinburgh in 1736 has become the property of romance. One writer appears to think that the function of the historian has been superseded by that of the novelist. "The tale of the Porteous riot scarcely needs telling, for it has been told by Sir Walter Scott in one of the best and most read of the exquisite Waverley novels." * The judicious historian of "England from the Peace of Utrecht" approaches the subject apologetically. "Some years back, the real events might have excited interest; but the wand of an Enchanter is now waved over us. * * * How dull and lifeless will not the true facts appear when no longer embellished by the touching sorrows of Effie or the heroic virtue of Jeanie Deans!" † Possibly. But "the real events," "the true facts," have a significance which the writer of fiction does not always care to dwell upon. They strikingly illustrate the condition of society. They are essentially connected with the history of public events which preceded them, and of public events which came after. They illustrate the policy of the government and the temper of the governed. We cannot pass them over or deal with them slightingly. They form the subject of very important parliamentary proceedings in 1737, which are necessary to the proper understanding of the relations between England and Scotland. An impartial review in this, as in most other cases, is as much to be aimed at as a picturesque narrative.

Smuggling in England, as we have seen, had been long carried on to an enormous extent. The seafaring population were accustomed to look upon many gainful adventures as lawful and innocent which we now regard as criminal. The slave-trade, with all its odious cruelties, was a regular mercantile undertaking. Buccaneering in the South Seas was a just assertion of the rights of the British flag. The contraband trade in brandy, tea, and tobacco, was a laudable endeavour to sell their countrymen goods at a cheap rate bought in a fair market. But the principle of smuggling was not recognized as a national benefit. The merchant was opposed to it. The wealthy consumer had conscientious scruples against encouraging it. In Scotland the nation, with the exception of a few flourishing trading communities, abetted smuggling, and regarded smugglers as useful members of society. In a report attributed to Duncan Forbes, it is said, "The smuggler was the favourite. His prohibited or high-duty goods were run ashore by the boats of whatever part of the coast he came near. When ashore, they were guarded by the country from the custom-house officer. If seized, they were rescued; and if any seizure was returned, and tried, the juries seldom failed to find for the defendant.‡" Mr. Burton points out the difference in the circumstances of England and Scotland which made

* "Cabinet History of England," vol. xvi. p. 32. † Lord Mahon, vol. ii. p. 285.
‡ Quoted in Burton's "History of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 267.

the principle of equality of taxation odious; and emphatically says, "For more than half a century after the Union, English fiscal burdens were as unbearable to the Scots as they would be to the Norwegians at the present day." Mr. Patrick Lyndsay, the member for Edinburgh, in a remarkable speech in the House of Commons on the subject of the Porteous riot, said, "I must beg leave to explain the source of these late disorders that have given so much trouble to the legislature. The pernicious practice of Smuggling, prejudicial to the fair trader, and so hurtful to the common and general good of the nation, has prevailed but too much in that country, as well as in this. Whoever may be the importers and proprietors of run goods, it is most certain that the lowest class of men, the dregs of the people, those persons who compose mobs, are the persons employed in the running of these goods; and they get so much more by their illicit trade than they can by honest labour, that they neglect their labour for the sake of this vile, and destructive trade." * Mr. Lyndsay did not hesitate to say—for which boldness he was called to account by a portion of his constituents—that some high-church Presbyterians, "who assert and maintain an absolute independency on the civil power," and taught that any statute "is iniquity established by law," indirectly encouraged the outrages of "men of weak understanding and strong passions."

The small sea-ports on the coast of Fife were more remarkable than any other districts of the wide and ill-defended sea-board of Scotland, as the haunts of the most daring bands of systematic smugglers. Two such persons, named Wilson and Robertson, having had some goods seized by the officers of revenue, entered with two associates the custom-house of Pittenweem, and, when the collector fled, carried off a large sum of money. Wilson and Robertson were apprehended, were tried, and were sentenced to death. Mr. Lyndsay related that Wilson maintained, to the last moment, that he was unjustly condemned. "He admitted," to one of the reverend ministers of Edinburgh, "that he had taken money from a collector of the revenue by violence; that he did it because he knew no other way of coming at it; that the officers of the revenue had by their practice taught him this was lawful, for they had often seized and carried off his goods by violence; and so long as they had goods of greater value in their hands than all the money he took from them, they were still in his debt, and he had done no wrong." † There can be no doubt that the mob of Edinburgh, and many above the mob, took the same view of Wilson's offence; and held the same opinion about revenue laws.

The attempt of Wilson and Robertson to escape from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, when Wilson, a bulky man, stuck fast in the iron bars of his cell, is as well known as any of the adventures of Jack Sheppard. His generous effort to save his comrade after the condemned sermon in the Tolbooth church, has redeemed his memory from the ignominy of the common malefactor. Surrounded by four keepers, Wilson held two with his hands and a third with his teeth, whilst Robertson knocked down the fourth and escaped. This heroism made Wilson's own fate certain. He was executed on the 14th of April; whilst the populace looked on with stern compassion.

* "Parliamentary History," vol. x. col. 253. † *Ibid.*, col. 254.

No attempt at rescue was made, for the place of execution was not only surrounded by the city-guard, but by a detachment of the Welsh Fusiliers. After the body was taken down, a rush was made to seize it from the hangman. The populace then attacked the city-guard, who were under the command of John Porteous, their captain. Porteous was a man of strong passions, very often brought into conflict with the blackguards of the city, and now in peculiarly ill-temper from his dignity being interfered with by the unusual presence of a military force, called to assist in keeping the peace. He is said to have fired himself; he certainly ordered his gendarmerie to fire upon the people. Several persons were killed or wounded. The Fusiliers also fired; but in firing above the heads of the mob, they hit several who were lookers-on from the adjacent windows. Porteous was brought to trial in July, before the High Court of Justiciary, on a charge of murder, for having caused the death of citizens without authority from the civil magistrate. He was convicted, and sentenced to capital punishment; but his conduct being considered by the Council of Regency in London as an act of self-defence, he was reprieved by the English Secretary of State. His execution had been fixed by the authorities of Edinburgh for the 8th of September. The news of the reprieve produced a sensation that foreboded mischief.

The 8th of September fell on a Wednesday. A report had gone forth that some tumult would take place on that day, when the populace, being disappointed of a legal sacrifice to their revenge, would attempt some daring act against Porteous. This was deemed a foolish story; but the Lord Provost of Edinburgh took some precautions to resist any outrage on that Wednesday.* Porteous himself had no fears. A Scottish clergyman, Mr. Yates, had preached in the Tolbooth church, Porteous being present, on Sunday the 5th; and he afterwards saw Porteous, and told him of the report, and advised him to be cautious about admitting persons to his room. Porteous slighted his information; and said, "were he once at liberty, he was so little apprehensive of the people, that he would not fear to walk at the Cross of Edinburgh with only his cane in his hand as usual." † The Tolbooth of the Scottish capital, like most other places of confinement, had its feasts for those who could pay, and its starvation for those who were destitute. On the evening of Tuesday, the 7th of September, Porteous was surrounded by a jolly party, draining the punch-bowl in toasting the speedy liberation of their friend. There was another remarkable festal assembly in Edinburgh that night. Mr. Lind, captain of the city-guard, deposed that, "being informed that the mob was gathering, he went to Clark's tavern, where the Provost was drinking with Mr. Bur, and other officers of his majesty's ship the Dreadnought, then stationed in the road of Leith; and upon acquainting him with the danger, the Provost desired him to go immediately back, and draw out his men, and that he would instantly follow him, and put himself at the head of the guard to face the mob." ‡ The mob was quicker than the Provost or his captain. They had disarmed the guard had taken possession of the guard-house; and were arming themselves with

* Evidence before Parliament—"Parliamentary History," vol. x. col. 267.
† *Ibid.*, col. 268. ‡ *Ibid.*, col. 269.

muskets, halberds, and Lochaber axes, which they there found. Edinburgh had suddenly fallen into the complete possession of a lawless multitude. The city-walls on the east and south sides had gates, which, after sunset, were shut and guarded. The mob had secured the West-port, the Cowgate, and the Netherbow-port, nailing them up, and barricading them, to prevent military aid coming from the suburbs. A loch closed the city on the north On the west was the Castle, from which the garrison might have descended upon the High street. In the Canongate was a regiment under the command of major-general Moyle. It was given in evidence that the Provost, when he sallied forth from his tavern, requested Mr. Lyndsay to carry a verbal order to major-general Moyle to send a force to his aid. The member for Edinburgh executed his commission, but the general, seeing how a jury of Edinburgh had convicted a military officer of murder, when he acted without explicit orders from the civil magistrate, refused to move upon receiving only a verbal message. The governor of the Castle did not choose to act on his own responsibility. Thus secure, the multitude went about their work with a calm resolution which was long attributed to an organization proceeding from leaders much above the ordinary directors of mobs. No point was neglected. Magistrates rushed out to ring the alarm-bell; the tower in which the bell hung was in the possession of the insurgents. Onward they marched, in numbers rapidly increasing, to the Tolbooth. Here they make a solemn demand that captain John Porteous should be delivered up to them. Being refused, as they expected, they proceeded to batter the outer gate. Crowbars and sledge-hammers were employed in vain. Fire accomplished what bodily strength could not effect. The rioters rushed to the apartment of the unhappy man. He was concealed in the chimney; but they dragged him down, and bade him prepare for death. Struggling ineffectually, he was carried to the Grass-market, the usual place of execution. He was carried on men's hands, as two boys carry a third, by grasping each other's wrists. This stern multitude went on in silence, the glare of torches lighting up their lowering brows and the pallid features of their victim. Near the spot where the gallows had stood on which Wilson was hanged, a pole projected from a dyer's shop. A rope was fastened round the neck of Porteous; and then the subordination of the rioters to some recognized authority was manifest. "Walker, the town-officer, whom the mob had so pelted that he was obliged to throw off his livery-coat, declared he was by when they murdered Porteous; and that one more forward than the rest was checked by the others, and desired to wait for orders: that he thereupon quitted the end of the rope, which by this time being about Porteous's neck, he was ready to have hoisted him up, and went about to another, who very composedly gave him orders; and that he returned and drew the rope up, and hanged Porteous." * He was not hanged quickly. There was a terrible scene of butchery. Mr. Lyndsay gave in evidence, that he returned [from major-general Moyle's house] about five in the morning; and, with several who had been with the Provost all night, went to the Grass-market, where the body of Porteous yet hung, and a number of people standing about it. But he further declared, that, as he returned from his fruitless mission, "the

* "Parliamentary History," vol. x. col. 271.

mob was pouring in vast shoals out of the town into the country; and that he did not remember any one face of the many hundreds he met with, though he had lived and borne the highest offices in the city for many years." * The organizers of this daring act were never discovered, after the most rigid investigation. Duncan Forbes, who had conducted an inquiry, as Lord Advocate, into the circumstances of the case, could fix upon no leader of the rioters, and he ascribed the deed to the impulse of one of "the headstrong mobs" with which Scotland was formerly too well acquainted. General Wade, who had been sent down to assist Forbes in the inquiry, stated in his place in Parliament, that the servant of an artisan in Edinburgh had been told, three or four days before the murder, that Tuesday night was appointed for revenging innocent blood, and he was to attend when he heard "the ruff of a drum." General Wade maintained that there was nothing in the whole proceeding that looked like the precipitate measures of a giddy mob; and that he never saw, or ever heard of, any military disposition better laid down, or more resolutely executed, than the murderous plan of these rioters. It would appear that the Porteous mob were not without precedents for their guidance. Major-general Moyle, in relating the circumstances to the duke of Newcastle, thus wrote: "I cannot but mention to your grace that this is the third prisoner, within the memory of man, that has been taken out of a tolbooth here, and barbarously murdered by the mob." Mr. Patrick Lyndsay combated the notion that any above the lowest class of the people were concerned in the Porteous murder, or looked with approbation upon it. He drew a distinction between an English and a Scotch mob. The English did not "do mischief with their eyes open." The lowest class of people in Scotland, he said, "have generally speaking a turn to enthusiasm; and so strong is the influence, such is the force of delusion, that they can work themselves up to a firm persuasion and thorough belief that any mischief they are to do is not only lawful but laudable; that it is their duty to do it; and, from a religious principle, to do it at any risk, even at the risk of their lives." † The earl of Isla reported to Walpole, that "all the lower ranks of the people who had distinguished themselves by pretences to a superior sanctity, talk of the murder as the hand of God doing justice."

The Porteous outrage took place whilst queen Caroline was regent in the absence of the king. She felt it as an insult to her authority, and the ministry were inclined to visit the apparent neglect of the magistracy of Edinburgh with serious humiliation. A Bill was brought in for disabling the Lord Provost from ever holding office, and for imprisoning him; for abolishing the town-guard of Edinburgh; for taking away the gates of the Netherbow-port. The Scottish peers, and the Scottish members of the Commons, fired up at this supposed assault upon the national honour. In the course of the parliamentary inquiry, the Scottish judges were summoned to give evidence upon some legal points. It was contended by the duke of Argyle and other peers that these judges ought to sit on the Woolsack as do the English judges, when their presence is wanted in the House of Peers. There was no precedence for such a course, and the Scottish judges were required to stand at the bar. Scotland was outraged by this distinction. The debate in both

* "Parliamentary History," vol. x. col. 272. † *Ibid.*, col. 252.

Houses upon the proposed measure of pains and penalties assumed the character of a national controversy. "Unequal dealing," "partial procedure," "oppression to be resisted," and an independent nation "forced back into a state of enmity," were expressions which showed the danger to which this affair was tending. Walpole hinted that when the Bill was committed he should not object to amendments founded on reason and equity. When it finally went to the Lords, it merely disqualified the Lord Provost from holding office, and imposed a fine upon the city of Edinburgh of £2000, for the benefit of the widow of Porteous. The impartial author of the modern History of Scotland has remarked, that "no one can read these debates without seeing reasons why the conduct of Scotland was so different from that of England in the insurrection which broke out eight years afterwards." * Although the modified Statute upon the Porteous riot could scarcely be a reasonable cause for national irritation, a supplementary measure produced a violent opposition from the Presbyterian Clergy. It was enacted that they should read from their pulpits, once a month, a proclamation for discovering the murderers of captain Porteous. This was held to be an Erastian measure, interfering with the spiritual authority of the Kirk. That proclamation also contained the offensive words, "the Lords Spiritual in Parliament assembled." This was held to be a recognition of that church-government which Scotland had rejected. At this period there was a schism amongst the Scottish clergy, and this measure had not a healing tendency. Some read the proclamation; some refused to do so. Compliance with the order of the Government was held to be faithlessness to the Church.

The state of popular feeling in regard to the highest personages in the realm was, in 1736, seriously alarming. The king during the whole summer and autumn had remained in Germany. The queen was little seen as the winter advanced, for she lived a retired life at Kensington; and, strange as it may seem, we find in a letter from lord Hervey to his mother, written in November, that the road between London and Kensington "is grown so infamously bad that we live here in the same solitude as we should do if cast on a rock in the middle of the ocean." † The roads to Kensington through the park were equally impassable. People of all ranks were indignant at the king's long stay in Germany. The national ill-humour was expressed in pasquinades. On the gate of St. James's Palace this notice was stuck up: "Lost or strayed out of this house, a man who has left a wife and six children on the parish. Whoever will give any tidings of him to the churchwardens of St. James's parish, so as he may be got again, shall receive four shillings and sixpence reward. N.B. This reward will not be increased, nobody judging him to deserve a Crown." ‡ The prince of Wales was a favourite of the people. It was well known that he was disliked by the king and queen, and that was enough to make him popular. He had been disappointed in the Prussian match; and at the beginning of 1736, being impatient to marry, he had been told that a bride would be found for him in the person of the princess of Saxe Gotha. The lady arrived in England on the 25th of April, and was married two days after. She was only seventeen years of age; could speak no English, and little French; but she had good sense; and in the

* Burton, vol. ii., p. 278. † Hervey, vol. ii. p. 190. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

difficult circumstances of her subsequent life had to exercise much prudence and sagacity. On the prince's marriage, the Houses of Parliament addressed the king. On this occasion an orator, who is mentioned by lord Hervey as "Cornet Pitt," contrived, in his first speech, to throw so much covert sarcasm into his praise of the king for consenting to the prince's demand that a wife should be found for him, that "Cornet Pitt" was broke at the end of the Session. The prince became "parliamentary fireship to his majesty's opposition." * He was beloved in the city and hated at St. James's. His good deeds won no favour from his family. There was a fire in the Temple, and he worked all night in helping to put it out. The court said he was of no use there; and that he only pretended to have been struck on the head by a falling beam. He was liberal to public charities. This it was held was not benevolence but popularity-hunting. He was certainly a weak young man; he had been notoriously dissolute. But he advantageously contrasted with his father, whose irregularities of life were not controlled by his advancing years. In December the king came home, after the public hopes rather than fears had been excited by the belief that he was at sea, during a terrible storm in which many ships were wrecked. The differences between the prince of Wales and his father soon became notorious. The allowance which the king made to the prince was £50,000 per annum. Private advisers of the prince called this allowance mean, and recommended him to apply boldly to Parliament for an annual grant of £100,000 out of the king's Civil List, and be no longer dependent on his father. Some wiser persons earnestly counselled forbearance. But the prince was obstinate; and he had the indelicacy to make promises to peers and commoners of what he would do for them when he came to the throne, if they would support him now. One of the most intriguing of politicians has left a minute account of his own share in this affair.† He took great credit for having laboured to dissuade the prince from persevering in his rash course; and really seems to have honestly set forth the danger of a family quarrel, and the alternative to which Frederick was driving both Houses of Parliament,—that of supporting the prince who wore the Crown, or of siding with the heir-apparent. The prince of Wales was obstinate. Contrary to expectation the ministry had a majority of thirty in the Commons. The question was subsequently tried in the Lords, and there also the prince failed.

Such a rupture between a passionate father and a flighty son could not pass off without some lasting effects. The king wanted to turn the prince and his household out of St. James's; but Walpole dissuaded his majesty from that step. At last, one of the most extraordinary events in the private annals of royal houses separated the king and his son for years. The prince and princess of Wales were residing with the king and queen at Hampton Court, the princess being far advanced in pregnancy. The royal family had dined together in public on Sunday, the 31st of July. In the evening the princess was taken ill. The prince, against all remonstrance, insisted that his wife should not be confined at Hampton Court. She was forced into a coach, with the prince and three ladies; was driven at full gallop to St.

* Carlyle. Friedrich, vol. ii. p. 577.

† Appendix to Diary of George Bubb Doddington, afterwards Lord Melcombe.

James's; and there gave birth to a girl within an hour of her arrival. Only two of the great officers of state were present. The king and queen at Hampton Court went to bed, in entire ignorance of the piece of insanity which their son had perpetrated. They were awakened by a messenger from London about two o'clock; and by four o'clock the queen was at St. James's. No apology was then made by the prince—no explanation given. Horace Walpole very sensibly asks, "Had he no way of affronting his parents but by venturing to kill his wife and the heir to the crown?" A correspondence ensued between George II. and his rash son; of which the issue was, that although the prince confessed that he had been in the wrong, the harsh father issued this peremptory command to him—"It is my pleasure that you leave St. James's, with all your family." Frederick quitted the palace, and took up his residence at Norfolk House, in St. James's Square. The people rejoiced in the birth of a princess; for they said, "if ever she came to the Crown, what had been so much wished ever since the Hanover family came to the throne, by every one who understood and wished the interest of England, must happen,—which was the disjoining the Electorate of Hanover from the Crown of England." *

In his quarrel with the king and queen, the prince of Wales managed to add to his own popularity. The general dislike towards the father made the son who opposed him a public favorite. The prince, however, contrived to make it appear, that not to the sovereign, but to the chief minister, what he considered as injustice was to be imputed. When the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London addressed their congratulations to him on the birth of a princess, Frederick said he knew the value of their friendship, and should never look upon them as "beggars." The "sturdy beggars" of Walpole's rash speech in the Excise year was never to be forgotten. The prince went to the performance of Cato. At the lines

> "When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway,
> The post of honour is a private station,"

the audience huzzaed, and the prince joined in the applause in a very marked manner. In the midst of these unseemly exhibitions queen Caroline was taken dangerously ill, on the 9th of November. She had long been afflicted with a serious complaint, which she bore with heroic fortitude, concealing from every one, even from her physicians, the real nature of her malady. The prince of Wales expressed great anxiety to see his mother. He was forbidden by the king to come to St. James's. The queen herself said to the king, according to lord Hervey, "I am so far from desiring to see him, that nothing but your absolute commands should ever make me consent to it." This was on the second day of her serious illness. On the third day the king, who for fourteen years had been aware of her dangerous affliction, but who had promised never to mention it, thought it his duty to send for a surgeon and disclose what was so repugnant to the queen's false delicacy. It was soon found that the disease had gone too far to allow of hope. On the 14th, sir Robert Walpole arrived from Houghton. He was conducted by the king to her majesty's bedside. "The interview was short,

* Lord Hervey's "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 412.

but what the queen said was material, for these were her words: 'My good sir Robert, you see me in a very indifferent situation. I have nothing to say to you, but to recommend the king, my children, and the kingdom, to your care.'"* Horace Walpole says, "As the king and sir Robert were alone, standing by her bedside, she pathetically recommended, not the minister to the sovereign, but the master to the servant. Sir Robert was alarmed, and feared the recommendation must have left a fatal impression; but, a short time after, the king, reading with sir Robert some intercepted letters from Germany, which said, that now the queen was gone sir Robert would have no protection,—'On the contrary,' said the king, 'you know she recommended me to you.'"† Lord Hervey relates a curious conversation between the great minister and himself, one night as they were hovering round this death-bed: "Oh, my lord," said sir Robert, "if this woman should die, what a scene of confusion will here be! Who can tell into what hands the king will fall? or who will have the management of him? I defy the ablest person in this kingdom to foresee what will be the consequence of this great event." "For my own part," replied lord Hervey, "I have not the least doubt how it will be. He will cry for her for a fortnight, forget her in a month, have two or three women that he will pass his time with; but whilst they have most of his time, a little of his money, less of his confidence, and no power, you will have all the credit, more power than ever you had, and govern him more absolutely than ever you did. Your credit before was through the medium of the queen, and all power through a medium must be weaker than when it operates directly. Besides, sir, all princes must now and then be deceived by their ministers, and as the king is much easier deceived than the queen, so your task, whenever that task is deceiving, will be much less difficult than it was before. In the first place, because the king is naturally much less suspicious than the queen; in the next, because he is less penetrating; and lastly, because he cares much less to converse with different people, and will hear nobody talk to him of business but yourself." "Oh! my lord," interrupted sir Robert, "though he will hear nobody but me, you do not know how often he refuses to hear me when it is on a subject he does not like; but by the queen I can with time fetch him round to those subjects again; she can make him do the same thing in another shape, and when I give her her lesson, can make him propose the very thing as his own opinion which a week before he had rejected as mine."‡

On Sunday night, the 20th of November, Caroline lay expecting a speedy relief to her sufferings. The king was asleep at the bed-foot; the princess Emily also sleeping on a couch. Suddenly an attendant exclaimed that the queen was dying. All started up. "Open the window!" the queen exclaimed—and then said—"Pray." The princess Emily began to read a prayer, but before she repeated ten words all was over. The king, with all his silliness about mistresses—a silliness which he avowed even to his dying wife in well-known words, indicative of the loose morality of the period—loved and respected Caroline. "The grief he felt for the queen, as it was universally known, and showed a tenderness of which the world thought him

* Lord Hervey, vol. ii. p. 516.

† "Reminiscences." ‡ "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 523.

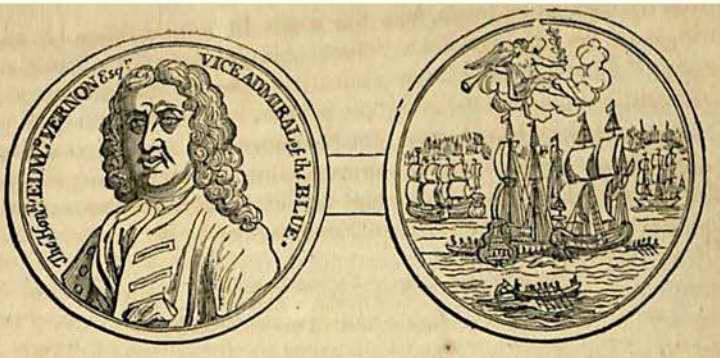
before utterly incapable, made him for some time more popular and better spoken of than he had ever been before this incident." * Truly does Mr. Carlyle say, "There is something stoically tragic in the history of Caroline with her flighty vapouring little king: seldom had foolish husband so wise a wife." The one dark shade upon her character was her persevering dislike of her eldest son—a dislike almost approaching to hatred, and so opposed to the calm sense which was the usual guide of her actions. Her contemporaries saw this blot. The irony of Pope expressed it:

> "Hang the sad verse on Carolina's urn,
> And hail her passage to the realms of rest,
> All parts performed, and all her children blest.

In this aversion of the queen, as well as of the king, there was possibly some stronger motive than posterity will now ever know. The Memoirs of lord Hervey would probably have revealed, as was hinted in 1778, the origin of the antipathy of his parents to prince Frederick. But under the will of lord Hervey's son, the earl of Bristol, those Memoirs were not to be published till after the death of George III. The mystery was not solved when the Memoirs were published in 1848; for the nephew of the earl of Bristol caused many mutilations to be made in the manuscript which came into his possession. "It is evident," says a Reviewer of these Memoirs, "that the alienation between prince Frederick and, not only his father but, his mother, was strong and decided while he was yet in his early youth—years before he ever saw England." †

* Lord Hervey, vol. ii. p. 540.

† "Quarterly Review," vol. lxxxii. p. 502.



Medal to commemorate the Capture of Porto Bello by Admiral Vernon.

CHAPTER VI.

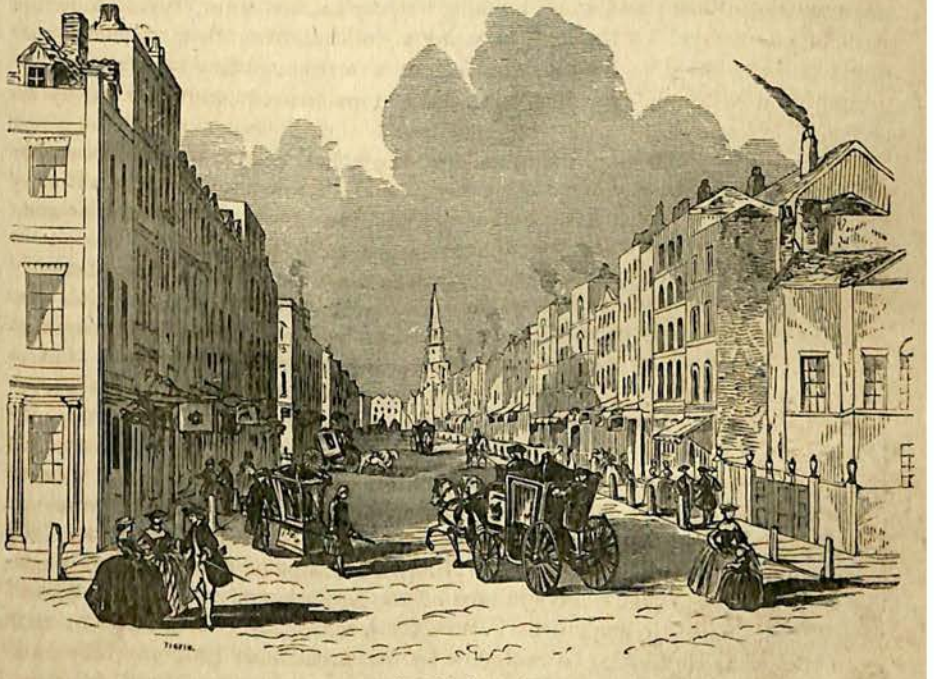
Act for Licensing Plays—Birth of a prince, afterwards George III.—Commercial disputes with Spain—Popular war-cry—Jenkins's ear—A Convention with Spain denounced in Parliament—Walpole is driven into war—His struggle to retain power—Capture of Porto Bello—Attack upon Carthagena—Anson and Byron—Extension of the field of war—Motion to remove Walpole from the king's councils—Walpole resigns—He is created earl of Orford—Parliamentary inquiry into his administration.

THERE never, probably, was a minister who was the object of so much personal satire as Walpole. As his master hated "boets and bainters," Walpole despised journalists and pamphleteers. He was no patron of letters. He did not look out for young men who had written University prize-poems, to make them envoys and secretaries. He left authors to rise or fall by their profession; to grow rich like Pope, or to starve like Savage. What the minister did in the way of purchasing literary aid was worse than nothing. Smollett says, "he either wanted judgment to distinguish men of genius, or could find none that would engage in his service; he therefore employed a set of wretched authors, void of understanding and ingenuity." Tindal, a more impartial chronicler, has a similar testimony to this common mistake of statesmen. "No man ever set the press to work with so little judgment as he did. He looked upon writing to be a mechanical kind of business; and he took up with the first pen that he could find in public offices, or whom he could oblige by private liberality." When Bolingbroke and Pulteney had worked "The Craftsman" as far as such machinery would go, a new set of assailants appeared in the most popular of all forms of attack. The Stage became political. Gay, in his "Polly," going far beyond the personal allusions of "The Beggars' Opera," the Lord Chamberlain revived his obnoxious power, and the representation of "Polly" was forbidden. In 1735, when sir John Bernard brought in a Bill "to restrain the number of houses for playing interludes, and for the better regulating of common players of interludes," Walpole proposed to introduce a clause to confirm and enlarge the power of the Lord Chamberlain in reference to plays. Sir John Bernard

objected to the clause, and withdrew his Bill. In 1737, Henry Fielding produced "Pasquin" at the theatre in the Haymarket. Colley Cibber ascribes to this piece the enactment for licensing plays which Walpole brought forward in that year: "Religion, laws, government, priests, judges, and ministers, were laid flat at the feet of the Herculean satirist, this Drawcansir in wit, who spared neither friend nor foe; who, to make his fame immortal, like another Erostratus, set fire to his stage by writing up to an Act of Parliament to demolish it." Walpole made no direct attack upon "Pasquin;" but having obtained, from the manager of Goodman's Fields Theatre, the manuscript of a farce called "The Golden Rump," which, says Smollett, "was fraught with treason and abuse upon the government," the adroit minister read the most obnoxious passages to the House of Commons; and then moved an Amendment to the Vagrant Act, as far as related "to the common players of interludes." Two clauses were introduced, by which the customary privilege of the Lord Chamberlain to interfere with theatrical representations was made a legal power. Under this Bill, the Lord Chamberlain might prohibit the representation of plays; and copies of all new plays, additions to old plays, prologues and epilogues, were to be submitted to that officer for the purpose of being licensed. Smollett implies that there was "a vigorous opposition" to this measure. One speech only remains to us, that of lord Chesterfield, to indicate that there was any opposition at all. This was considered one of the most brilliant efforts of the great wit and accomplished orator. His prediction that this Bill was a step for introducing arbitrary power,—"for removing or hood-winking, one after another, those sentries who are posted by the constitution of a free country for warning the people of their danger,"—may be regarded as the exaggeration of party. The Bill for Licensing Plays was not to be a precedent "to lay the Press under a general licence." From that period the freedom of the Press has been surrounded by multiplied safeguards, which the declaimers for its liberty in that day would have regarded with horror. The Act for Licensing Plays still subsists amongst us. There have been many abuses of the power of the Licenser—in most cases, silly abuses. But no friend to the liberty of thought, of speech, and of writing, can wish these restraints upon the theatre wholly removed. There is a manifest distinction between the profaneness and indecency that is written, and the profaneness and indecency that is spoken. The moral corruption of an audience is like the spread of a contagious disease. The reader who gloats over a dangerous book indulges in a secret vice which shuns companionship. The improved education of all classes, and the general elevation of the condition and character of writers for the stage, as well as of all other writers, have made the office of the Licenser almost unnecessary. But the lofty tone of patronage in which lord Chesterfield speaks of "the poor author," is a sufficient intimation of the existence at that time of a wretched, and perhaps unscrupulous, class of caterers for public amusement: "Wit, my lords, is a sort of property; it is the property of those who have it, and too often the only property they have to depend on. It is, indeed, but a precarious dependence. Thank God, we, my lords, have a dependence of another kind. * * * * I must own I cannot easily agree to the laying of any tax upon wit; but by this Bill it is to be heavily taxed; it is to be excised; for if this Bill passes, it cannot be

retailed in a proper way without a permit; and the Lord Chamberlain is to have the honour of being chief gauger, supervisor, commissioner, judge, and jury: but what is still more hard, though the poor author, the proprietor I should say, cannot perhaps dine till he has found out and agreed with a purchaser, yet before he can prepare to seek for a purchaser, he must patiently submit to have his goods rummaged at this new excise-office." Thanks to the example of the "poor author" who threw the tardy patronage of lord Chesterfield in his face, the class with the "precarious dependence" of "one property only" have learnt to struggle bravely till they have tested its value; certainly they have learnt not to waste life in lamentations that they have not "a dependence of another kind."

The year 1738 was marked by an event which to many of the present day, still in life's "middle chamber," appears to be the link connecting them with generations long passed away. On the 24th of May, old style—June 4, new style,—was born George Augustus, son of the prince of Wales—the George the Third who came to the throne in 1760; who lived to 1820. When we arrive at such an historical epoch, we feel how intimately the past and the present become interlaced; and how every retrospect of public affairs involves something prospective. The birth of a grandson of George II. was an occasion of national rejoicing. It probably increased the reigning king's jealousy of his son. A notice from the Lord Chamberlain was inserted in the London



Pall-Mall, about 1740.

Gazette, that no visitor of the prince should be admitted to the Court of St. James's. The opposition gathered more and more round the prince. The

"terrible Cornet of Horse," as William Pitt was named, became one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber. The rival establishments—St. James's at one end of Pall Mall, and Carlton House at the other end—kept the town well amused.

In 1739 the foreign policy of Great Britain was driven by parliamentary faction, seconded by popular ignorance, upon a lamentable change from peace to war. For twelve years sir Robert Walpole had kept the country at peace. He had effected this great good without any compromise of the country's honour; with an accumulation of the country's resources, which made other powers respect her strength. The ambition of kings; the lust of conquest; the intrigues of ministers; the blunders of diplomatists—these are the causes ordinarily assigned when a nation is precipitated into a war, in which vast interests are endangered, and the beginners of the fray are not "thrice armed" in having their "quarrel just." Walpole was driven into a war with Spain, which quickly became a general war, by mercantile cupidity and mock patriotism. Walpole ought to have resigned his power rather than have thrown aside his principles. But he valued office more than consistency; and he consented to imperil his country, with the perfect conviction that her safety and prosperity depended upon a totally opposite policy than that which was forced upon him. He did the worst thing which a minister can do. He suffered others to conduct the war inefficiently, because he himself disliked the war. In yielding to the clamour of his political enemies he did not propitiate them; and when he falls, "never to rise again," we lose somewhat of our respect for the hero of many a well-foughten field of party, who ought to have stood to his own convictions, even though his adversaries had moved to a triumph over him with the "two-handed engine" ready to strike.

For a century and a-half, England and Spain had been more than commercial rivals—they had been commercial enemies. The trade of Spain with her vast possessions in South America was essentially a monopoly. Every English sailor, from the days of Drake, had been eager to break up the monopoly in the most effectual way, by a dash at the Spanish treasure-ships and richly freighted merchantmen. A regular participation in the trade with her colonies was jealously guarded against in every treaty of Spain with England. The right of searching merchant vessels sailing near Spanish colonial ports was always insisted upon; and the right was rarely suffered to be evaded, for guard ships (guarda costas) were always maintained in full activity. By the treaty of Utrecht, as we have seen, the expectation of a free trade with the Spanish coasts of South America was only realized in the permission to send one ship annually. The treaty of Seville, in 1729, did not provide for any relaxation of this restriction, or of any of the earlier prohibitions. The rapidly increasing importance of the British colonies of North America rendered it impossible that the commerce of the Settlements of the New World with Europe, or with each other, the North with the South, could remain upon the exclusive footing established by the treaties of 1667 and 1670. If the Spanish government would not relax its narrow policy, English adventurers would not scruple to evade it. When the annual South Sea ship sailed with its cargo, other vessels followed in its wake; and the cargo of the one ship became almost inexhaustible. Ships driven by stress of weather into

Spanish ports might refit and refresh their crews. The inconstant wind was very favourable to a little honest trading. When a population wants to buy and ships are at hand to sell, prohibitory decrees are weapons "hung by the wall." Smuggling was carried on without much concealment, by pleasant trips of shore-boats to English vessels, and to North American vessels, lying off the harbours which they could not enter. The English merchants grew bolder with success, and the Spanish government more angry and violent. The right of search on the high seas was asserted by the Spanish guarda costas. Ships were often illegally detained, and their crews sometimes treated with severity. The British people, generally, heard only of the cruel tyranny of the Don, and knew little of the systematic offences against the Don's commercial jealousy which so moved his wrath. Walpole had been denounced of old by Atterbury as "the cur-dog of Britain and spaniel of Spain;" and when Walpole, in 1738, was successful in asserting his pacific policy by a parliamentary majority, the opposition appeared more and more determined to drive him into a war with Spain. The minister admitted that English merchants and seamen were unjustly and inhumanly treated by the Spanish guarda costas, and that the honour and interest of the country required that there should be reparation for the past and security for the future. He was negotiating to obtain redress in a peaceable manner, and he therefore resisted the motion for the production of papers which would embarrass this endeavour. In the House of Lords, an Address to the Crown of a very warlike tendency was carried. Petitions from merchants of various ports, complaining of Spanish outrages, were daily presented to the Commons. Captains and seamen were examined at the bar of the House, and related grievous stories of cruelties and oppressions exercised upon British crews. One narrator of a grievance, which dated back seven years, stirred the parliament and the people into a rage which Pulteney could not increase, and which Walpole could not control. On the 16th of March it is ordered by the Commons that "Captain Robert Jenkins do attend this House immediately;" and by a second order "That Captain Robert Jenkins do attend on Tuesday morning."

The English newspapers of June, 1731, had related that captain Jenkins, with his owners, had been to Hampton Court, to lay before the duke of Newcastle a statement of the wrongs which he had received from the Spaniards. He was homeward bound with a cargo from Jamaica, and on the 20th of April, not far from the Havanna, was boarded by a guarda costa and rigorously searched. No contraband goods could be found. He was threatened with death if he did not confess where his gold and his unlawful merchandize were hidden. He had no contraband goods, he again and again averred. The Spaniards slashed him with their cutlasses; they hung him up to the yard-arm. Before he was quite exhausted they let him down, and again bade him confess. He spoke of his Britannic Majesty's flag—of the high seas—in a mild assertion of the injustice he was receiving. His ear had been half out off when the ship was boarded; and now the miscreants tore the ear out of his head, exclaiming, "carry that to your king." Poor Jenkins got no redress from the duke of Newcastle in 1731. On Tuesday, the 21st March, 1738, when the captain stood at the bar of the House of Commons, he produced his ear out of a box in which he always carried it about him, wrapt up in cotton. "Ridiculous

story," cries the biographer of Walpole. "The fable of Jenkins's ear," says the author of "A Regicide Peace." "He lost his ear in the pillory," exclaim official sceptics. "The ear of Jenkins is a singular thing. Might have mounted to be a constellation, like Berenice's hair," observes Mr. Carlyle, "had the English people been of poetic turn." Pope has given a couplet to the famous ear:—

> "The Spaniards own they did a waggish thing,
> Who cropt our ears and sent them to the king."

Whether a truth or a myth, the ear of Jenkins drove England to war.

In opening the Session of Parliament in February, 1739, the king announced that, supported by the resolutions of parliament, he had made such representations to Spain of the hardships and injuries sustained by his trading subjects in America, and had so strongly demanded reparation and security, that he had been enabled to conclude a Convention, under which a payment would be made to compensate his subjects for losses, and all matters in dispute would be settled by plenipotentiaries as regarded the future. Violent were the debates in both Houses. All the papers connected with these negotiations were demanded to be laid upon the table; and the demand was of course resisted. Smollett, who rarely admits any merit in the administration of Walpole, very justly says, that "no government could act, either in external or domestic affairs, with proper influence, dignity, and dispatch, if every letter and instruction relative to an unfinished negotiation should be exposed to the view of such a numerous assembly, composed of individuals actuated by motives in themselves diametrically opposite." All historical experience—the experience even of the passing hour—shows how embarrassing is the task of the ministers of a mixed monarchy to conduct delicate negotiations with absolute governments. The freedom of speech in a British Parliament is embarrassing enough; but perfect unreserve on the part of an administration is absolutely impossible. It is come to be understood by all practical and judicious representatives of the people, that a large confidence must be placed in ministerial responsibility. Walpole had a majority in refusing to produce the papers moved for. But when the Convention was laid before Parliament, and was published to the nation, an outcry burst forth—against the amount of indemnity to be paid to Spain—against the omission of any mention of the right of search, referring that and other questions to subsequent negotiation—against the non-punishment of the captains and crews of the guarda costas—which must have overthrown the ministry in the storm, had the ministry been typified by the oak instead of by the willow. Lyttelton and Pitt put forth all their oratorical strength against the Convention. The surpassing fame of Pitt may be dated from his effort on that 8th of March. He concluded his speech by describing the Convention as a stipulation for national ignominy; an illusory expedient to baffle the resentment of the nation; a truce, without a suspension of hostilities on the part of Spain; a surrender of the rights and trade of England to the mercy of plenipotentiaries. "The complaints of your despairing merchants, the voice of England, have condemned it. Be the guilt of it upon the head of the adviser." But the eloquence of Pitt produced no effect upon the nation, comparable with the war-cry of sir Thomas Sanderson: "The

court of Spain, being resolved to grant nothing that might any way contribute to our future security, resolved not to allow the word satisfaction to be so much as once mentioned in this treaty; even the Spanish pirate who cut off captain Jenkins's ear, making use at the same time of the most insulting expression towards the person of our king, an expression which no British subject can decently repeat, an expression which no man who has a regard for his sovereign can ever forgive; even this fellow, I say, is to live to enjoy the fruits of his rapine, and remain a living testimony of the cowardly tameness and mean submission of Great Britain, and of the triumphant pride and stubborn haughtiness of Spain." The ministerial majority was only twenty-eight—260 against 232. Walpole stood up for some time against the parliamentary opposition and the popular outcry. The great philosophical politician of the generation which succeeded Walpole, says, "I have seen, and with some care examined, the original documents concerning certain important transactions of those times. They perfectly satisfied me of the extreme injustice of that war, and of the falsehood of the colours which Walpole, to his ruin, and guided by a mistaken policy, suffered to be daubed over that measure. Some years after, it was my fortune to converse with many of the principal actors against that minister, and with those who principally excited that clamour. None of them,—no, not one,—did in the least defend the measure, or attempt to justify their conduct. They condemned it as freely as they would have done in commenting upon any proceeding in history in which they were totally unconcerned." *

The majority of the government, small as it was, induced a change of tactics in some of the leading members of the opposition. On bringing up the Report upon the Resolution which the ministers had carried, there was another division, which was also in favour of the ministerial measures, the majority being twenty-eight. Sir William Wyndham then announced the determination of himself and his friends to secede in a body from the House of Commons. "I here, sir, bid a final adieu to this Parliament. Perhaps, when another Parliament shall succeed, I may again be at liberty to serve my country in this capacity. * * * * Meantime I conclude with doing that duty to my country which I am still at liberty to perform, to pray for its preservation: may, therefore, that Power, which has so often and so visibly interfered in behalf of the rights and liberties of this nation, continue its care over us at this worst and most dangerous juncture; whilst the insolence of enemies without, and the influence of corruption within, threaten the ruin of her constitution." Wyndham, as the consistent adherent of the Jacobite party, was not an adequate representative of the opinions of those who were honestly opposed to Walpole's system of government, but were not desirous to replace it by bringing back the Stuart dynasty. He exposed himself to the bitter reproof of the minister, that, as the mouthpiece of a faction that never sate in the House but to distress the government, and serve a Popish interest, "he was looked upon as the head of those traitors, who, twenty-five years ago, conspired the destruction of their country, and of the royal family, to set a Popish Pretender on the throne." Walpole added, "I am only afraid that they will not be as good as their word." Sixty members seceded

* Burke. "Thoughts on a Regicide Peace."

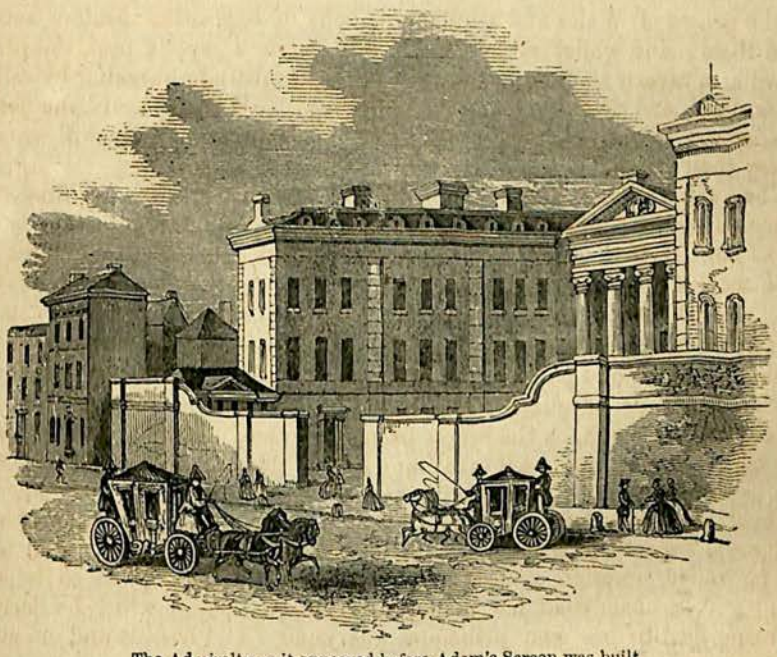
with Wyndham; and the secession left the minister at his ease for the rest of the session. Walpole was thus enabled to carry a very questionable measure —that of subsidizing Denmark for a Hanoverian object, instead of for the interest of Great Britain. The Parliament was prorogued on the 14th of June.

The plenipotentiaries under the Convention had met; but the Spaniards had been moved by the threatening denunciations of the English Parliament to make a stand upon what they thought *their* national honour. There was a dispute about a trumpery money payment of ninety thousand pounds. Cardinal Fleury offered to guarantee the payment, provided an English squadron was withdrawn from the Mediterranean. The public temper was for war. The king was for war. Walpole was urged to demand an express renunciation of the right of search, and an acknowledgment of the British claims to disputed territory in North America. Spain unceremoniously rejected the demands; and on the 19th of October a declaration of war against Spain was proclaimed in London. When the heralds rode into the City to declare the war, the prince of Wales and a numerous body of opposition leaders accompanied them; and whilst every steeple sent forth a joyous peal, the prince stopped at a tavern at Temple Bar, and set the multitude huzzaing by calling for a tankard, and drinking "success to the war." Walpole heard the peal of the bells, and exclaimed, "They may *ring* the bells now; they will soon be *wringing* their hands."

When the Parliament met on the 15th of November, 1739, the king said, "I have, in all my proceedings with the court of Spain, acted agreeably to the sense of both Houses of Parliament; and therefore I can make no doubt but I shall meet with a ready and vigorous support to this just and necessary war." "Just and necessary" are the epithets which every government applies to every war into which it rushes. The seceders from Parliament had returned. The altered policy of Walpole had failed to secure him popularity with the people, or adequate support from their representatives. He was regarded, truly enough, as the secret friend of peace. He had now to bear all the odium of the increased taxation which is the inevitable result of war. When he wished to conduct war with the necessary vigour, he was opposed. The royal navy was short of seamen. Walpole proposed that there should be a general registry of seamen serving on board merchant vessels, that they might be called upon in a case of emergency. This was held to be despotism; and he abandoned his measure. That real power which he derived from being firm to his own principles was gone. Old friends and enemies, new friends and enemies, saw that the commanding superiority of the man who had carried the vessel of the state through many a troubled sea was dwindling away. The duke of Argyle deserted him. The great Scottish chief was dismissed from his employments. Walpole had been dared by Pulteney to strip of his posts "one military person, great in his character, great in his capacity, great in the important offices he has discharged;" but he did dare. "Mr. Keith, a Jacobite, was with the duke when this dismission came. 'Mr. Keith,' the duke said, 'fall flat, fall edge, we must get rid of these people,' which Mr. Keith interpreted might imply both master and man."* Wyndham ceased to trouble Walpole. He died in 1740.

* Extract from the "Stuart Papers," given by Lord Mahon, vol iii. p. 10.

But Pulteney was still ready to do battle against him; and "the terrible Cornet of Horse" was prepared for any onslaught. There were divisions in the Cabinet. The duke of Newcastle, whose name Walpole afterwards declared was synonymous with "perfidy," was growing jealous of the man who had so long treated him as a subordinate. Newcastle complained that measures were agreed upon before others were allowed to give an opinion. "What do you mean?" cried Walpole; "the war is yours. You have had the conduct of it. I wish you joy of it." They differed about ships being sent to America. Walpole objected to leaving our own coasts defenceless. Newcastle maintained his own view, and Walpole exclaimed, "I oppose nothing; I give in to everything; am said to do everything; and to answer for everything; and yet, God knows, I dare not do what I think right. I am of opinion for having more ships of the squadron left behind; but I dare not, I will not, make any alteration. Let them go! Let them go!" *



The Admiralty as it appeared before Adam's Screen was built.

On the 17th of March, 1740, both Houses went up with an address of congratulation to the king, "on the glorious success of your majesty's arms in the West Indies, under the command of vice-admiral Vernon, by entering the port, and taking the town, of Porto Bello, and demolishing and levelling all the ports and castles belonging thereto, with six men-of-war only." Vernon, a member of parliament, was strongly opposed to the administration of Walpole; but the principle of concession procured his appointment to the command of the expedition, whose success was popularly reckoned as a wonderful triumph. The "six men-of-war only" was a phrase carried by

* Letter of Newcastle to Hardwicke, quoted by Lord Mahon, vol. iii. p. 31.

the opposition in the Commons, to mark what could be done by a resolute commander. Admiral Hosier had hesitated to attack the same place with twenty ships, in 1726. The famous ballad of "Admiral Hosier's Ghost" was written by Glover, to point this contrast; and to insinuate that Vernon, as he had informed his friends, was not properly seconded at home. The forced inactivity of Hosier enabled the government to avert a war. Yet the patriotic ballad of the author of "Leonidas," true to the politics of its time, sees no honour and safety but in fighting. The shade of Hosier thus apostrophises Vernon:

"I, by twenty sail attended,
Did this Spanish town affright:
Nothing then its wealth defended
But my orders not to fight.
Oh! that in this rolling ocean
I had cast them with disdain,
And obey'd my heart's warm motion,
To have quell'd the pride of Spain."

The ministry determined to let Vernon, the popular hero, have a fair opportunity to obey his "heart's warm motion." In the course of the summer and autumn they sent out an armament to join the popular admiral at Jamaica. Some great attack was to be made upon the Spanish possessions; but the precise destination of the expedition was to be determined by a council of war. The whole force consisted of 115 ships, 15,000 sailors, and 12,000 soldiers. It was resolved, upon the advice of Vernon, to attack Carthagena, the strongest fortified place in Spanish America. The command of the land forces had devolved upon general Wentworth; for lord Cathcart, an experienced officer, had died on the passage. Smollett, the historian, has related the assault upon Carthagena with the vague generality which was once considered to be the only proper historical style. Smollett, the novelist, who at the age of twenty was serving in one of admiral Vernon's ships as a surgeon's mate, has brought the scene before our eyes in far more vivid colours. After various delays, the fleet was before Carthagena. The one narrow entrance to the harbour, called the Boca Chica, was defended by several forts and batteries, one principal fort being known as the Castle. The troops had been landed, and had erected batteries to fire upon this castle on one side, whilst the large ships should attack it on the other side. The signal, says the surgeon's mate, was given for his ship to engage. "Our ship, with others destined for this service, immediately weighed, and in less than half-an-hour came to an anchor before the castle of Boca Chica, with a spring upon our cable; and the cannonading (which, indeed, was terrible) began. The surgeon, after having crossed himself, fell flat on the deck; and the chaplain and purser, who were stationed with us in quality of assistants, followed his example, while the Welshman and I sat upon a chest looking at one another with great discomposure, scarce able to refrain from the like prostration. And, that the reader may know it was not a common occasion that alarmed us thus, I must inform him of the particulars of this dreadful din that astounded us. The fire of the Spaniards proceeded from eighty-four great guns, besides a mortar and small arms, in Boca Chica, thirty-six in Fort St. Joseph, twenty in two fascine batteries, and four men-

of-war, mounting sixty-four guns each. This was answered by our land battery, mounted with twenty-one cannon, two mortars, and twenty-four cohorns, and five great ships of seventy or eighty guns, that fired without intermission." A sailor whose hand was shattered by a grape-shot is brought down to the cock-pit: "While I was employed in dressing the stump, I asked Jack's opinion of the battle, who, shaking his head, frankly told me he believed we should do no good; 'For why? because instead of dropping anchor close under shore, where we should have had to deal with one corner of Boca Chica, we had opened the harbour, and exposed ourselves to the whole fire of the enemy from their shipping and Fort St. Joseph, as well as from the Castle we intended to cannonade; that, besides, we lay at too great a distance to damage the walls, and three parts in four of our shot did not take place; for there was scarce anybody on board who understood the pointing of a gun.'" The Boca Chica is at length abandoned by the Spaniards, and the men of war enter the outward harbour. Vernon wrote home to announce his "wonderful success." Carthagena was held to have fallen; and, as Voltaire states, a medal was struck in honour of "the avenger of his country,"—of the gallant Vernon,—who had made himself master of the rich city hitherto deemed impregnable. The fleet tardily overcame the obstacle of sunk ships, and penetrated to the inner harbour. The author of "Roderick Random" again throws interest into the usual dry narrative: "After having put garrisons into the forts we had taken, and re-embarked our soldiers and artillery, a piece of service that detained us more than a week, we ventured up to the mouth of the inner harbour, guarded by a large fortification on one side, and a small redoubt on the other, both of which were deserted before our approach, and the entrance of the harbour blocked up by several old galleons and two men-of-war that the enemy had sunk in the channel. We made shift, however, to open a passage for some ships, that favoured a second landing of our troops, at a place called La Quinta, not far from the town, where, after a faint resistance from a body of Spaniards who opposed their disembarkation, they encamped with a design of besieging the Castle of St. Lazar, which overlooked and commanded the city. Whether our renowned general had nobody in his army who knew how to approach it in form, or that he trusted entirely to the fame of his arms, I shall not determine; but, certain it is, a resolution was taken in a council of war, to attack the place with musketry only. This was put in execution, and succeeded accordingly; the enemy giving them such a hearty reception that the greatest part of the detachment took up their everlasting residence on the spot. Our chief, not relishing this kind of complaisance in the Spaniards, was wise enough to retreat on board with the remains of his army, which from eight thousand able men landed on the beach, near Boca Chica, was now reduced to fifteen hundred fit for service." In all these operations there was no cordial union between the admiral and the general. They had separate commands. Vernon, a vain man, was indifferent to any success in which he should not have the chief honour. He sent no assistance to Wentworth in the attack upon Fort San Lazaro, until the failure was irretrievable. The wet season had begun; the fleet and army were ill-provisioned; an epidemic fever raged. On the 24th of April it was determined to abandon the assault of Carthagena. The one success was paraded by Vernon in a despatch: "I

believe even the Spaniards will give us a certificate that we have effectually destroyed all their castles." The fortifications were demolished. The shades of the brave men whose "carcases floated in the harbour, until they were devoured by sharks and carrion-crows," might have repeated the words of Hosier's "sad troop of ghosts:"

> "Sent in this foul clime to languish,
> Think what thousands fell in vain."

Another expedition, despatched from England in September, 1740, has furnished the materials for two of the most interesting relations in our language. Walter's narrative of lord Anson's voyage, and Byron's narrative of his adventures in the ship Wager, offer as many stirring examples of courage and fortitude as any of the most exciting records of naval victories. In the qualities which these captains displayed, under severe privations and sufferings which almost forbade hope, we see upon what foundations of national character our maritime greatness has been built. When we read Smollett's description of the brutal and the effeminate commanders under whom he served, we must not forget that the same age produced George Anson and John Byron. The squadron of six vessels under commodore Anson was to attack the shores of Peru, sailing round Cape Horn. It almost surpasses belief, that the only land troops which these vessels carried consisted of out-pensioners of Chelsea, old men, some wounded, all feeble. Five hundred of these were to have incumbered the squadron. Only about half sailed, the rest having deserted. In the spring of 1741, in attempting to double Cape Horn the ships were encountered by violent hurricanes; and the Centurion, Anson's ship, was separated from her companions. To understand what were the dangers of the sea a century ago, we must turn to the fearful relation of the ravages produced in the Centurion by the scurvy. Anson had determined, under stress of weather, to make for the uninhabited island of Juan Fernandez. Before he reached this refuge on the 10th of June, two hundred of his crew had died. The Trial sloop arrived at the island, having lost two-thirds of her crew. Both ships were soon relieved of the poor out-pensioners of Chelsea, who were the first to sink under the fatal disease, which destroyed far more on ship-board than storm or battle. The Pearl and Severn, two large ships, had put back to the Brazils. The Wager was wrecked on a small desert island. Her crew were saved from drowning; but the prospect of the more terrible death of famine rendered them desperate. Byron, a stern commander, had not the one great quality of kindness by which violent men in seasons of suffering are more controlled than by harshness. They mutinied; seized the long-boat; and left their captain, with the lieutenant, the surgeon, and two midshipmen, on the desert island where the wreck took place. One of these five died. The adventures of the other four will always be read with deep interest by a maritime people. Anson remained at Juan Fernandez, with three vessels, till the autumn. His men were refreshed; his ships refitted; and he was ready for some exploit. In September they sallied forth, and secured a valuable prize. Other prizes were made, as they cruised about the island. The town of Paita was attacked by a boat's crew, and a large amount of public treasure was obtained. Anson, in the barbarous spirit of earlier times, suffered his sailors to rifle private houses and

even churches, and finally burnt the town. When he took prisoners at sea he was courteous, especially to ladies. Captain Basil Hall records, that after the lapse of eighty years, the kindness of Anson to his Spanish prisoners was remembered at Paita, whilst his wanton destruction of the town was scarcely dwelt upon. Affliction came again upon the little squadron. The scurvy again broke out. The ships became leaky. The commodore could not man his prizes, and he destroyed them. The fifty-gun ship, the Gloucester, sprung a leak, and there were not hands aboard to work the pumps effectually. The crew were removed to the Centurion, and the doomed vessel was set on fire. Anson was now companionless with his good ship. After a long sojourn in Tinian, one of the Ladrone islands, where fresh meat and the fruit of the bread-tree restored his crew to health, he again sailed forth in the spring of 1743 to look for Spanish galleons. On the 20th of June the Centurion met with one of these great treasure-ships. After a severe action she carried her prize into Canton, with a million and a-half of dollars. Anson returned to Spithead in June, 1744; when England was thinking of more serious matters than his losses or gains.

When Walpole, in 1738, was using all the influence of his experience to prevent England being driven into a war with Spain, he said, in the great debate upon the alleged Spanish depredations, "No man can prudently give his advice for declaring war, without knowing the whole system of the affairs of Europe as they stand at present, and how the several potentates of Europe now stand affected towards one another. It is not the power of Spain, and the power of this nation only, that we ought in such a case to consider and compare; we ought likewise to know what allies our enemies may have, and what assistance we may expect from our friends." The orators were too strong for the statesman; but the statesman saw farther than the orators. When the king opened the session of Parliament in November, 1740, he inferred that the Court of Spain "began to be sensible that they should be no longer able, alone, to defend themselves against the efforts of the British nation." He alluded to "some late extraordinary proceedings." He said "If any other power should interfere, and attempt to prescribe or limit the operations of the war against my declared enemies, the honour and interest of my crown and kingdoms must call upon us to lose no time in putting ourselves into such a condition as may enable us to repel any insults." Walpole knew, in 1738, that a war with Spain would eventually involve a war with France. The two branches of the House of Bourbon would again be in alliance. France and Spain, as he foresaw, formed a family compact. But there were other complications at the end of 1740, which were also threatening a general European conflict. To these the speech from the throne referred: "The great and unhappy event of the death of the late emperor opens a new scene in the affairs of Europe, in which all the principal powers may be immediately or consequentially concerned." Charles VI. died on the 20th of October. The question of the Pragmatic Sanction was now to be regarded as little more than a parchment edict, even by those who had guaranteed it. Maria Theresa, the daughter of the emperor, became the heiress of his hereditary states. The queen of Hungary, as she was styled, would have formidable rivals to the succession. A claimant to a considerable portion of her dominions would start up in the person of the prince, who, on

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the death of Frederick William, king of Prussia, on the 31st of May of this same year, became Frederick II. We reserve, for another chapter, the consideration of the events that gave the first indication that England would be forced into a long and exhausting war—a war not so capable of adjustment as her commercial disputes with Spain would have been, if those differences had been managed with temper and common sense.

The threatening aspect of European affairs produced no moderation in the conduct of parties. Agreeing very slightly upon principles of government, or utterly disagreeing, there was one bond of union for some men of all sides—hatred of Walpole. Notice was given to sir Robert by Mr. Sandys, a member of no great mark, that he intended to bring forward articles of accusation against him. On the 13th of February the motion of Mr. Sandys for an address to the king to remove sir Robert Walpole from his majesty's presence and councils for ever, was prefaced by a speech in which the whole course of his administration, for a long series of years, was animadverted upon as a series of national calamities. The mover said, that he imputed every public evil to one person, because that one person had grasped in his own hands every branch of government; had attained the sole direction of affairs; monopolized all the favours of the crown, was the dispenser of all honours and preferments. It was proposed that during the debate sir Robert should retire from the House. The unfair attempt was overruled. Walpole was bitterly attacked by some; was sincerely but feebly defended by others. Shippen, his old Jacobite adversary, said this motion was only a pretence for turning out one minister, and bringing in another—he should not trouble himself with such a matter. He left the House, followed by a strong body of his friends. Walpole spoke last, and he spoke admirably. Some of the expressions of his bitter contempt of his adversaries have been preserved: "Gentlemen have talked a great deal of patriotism. A venerable word, when duly practised. I am sorry to say that of late it has been so much hackneyed about, that it is in danger of falling into disgrace. The very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the very worst of purposes. A patriot, sir! Why, patriots spring up like mushrooms! I could raise fifty of them within the four-and-twenty hours. I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot. I have never been afraid of making patriots; but I disdain and despise all their efforts. This pretended virtue proceeds from personal malice and disappointed ambition. There is not a man among them whose particular aim I am not able to ascertain, and from what motive they have entered into the lists of opposition." He went, step by step, through the various charges against him. More impartial judges than his accusers—those who calmly review the history of their country after a century has intervened,—will acknowledge that the great merit which, in the conclusion of his speech, he claimed for himself, is justly his due: "If my whole administration is to be scrutinised and arraigned, why are the most favourable parts to be omitted? If facts are to be accumulated on one side, why not on the other? And why may not I be permitted to speak in my own favour? Was I not called by the voice of the king and the nation to remedy the fatal effects of the South Sea project, and to support declining credit? Was I not placed

at the head of the Treasury when the revenues were in the greatest confusion? Is credit revived, and does it now flourish? Is it not at an incredible height, and if so, to whom must that circumstance be attributed? Has not tranquillity been preserved both at home and abroad, notwithstanding a most unreasonable and violent opposition? Has the true interest of the nation been pursued, or has trade flourished?" The motion of Mr. Sandys was negatived by a majority of 290 against 106. A similar motion made by lord Carteret in the House of Lords was also rejected.

The Parliament was approaching its natural termination under the Septennial Act. Before it was dissolved a subsidy had been granted to the queen of Hungary; the determination having been distinctly avowed that his Britannic Majesty would support his guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction. The measure was not unpopular in England; but Walpole's unpopularity went on rapidly increasing. Upon him was thrown the blame of the failure at Carthagena. The king had gone to Hanover, and without the knowledge of his English ministers had entered into a treaty of neutrality for his German states for one year, alarmed at those successes of Prussia against Austria which we shall have to relate. Walpole had to bear the blame of every event that appeared pregnant with danger. The ministry decidedly lost ground in the elections for the new Parliament. If we may judge from a passage in a letter of Horace Walpole, his father was sadly changed: "He who at dinner always forgot he was minister, and was more gay and thoughtless than all his company, now sits without speaking, and with his eyes fixed for an hour together." * The Parliament met on the 4th of December. Night after night were the old attacks renewed. The ministerial majority dwindled away. In one struggle upon an election petition there was only a majority of seven for the government. Walpole was pressed by his friends to resign. But he held on. After a great debate on the 18th of January he had only a majority of three, in the fullest House ever known. On the 28th of January, after another battle, he had only a majority of one. Sir Robert Walpole resigned on the 1st of February, 1742.

Immediately after his resignation, Walpole was created Earl of Orford. His fall from power did not abate the hostility of his enemies. When, in December, 1741, the ministerial majority was dwindling away, Horace Walpole wrote to Mann, "I look upon it now, that the question is Downing-street or the Tower." Downing-street had been evacuated after a tenancy of twenty years; and a lodging was to be provided, where, said Horace, "there are a thousand pretty things to amuse you; the lions, the armoury, the crown, and the axe that beheaded Anna Bullen." On the 9th of March, 1742, a motion for a Secret Committee to inquire into the administration of sir Robert Walpole during the past twenty years, was made by lord Limerick. It was rejected by a majority of two. A second motion to limit the inquiry to the previous ten years was carried. There was doubtless some difficulty in obtaining evidence; but the wholesale corruption and misappropriation of the public money which had been alleged against Walpole, was not substantiated by the testimony before the Committee. No charge could be brought against

* Letter to Sir Horace Mann, October 19, 1741.

the minister that he was himself venal. In his great defence he exclaimed, "Have I ever been suspected of being corrupted? A strange phenomenon. A corrupter, himself not corrupt!" Secret and Special Services had amounted in ten years to nearly a million and a-half sterling. The Committee admit, "that no form of government can subsist without a power of employing public money for services which are in their nature secret, and ought always to remain so." But, with one exception, the application of this amount of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds per annum could not be traced so as to bring home the dealings of the Treasury with "the venal tribe" in parliament. As to another species of venality, the evidence was clear enough. During the ten years there had been paid by Mr. Lowther, "no less a sum than £50,079 18*s.* 0*d.* to authors and printers of newspapers, such as 'Free Briton,' 'Daily Courant,' 'Persuasive to Candour and Impartiality,' 'Corn-cutter's Journal,' Gazetteers, and other political papers. Your Committee leave it to the judgment of the House, whether this particular sum was less under the direction of the earl of Orford than if it had passed through his own hands."* If Walpole ever took the trouble to compare the thing thus bought with the price thus given, he must have felt that the folly of his agents was quite on a par with the stupidity of his hacks. The Report of the Secret Committee was received with public contempt, according to Tindal. No proceedings were taken upon it. Lord Orford sat quietly in the House of Lords, where his great rival, Pulteney, soon afterwards sat, as earl of Bath. When they met in that House, Orford walked up to Bath, and thus congratulated him on his elevation: "Here we are, my lord; the two most insignificant fellows in England."

* Report "Parliamentary History," vol. xii. col. 814.

Medal to commemorate the Battle of Dettingen.

CHAPTER VII.

Maria Theresa—Her succession disputed—Claim of Frederick II. upon Silesia—He invades Silesia—Battle of Molwitz—The French in Bavaria—Maria Theresa in Hungary—Elector of Bavaria chosen Emperor—Prussia obtains Silesia—Change in the English ministry—Ascendency of Carteret—Hanoverian troops in English pay—The Stuarts—Projected descent on the British coasts—Battle of Dettingen—Administration of the Pelhams—Battle of Fontenoy—Statute against the sons of the Pretender—Jacobitism of England and Scotland—Charles Edward in France—Note on the Battle of Dettingen—Table of treaties.

Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary, is wedded to Francis, grand duke of Tuscany. The heiress of Charles VI. is twenty-three years of age. Her subjects cheerfully acknowledge the validity of her title, guaranteed as it had been by nearly all the European powers. The Elector of Bavaria first disputed the succession of the young queen. He had a prior claim, he maintained, under the will of the emperor, Ferdinand I.,—a somewhat antiquated document. France and Spain supported this claim, happy in a chance of lowering the House of Austria. England and Holland adhered to the guarantee which they had given to the late emperor. The German Electors were compared to the humbler English electors—they thought it a proper opportunity to make the most of their votes. Whilst other sovereign princes were devising some decent pretext for breaking up the peace of the world, that they might each clutch something in the affray, one prince, stronger and bolder than the rest, dashed into hostilities. Frederick II., king of Prussia, according to most historians "availed himself of the emperor's death to revive some obsolete claims to certain duchies and lordships of Silesia." * The king of

* Lord Mahon—vol. iii. p. 117.

Prussia "demanded of the court of Vienna part of Silesia, by virtue of old treaties of co-fraternity which were either obsolete or annulled." * The claim was a somewhat "obsolete" one, dating from the time of the Thirty Years' War, when certain territories, including the castle of Jägerndorf, were seized by Ferdinand II.; and no subsequent Kaiser "would let go the hold." † The claim was attempted to be "annulled" in 1686, by "a plan actually not unlike that of swindling money-lenders to a young gentleman in difficulties, and of manageable turn, who has got into their hands." ‡ The father of Frederick II. growled over the thought of his ravished territory. The "sharp little man, little in stature, but large in faculty and renown,"—who found himself, in 1740, something higher than a Crown Prince who had endured manifold beatings in the hope that his own good time was coming,—opened the strong boxes that had been filled during twenty-eight years of royal savings, and led thirty thousand of the well-drilled Prussian grenadiers to the invasion of Silesia. It was not a very chivalrous movement. He proposed to Maria Theresa that he would support her claim to the succession generally, if she would cede to him the one province which had been taken from his ancestors. Whilst a Prussian soldier is on Silesian ground, replied the spirited queen, I will enter upon no terms. Frederick knew that he should not be without friends in an attack upon the Austrian power. He took the cool view of his position which was to be expected from his nature and his rough training in kingship. To the French ambassador at Berlin he said (if Voltaire reports him rightly) as he set out with his invading army, "I am going, I believe, to play your game; and if I should throw doublets, we will share the stakes." The royal philosopher who thus knows his trade at twenty-eight, will certainly keep the world stirring in his time, for good or for evil.

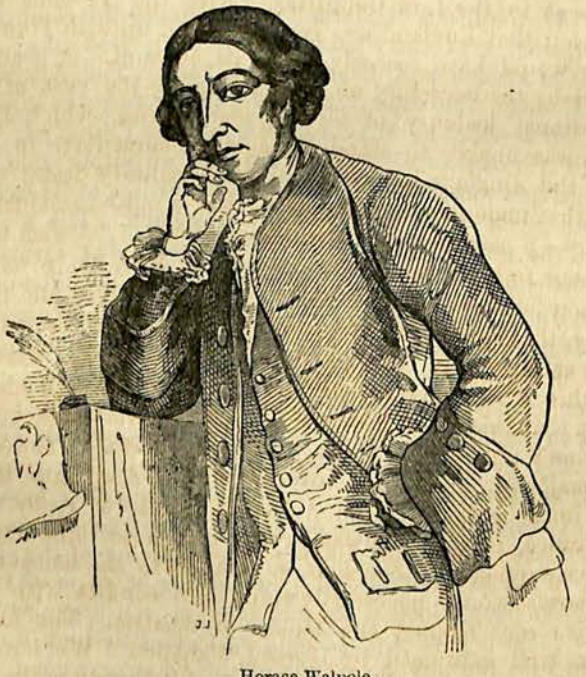
Frederick encountered little opposition in Silesia. The Austrian troops retreated into Moravia, whilst the Prussians had secured the greater part of the territory which they invaded, with the exception of three fortified towns. The Austrian general, Neipperg, returned to Silesia, with an army of twenty-four thousand men. On the 10th of April, 1741, a great battle was fought at Molwitz, near the fortified town of Brierg. The Austrian cavalry routed the Prussian cavalry; and Frederick himself was driven far beyond the field of action. A charge of cowardice has been raised against the king of Prussia for his conduct on this occasion. It rests upon a relation of Maupertuis, the French mathematician, who was in his suite. When his attendants seemed in danger from the attack of an Austrian outpost, he rode off, exclaiming, "Farewell, my friends, I am better mounted than you all are." The Prussian infantry redeemed the temporary defeat, and won the battle. Frederick, in his own history of his time, says that Molwitz was the school of himself and his troops, and that he afterwards reflected deeply upon the errors which he had committed. He said that Neipperg and himself had been trying which could commit the most faults. But Prussia had won; and France was now ready to make common cause with the victor. England, as we have seen, abided by its old engagements; and voted a subsidy to the queen of Hungary. But Walpole still tried the effect

* Smollett—book ii. chap. vii. † Carlyle—vol. i. p. 341. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 365.

of negotiations; and the Elector of Hanover, disregarding the feeling of the English Parliament, tried the effect of neutrality. Two French armies joined the forces of the Elector of Bavaria, and were moving upon Vienna. Maria Theresa fled into Hungary. At Presburg the Diet was assembled; and the beautiful queen, with her infant son in her arms, appealed to the hereditary valour of the Hungarian States to protect her. She spoke not the language of their country, but she spoke Latin, which had not yet ceased to be the language of the high-born and the learned, and which was well understood in Hungary. "We will die for our *king*, Maria Theresa," was the shout of the assembly. The woman-king roused the people as effectually as the cry in our own day would be for "our queen and *governor*." From the most distant provinces of that interesting country, the people assembled in arms. They forgot the miseries they had endured from their Austrian rulers. They recollected that at her coronation in the previous June, she had taken the oath, which previous Austrian sovereigns had abolished, to maintain the ancient privileges of their nation. The Elector of Bavaria, with his French allies, did not attack Vienna, which the husband of Maria Theresa remained to defend. The Elector entered Bohemia, and took Prague by surprise on the 25th of November. Here he was crowned king of Bohemia; and he next reached the summit of ambition by being chosen Emperor of Germany, as Charles VII. But the great quarrel of the Austrian succession was not determined by this success. In 1742, the levies of Maria Theresa, under the command of prince Charles of Lorraine, held the French in check in Bohemia; and another army defeated the French and Bavarians at Linz. The Austrians entered Bavaria; and Munich, the capital city of the Elector, was occupied by his adversaries on the day that he was chosen emperor at Frankfort. The struggle continued with various successes and reverses on either side. Frederick saw that his business was again to press for the cession of Silesia. He again negotiated; and again could not obtain his demand. His army, powerful enough to turn the scale in such a contest as was going forward, took the field; and he defeated the Austrians in Bohemia, on the 17th of May, 1742. On the 15th of July, king George, in closing the Session, exulted in the success of his endeavours "to bring about an accommodation between those princes whose union was most necessary in this critical conjuncture. The treaty lately concluded between the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia, under my mediation, and so highly to the honour of Great Britain, must undoubtedly produce the best consequences to the common cause." That treaty gave Prussia Silesia. It was the first step in the career of Frederick II. towards raising his small kingdom into the position of one of the greater European states—in time to become one of the greatest.

The fall of Walpole was followed by a shifting of some of the officers of government. The people looked on, and saw that nothing else was changed. They had joined the cry of a parliamentary faction to hunt down one man. They looked in vain for any bettering of their domestic condition—for any signal display of national greatness. Some violent demagogues had talked of the scaffold for the minister who had governed the nation without bloodshed or proscription, at a period when a less firm hand would have encouraged the Jacobites, and a less merciful hand would have hunted them into desperation. The mob carried about his effigy. "Satan" and "Bob" figured together in

caricatures. The excitement was soon over. Walpole's ascendency was the real key-stone of the opposition arch, itself composed of very loose materials. The key-stone was displaced, and the arch fell to pieces. Some of the Opposition got places, others got none. The only change which could be popularly understood was, that an apparent reconciliation took place between the king and the prince of Wales. The prince went to court; and the king asked his royal highness after the health of the princess. The duke of Argyle desired to form a coalition ministry—what was then first termed "a broad bottom." The plan would not succeed; and the duke retired in disgust. The king would have nothing to say to the Tories. Instead of a minute relation of the rivalries and jealousies of this period, a clever story, told by Horace Walpole, may stand in the place of graver history. The duke of Newcastle gave a great dinner at Claremont to his new colleagues. The servants, as was customary at this period, all got drunk. At the inn near the gate of Richmond Park, of which Walpole was ranger, the coachman who was driving lord Bath [Pulteney], lord Carteret, lord Limerick, and Mr. Furness, tumbled off the box,—he alone being left of the liveried troop. The innkeeper was asked if he could convey them to town. No, not he; perhaps he could get lord Orford's coachman to drive them. They accepted the offer. Horace



Horace Walpole.

tells the sequel: "Lord Orford has been at court again to-day. Lord Carteret came up to thank him for his coachman, the duke of Newcastle standing by. My father said, 'My lord, when the duke is near overturning you, you have nothing to do but to send for me, and I will save you.'" A ballad was

sung in the streets to the burden of Derry Down, in which this event had its moral:—

"Learn hence, honest Britons, in spite of your pains,
That Orford, old coachman, still governs the reins." *

Lord Carteret was the only member of the cabinet who possessed high ability. Pitt was not called to office. His exclusion was no doubt owing to the personal dislike of the king. Neither had Chesterfield or Lyttleton places. Carteret was a favourite of George and of his son. He was a general favourite, from his wit, his accomplishments, his gay humour. But he was a very indifferent substitute for the keen and painstaking Walpole, who, like all really great men, did not despise petty things, or think it beneath him to attend to the small details of public affairs. Carteret was satisfied to lead the king, by entering into his majesty's aspirations to hold the scales of European policy, and to command armies. He was asked by the Chief Justice to make an appointment to some office. "What is it to me," exclaimed the dashing minister, "who is a judge and who is a bishop? It is my business to make kings and emperors, and to maintain the balance of Europe." The Balance was to be held by taking sixteen thousand Hanoverian troops into English pay. When the king opened the Session on the 16th of November, 1742, and mentioned "sixteen thousand of my electoral troops," as sent to the Low Countries, "with the Hessians in the British pay," it was felt that England was getting mixed up with Hanover in a way that Walpole would have scarcely dared to attempt. A grant of 657,000*l.* was proposed by the Secretary of War, to defray the cost of these troops. Then the national jealousy of foreign mercenaries, which the genius of William III. was unable to stand up against, burst forth in contemptuous disregard of the king's relations with his hereditary State. Sir John St. Aubyn said, that undoubtedly his majesty had a most passionate love for his native country—a passion which arises from virtue. "I wish that those who have the honour to be of his councils would imitate his royal example, and show a passion for their native country too; that they would faithfully stand forth and say, that as king of this country, whatever interests may interfere with it, this country is to be his first, his principal care; that in the Act of Settlement this is an express condition." Pitt was even bolder: "It is now too apparent that this great, this powerful, this formidable kingdom, is considered only as a province to a despicable electorate." The ministers commanded a majority. But such invectives went deep into the heart of the nation. It must be borne in mind that England was really not engaged in war with France, though she was paying troops to fight against the cause which France supported. She sent auxiliaries to the house of Austria, and these auxiliaries would necessarily come into conflict with the auxiliaries which France sent against the House of Austria. The absurdity of the situation was well expressed by Horace Walpole: "We have the name of war with Spain without the thing, and war with France without the name."

Twenty-one years have passed since Great Britain was agitated by rumours of Jacobite plots and insurrections. The execution of Layer and

* Wright—"House of Hanover," vol. i. p. 204.

the banishment of Atterbury had gradually gone out of the popular mind; and it appeared to be forgotten that the Stuart, who had been hailed as king at Scone in 1716, was residing at Rome, and that he had two sons growing into manhood. As long as Britain was at peace, there was little to be apprehended from James Edward or Charles Edward. The son of James II. lived a retired life, although he was treated by the papal court with the homage due to a reigning sovereign. His consort had died in 1735. The two young men, who were called prince of Wales and duke of York, had been very imperfectly educated; had displayed no marked abilities; and knew little of the history and real condition of the country which they were sedulously taught was their absolute inheritance, from which an usurper must be some day driven. There were always partizans in England and Scotland, ready to communicate every turn in politics to the duke of Ormond, to the earl Marischal, to the titular earl of Dunbar, who formed the principal persons of the little court at Rome. In Scotland there was an association engaged to restore the exiled family,—some held together by honest principles,—others, such as lord Lovat, disappointed in some object of selfish ambition, and ready to throw off their allegiance to the government which had not duly bought them. In England, Walpole knew all the Jacobites, and counted the greater number as honest enemies. He kept his eye upon the great families, the Somersets and the Wynns; denounced Wyndham in Parliament, and propitiated Shippen. But he never went out of his way to pry into plots, or to arrest plotters. As long as Walpole was in power, and England was at peace with foreign states, the Stuarts had no chance of winning a throne by revolt and invasion. When Walpole fell, and England was at war with Spain and France,—when the pacific French minister, cardinal Fleury, was succeeded by the more energetic and more wily, cardinal Tencin,—the vulnerable point in the position of the House of Brunswick was to be hit. In 1743, a great invasion was projected from France. Charles Edward was urged to leave Rome and repair to Paris. He was nominally to command an army of veterans assembled at Dunkirk, having the great marshal Saxe to lead the troops which were to drive the Elector of Hanover from his usurped throne. The expedition sailed at the beginning of 1744 from Dunkirk. A great storm destroyed or scattered the fleet of transports; and sir John Norris, who was ready for a fight in the Channel, was content to pick up a few dismasted vessels. Marshal Saxe went to take the command of an army in the Low Countries; and Charles Edward secluded himself at Gravelines, till a more favourable occasion should arise, when he should emerge from his obscurity as Regent of Great Britain and Ireland.

When the king prorogued the Parliament on the 21st of April, 1743, he announced that, at the requisition of the queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army, in conjunction with the Austrian troops, to pass the Rhine. His majesty immediately departed for Germany. The British troops in Flanders, under the command of the earl of Stair, had marched towards the Rhine in February. They were joined by the sixteen thousand Hanoverians in the pay of England; and by some Austrian regiments, commanded by the duke of Aremberg. In May the army had crossed the Rhine, and had taken up a station at Hochst, near Frankfort. Stair was waiting for Hanoverians and Hessians to add to his numbers; for the French marshal de Noailles, with

an army of sixty thousand men, was within a few leagues of the British general's position. Stair made an imprudent movement, by which he was cut off from his supplies at Hanau. King George reached the army on the 19th of June, accompanied by his second son, the duke of Cumberland. The forty thousand men were reduced to thirty-seven thousand; they were on short rations, and the horses without forage. Their position was an unfavourable one near the village of Dettingen; the French general was at hand with a superior force. It was absolutely necessary that the Allies should return to their magazines at Hanau. On the 27th of June, before sunrise, they had commenced their march from Aschaffenburg towards Dettingen. They were ignorant of the exact position of the French, fancying their principal force was towards Aschaffenburg, in their rear. In this belief the king took the command of the rear-guard, as the post of danger. A large body of French were in their front, to contest the passage of the Allies through the defile of Dettingen. George immediately rode from the rear to form his army in order of battle, with the almost desperate resolution of forcing the strong French lines. The brave little man was surrounded by dangers. As he marched from Aschaffenburg the French entered the place with twelve thousand men. Behind and before was the enemy, in most formidable numbers, shutting him up in a narrow valley. Grammont, the nephew of Noailles—eager to engage, in the temporary absence of his uncle, who had ridden off to bring up additional force—rushed forward from a formidable position covered by a morass, to charge with his cavalry. George dismounted, drew his sword, and put himself at the head of the right of his British and Hanoverians, exclaiming: "Now, boys, now for the honour of England; fire, and behave bravely, and the French will soon run." The infantry thus led on did behave bravely, and did make the French soon run. The duke of Cumberland, who commanded the left, displayed the same courage as his father. The battle of Dettingen afforded no display for high military skill on the part of the British commanders. They had desperately to fight their way out of a difficulty; and they had troops upon whose bravery and steadiness they could confidently rely. The battle was not over till four in the afternoon, but the victory was complete on the part of the Allies. The French could offer no resistance to the retreat to Hanau, which again gave the half-starved British, Hanoverians, and Austrians, the command of abundant supplies. At Hanau they were joined by their reinforcements, and an invasion of France was even talked of. It was wise in king George not to be flushed with his triumph; and to resist the advice of Stair to attempt some perilous adventure. It was complained that the king did not listen to the councils of his English officers, but had Hanoverian partialities. Stair, the duke of Marlborough, and others, resigned their commissions. The success of the Allies in the campaign was completed, by the expulsion of the French armies from Germany, by the forces under prince Charles of Lorraine. The king was received in England with an enthusiasm which he had never before excited. But the complaints of lord Stair, and others, revived the old cry of Hanoverian influence. The Hanoverian White Horse, in cocked hat and jack-boots, riding the feeble British Lion, was the subject of a popular caricature.

In August, 1743, whilst the king was on the continent, Henry Pelham,

brother of the duke of Newcastle, had been appointed first Lord of the Treasury. Walpole had identified this office with the position of a prime-minister; but Carteret, the Secretary of State, who had accompanied George in his campaign, had really controlled the cabinet. Carteret was now the great object of attack from the Opposition. He was the Hanoverian minister —the wicked minister. Succeeding to some of the power of Walpole, he had inherited no inconsiderable portion of the odium which attached to every servant of a king who, unfortunately, had other interests to promote than that of the country which had called his family to the throne. The violent tone of the parliamentary debates led foreigners to believe, as they always believe under such circumstances, that Great Britain was torn to pieces by internal dissensions, and that the time was ripe for dynastic changes, if not for invasion and conquest. It was this belief which suggested the abortive attempt of 1744, which we have briefly noticed. The instant that the country really appeared in danger, the most eloquent opponents of the Administration—the most indignant declaimers against Hanoverian partialities—those who would have disbanded every foreign soldier, without any substitute for national defence—raised a voice in parliament for the defence of the nation and the throne, which, as in many similar instances, made foreigners wonder at the inconsistencies of representative assemblies. On the 20th of March, 1744, France declared war against England. There was an end of that anomalous state of things, in which two great states were fighting against each other, not as principals, but as auxiliaries of other governments. The English declaration of war was issued on the 31st of March.

The continental war of 1744 was chiefly marked by the sudden movement of the king of Prussia against the Austrians. He overran Bohemia; but evacuated it before the end of the year. The king of England, very much against his will, was restrained by the general voice of his Council, with the exception of Carteret, now earl Granville, from leaving England. The difference of opinion on these Hanoverian questions soon made it impossible that the ministry could hold together. Pelham had succeeded Walpole in his command of the House of Commons. Granville had the king with him. It was clear which party would triumph. The king was obliged to part with his favourite—a man far more able than those who insisted on his dismissal, but whose very ability was more dangerous than their mediocrity. The duke of Newcastle and his brother desired a coalition of parties. They wanted old Jacobites, like Sir Hinde Cotton, to be associated with young patriots, like Chesterfield and Pitt. The greatest member of the Opposition refused to take an office inferior to that of Secretary of State. But Pitt did not oppose the new government. At the risk of that charge of inconsistency which feeble statesmen always dread, he supported a grant for the continuance of the army in Flanders—a measure which he had before opposed. "He showed how much the question was changed from what it was last year, when a certain fatal influence prevailed in his majesty's councils. The object then seemed to be the multiplying war upon war, expense upon expense, and the abetting the House of Austria in romantic schemes of acquisition, such as the recovery of the Avulsa Imperii, without regard to the immediate interest of Great Britain. The object now was, by connecting ourselves closely with

Holland, to arrive at a situation which might enable us to hold out fair and reasonable terms of peace, both to our friends and enemies, and not to prosecute the war a moment longer, than we could obtain an equitable and sufficient security for our own rights, and those of our allies, pursuant to public treaties. . . . . He thought a dawn of salvation to this country had broke forth, and he would follow it as far as it would lead him. He should be the greatest dupe in the world if those now at the helm did not mean the honour of their master, and the good of the nation; if he found himself deceived, nothing would be left but to act with an honest despair." * The great Commoner was no doubt sincere in his belief; yet there was little change in the system of subsidizing foreign powers, and paying foreign troops.

The earl of Chesterfield, before he entered upon the appointment he had accepted as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, went upon a mission to the Hague, to concert military operations with the Dutch government. The great object to be obtained was, that the duke of Cumberland should be appointed commander-in-chief of the confederate army. Before the campaign of 1745 was opened, the emperor Charles the Seventh died at Munich. His son, the new elector of Bavaria, withdrew his claim to the Austrian succession, and separated his troops from the army of the French. Maria Theresa restored her conquests in Bavaria. In March, 1745, lord Orford died. The evils which he had for many years averted by his pacific policy were coming thick upon his country.

The campaign of 1745, in Flanders, was long memorable for such a display of the qualities of the British soldier as have often made the purely military nations of Europe look on with wonder. As often, in the long interval between the days of Marlborough and of Wellington, have they equally wondered at the incapacity of those commanders under whom these qualities were displayed. The French army, seventy-six thousand in number, had taken the field under marshal Saxe. His name alone was sufficient to give confidence to his men, and to induce caution in his enemies. To oppose him was the young duke of Cumberland, under the tutelage of an old Austrian marshal, and controlled in some respects by the Dutch commander. The united army scarcely reached fifty thousand in number. At the beginning of May the French suddenly invested Tournay. The States-General pressed for the relief of this fortress, the strongest in Flanders; and the duke of Cumberland advanced at the head of his forces to encounter the sixty thousand French that were collected in advance of Tournay. Marshal Saxe had taken up a strong position on rising ground, with the village of Fontenoy in front. His right rested on the village of Antoin and the Scheldt; his left on the wood of Barré. This position was strengthened by all the resources of military science. Redoubts were constructed; the villages were fortified; abatis were formed in the wood. On the 10th of May [N. S.], the duke of Cumberland's army had driven in the French outposts; and he issued orders for an attack on the French. At four o'clock on the morning of the 11th the Allies advanced; and by nine o'clock the engagement had become general. The French com-

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xiii. col. 1055—from Mr. York's Journal.

manders were astonished that an enemy inferior in numbers should attack them in a position so apparently unassailable. Louis XV. and the dauphin had joined the army, and they looked upon a sight which told them of England's strength,—perhaps of England's weakness. The Dutch commander, the prince of Waldeck, had undertaken to carry Antoin and Fontenoy by assault. He could not stand up against the fire of the French batteries, and he retired to some distance from the field, rendering no help to the English and Hanoverians. The ground was too rugged, it is said, for the operations of cavalry. William of Cumberland formed a column of fourteen thousand British infantry, thirty or forty abreast; and with measured tread, regardless of every natural obstacle, undismayed by the cannonade left and right which mowed down their ranks, this terrible column strode on through the enemy's lines, carrying all before them. Marshal Saxe urged the king and his son to retire; but they had the spirit to remain, and see the end of this unparalleled advance. The duke de Grammont had fallen—he whose rashness lost the day of Dettingen. The French cavalry had charged the British column again and again. Still it marched on. But where was their support? A column of infantry, without a horse, without a gun, now reduced probably to ten thousand, could not win a battle against sixty thousand, merely through the supremacy of physical strength and moral endurance. Voltaire says, that if the Dutch had moved when this wonderful column had broken through the French ranks, there had been no chance even of retreat for marshal Saxe and his king. At the moment when all was confusion, the young duke de Richelieu advised that a battery should be brought up so as to fire down the length of the column, whilst it was attacked in flank by the divisions that had been released from Antoin and Fontenoy. The guns fired right at the advancing front. The French household troops and the Irish brigade charged on all sides. Slowly the compact mass moved back, still facing the enemy. Its ranks were not broken, not a man fled. It moved back, till the cavalry came up to cover the retreat. When the ramparts of Ath were reached, the British had lost above four thousand men killed; and the Hanoverians nearly two thousand. This number of killed is judged to have been underrated. The Dutch loss was about fifteen hundred. The French acknowledged a loss of seven thousand. Nothing was gained by the extraordinary advance of the British infantry—"a noble precursor of the heroic madness of Balaklava." * Yet the battle of Fontenoy was long remembered by the nation as something which added to its military fame—not a victory, but "a soldier's battle," which had its own glory.

We are about to open the last chapter of that tragic volume, whose first chapter commences at the eventful period when the great-grandfather of prince Charles Edward set up the royal standard at Nottingham, at the beginning of that Civil War which was to decide whether England was thenceforth to have the freedom of her people as the basis of her government, or whether she was to resign herself to the crushing weight of an absolute monarchy, such as other nations were consenting to endure. In reading this last chapter, it is our belief that freemen ought to read it, as they have read many

* Rev. J. White. "History of France," p. 451.

previous pages of the same eventful history, with the constant feeling that the welfare of the governed is of far higher importance than the personal successes or misfortunes of those who govern them, or claim to be their governors. This is not the romantic view of public affairs; but it is the only rational view. It is the only view that will stand the test of any investigation of the causes of the greatness of nations, and in the greatness of nations we include "the greatest happiness for the greatest number." We may surrender our feelings to the charm of the early chivalry; we may admire, and even reverence, the passionate loyalty of the cavalier; we may drop a tear for the misfortunes of an exiled family, and believe that they had a hard measure of justice; we may especially take a deep interest in the daring adventure of a young prince, who, without foreign aid, threw himself upon the affections of an enthusiastic people, and claimed their allegiance for the descendants of a great line of kings, renowned in story long before the union of the crowns of Scotland and England. But in spite of all these natural emotions, let us never forget that the real fight was on one side for constitutional government, on the other side for irresponsible power; on one side for progress, on the other for retrogression; on one side for spiritual freedom, on the other for an intolerant church, if not for the establishment of a faith that was hateful to the nation, and which it was impossible to bring back, even by the most lavish outpouring of blood on the battle-field and on the scaffold.

In 1744, a Bill was passed "to make it high treason to hold correspondence with the sons of the Pretender to his majesty's crown, in case they shall land, or attempt to land, in Great Britain." In both Houses the Bill was debated with much eloquence; especially a clause by which the term of forfeitures for high treason was extended beyond the life of the Pretender to continue during the lives of his two sons. Lord Chesterfield was one of the ablest opponents of this Bill; and the chief ground of his opposition was, that the politicians and patriots of the reign of Anne thought it necessary to end the extension of penalties to the descendants of traitors when the life of the Pretender was ended. If those who passed that law were to return, would they discover any reasons to alter their resolutions? "If they were to cast their eyes over the nation, they would find the faction of the Jacobites, which was then so numerous, so daring, so factious, and so potent, is now shrunk into a sect almost invisible, and equally despicable for the smallness of its number and the absurdity of its principles; a sect without influence, without property, without policy, and without leaders, without money, and without arms; a sect, therefore, from which nothing can be hoped by our enemies, and from which nothing is now to be feared; a sect which its own stupidity will extinguish, and which probably will be scarcely heard of in another generation." We extract this passage to show the conviction of a very eminent statesman that Jacobitism in England was "a creed outworn." Looking at the real prosperity of the people under a mild government—to which the only serious objection that could be made was, that its head was a foreigner, — we may well believe that in England the system of half a century would be in little danger from an insane passion for the abstract doctrine of hereditary right. And yet, in 1743, after the fall of Walpole, Carte, the historian, an agent of James, thought that the prospects of the exiled House were more

hopeful: "Your majesty's cause seems to me to have derived several advantages from that Session. Among these I reckon the utter contempt into which prince Frederick is fallen by his conduct at that time, so that nobody for the future will have any recourse to him, or dependence upon him; but, in case of discontent, will naturally look out for redress from another quarter: and I think the events of that Session will naturally enough keep the people from ever expecting redress of their grievances in a parliamentary way, or from any change of a ministry, or indeed in any way, but by your majesty's restoration." * These were the blind views of partizanship—views which the Stuarts, who knew little of the workings of representative government, and foreigners, who knew less of the anomalous conditions under which public liberty exists, were always prone to adopt. In a debate in the Commons, on the Bill to prevent correspondence with the Pretender's sons, it was justly said: "However much we here at home may distinguish between discontent and disaffection, it is not easy for foreigners to comprehend the distinction; therefore, when they hear of general discontents among the people, they are apt to conclude that the greatest part of the people are Jacobites, and that they may overset our established government by throwing in a handful of regular troops amongst us, to give countenance to a general insurrection." †

The popular temper of Scotland was essentially different from that of England. There was not only discontent; there was disaffection. In the Highlands there was a social organization peculiarly fitted to place a large military population under the absolute control of a few daring and ambitious chiefs. The feudal principle, that the will of the lord was the only law for his vassals, was eminently adapted to fit in with the principle of implicit obedience to the right divine of kings. The Highlanders had always despised the industry by which the Lowlanders were slowly advancing in wealth and civilization. The Lowlanders had always regarded with apprehension the bold and predatory habits of the Highlanders—dreaded them as thieves, and looked upon them with contempt as savages. But at the period of which we are speaking, "while the severance between the two races inhabiting Scotland was as distinct as ever—almost more distinct from Lowland progress in civilization—much of the hostile bitterness had passed away on both sides. The mountaineers were looked upon as kindly Scots, who were in some respects the main sufferers from common hardships." ‡ It has been objected to Walpole, that, after the suppression of the rebellion in 1715, and during the long continuance of peace, he took no effectual means to make the Highlands a source of strength to the government,—to enlist the clans in the common service of the country, and to place confidence in their chiefs. Why should not Highlanders have formed then, as they have formed since, a powerful arm of the British military power? Mr. Burton has answered the question—"To have drafted so many of the clans, with their native hierarchy, into the British army, would have been, in many instances, embodying a force for the use of the exiled House." § Duncan Forbes, in 1738, proposed that Highland regiments should be raised, to be commanded by an

* Appendix to Lord Mahon's "History," vol. iii. p. 8.
† Mr. Legge. "Parliamentary History," vol. xiii. col. 866.
‡ Burton. "History of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 366. § *Ibid.*, p. 383.

Englishman, but with Highland officers under him; and that these should be sent on foreign service. Chatham adopted this principle, after the last sparks of rebellion had been trodden out; but, in the meanwhile, the only native forces in the Highlands consisted of the independent companies, known as "the Black Watch,"—a sort of police, but wholly under the control of the chiefs of the clans from which they were taken. The Black Watch was abolished, and out of these companies was formed the famous Forty-Second. That regiment, when quartered in London in 1743, was exposed to the ignorant scoffs of a rude multitude, who laughed at their peculiar dress and their unintelligible language. "Proud as Spanish hidalgoes," the whole body of rank and file marched off; and, having at length surrendered, some of the more mutinous were sent to the West Indies. The greater number, afterwards serving in Flanders, distinguished themselves for their steadiness and bravery. The Scottish Lowlanders at this period were far behind their English neighbours in agricultural and commercial industry. There was progress, but not rapid progress. Wherever there was poverty, it was attributed to the Union. The great support of the Stuarts was to be found in the Highlands; and that support almost wholly depended upon the absolute control of the chiefs over their clans. In the Lowlands, men judged for themselves; and weighed their real or imaginary grievances in one scale, and the danger of revolt in the other. But there was unquestionably a strong disposition to Jacobitism. There was irritation from fiscal exactions; there was irritation from the sensitiveness of national pride. But Jacobitism had also a strong hold upon the imaginative character of the Scottish people. Charles Edward, says Mr. Burton, "became a sort of idol of the imagination, with those whose politics and religion would have compelled them to vote against him, had the question of his succession to the crown been a matter of deliberative adjustment."

Whether Charles Edward understood, or not, the curious complication of motives upon which he was to depend for support in Scotland,—whether he correctly saw that in Scotland there were far stronger elements of success than in England,—he took the sound resolution of making a bold experiment for the restoration of his House, by throwing himself upon the loyalty of a people who would incur some peril to welcome a descendant of the Bruce. Since the failure of the expedition of 1744, the government of Louis XV. had manifested no inclination to render further assistance of men and money to a perilous enterprise. It has been pointed out "that several Protestant princes, the king of Prussia more especially, had remonstrated against the support which France was giving to the Roman Catholic party in Great Britain." * Charles Edward was indignant at this lukewarmness. But he had made up his mind to a bold step; and he concealed his purpose with an adroitness which scarcely belonged to a young man of twenty-three, but with a sort of hereditary instinct. He writes to his father, in June, 1745, "If your majesty was in this country, I flatter myself you would be surprised to see with your own eyes how I blind several, and impose upon them, at the same time they think to do it to me." † Five days afterwards, as he informs

* Mahon, upon the authority of "Mémoires de Noailles."
† Appendix to Mahon, vol. iii. p. 13.

his father, Charles Edward has taken his final resolution: "I believe your majesty little expected a courier at this time, and much less from me, to tell you a thing that will be a great surprise to you. I have been, above six months ago, invited by our friends to go to Scotland, and to carry what money and arms I could conveniently get; this being, they are fully persuaded, the only way of restoring you to the crown, and them to their liberties. After such scandalous usage as I have received from the French court, had I not given my word to do so, or got so many encouragements from time to time as I have had, I should have been obliged in honour, and for my own reputation, to have flung myself into the arms of my friends, and die with them, rather than live longer in such a miserable way here, or be obliged to return to Rome, which would be just giving up all hopes. I cannot but mention a parable here, which is,—a horse that is to be sold, if spurred he does not skip, or show some sign of life, nobody would care to have him, even for nothing; just so my friends would care very little to have me, if, after such usage, which all the world is sensible of, I should not show that I have life in me. Your majesty cannot disapprove a son's following the example of his father." * He adds, in the same letter, "I have been obliged to steal off, without letting the king of France so much as suspect it."

* Appendix to Mahon, vol. iii. p. 14.

NOTE ON THE BATTLE OF DETTINGEN.

THE following account of the Battle of Dettingen is extracted from an unpublished letter of the Hon. Henry Conway (afterwards Marshal Conway), addressed to his brother lord Conway, from the camp at Hainault, June 30, 1743, N. S. This letter forms part of a series in the possession of the author of 'The Popular History of England.' It is singular that Conway makes no allusion to the uncommon occurrence of a king of England being in the field.

"On Thursday last, the 26th, we marched at daybreak from our camp at Aschaffenburg, the Guards making the rear-guard of the army, which in a retreat is looked upon as the post of honour, but proved quite the contrary on this occasion by throwing us entirely out of the action; which happened thus:—Before we were marched much above a league from Aschaffenburg the enemy's cannon began playing very briskly upon our vanguard from the other side of the river, and continued flanking us as we advanced towards a village called Detting upon the Maine; here the French to the number of forty thousand had passed the river upon two bridges of boats, and drew up as we advanced upon a plain before the village. Our army formed in two lines upon the plain, the first consisting of English, and the second of Austrians and Hanoverians. Our brigade, which I told you made the rear-guard with another of Hanoverians and a few horse, marched off to the right, to avoid being flanked by the French camp, and were posted upon a hill with a large wood between us and the rest of the army. This wood covered the right flank of our army, and the river was on the left. The attack was begun by the French horse, chiefly of the Maison du Roi, upon our foot, who broke them entirely and repulsed them with great loss. Some of our horse and Dragoons suffered a good deal, particularly Bland's Dragoons, of which but one squadron out of three remained fit for service, and very few of the officers escaped. Major Honeywood, who commanded them, received five wounds, and is thought in a dangerous way. They behaved with vast resolution, and broke five squadrons of the enemy. Ligonier's Horse suffered a good deal, as did Pembroke's (Honeywood's now) from the cannon. The Blues suffered more in their reputation than otherwise; as did Honeywood's at first, by doing what is vulgarly called running away—in the military phrase retreating with too much precipitation. The English foot, particularly Johnstoun's, Onslow's, and the old and new Buffs, behaved with astonishing bravery, and contributed greatly to our gaining what may be properly called a victory, as the enemy suffered a good deal in the flower of their troops, and left us master of the field, by retiring very precipitately over the Maine. As soon as the attack began, the Guards were missed, and sent for in great haste, but being ill-conducted by our guide, the enemy were retired before we came upon the plain, where we had the honour of sharing the victory by passing one of the wettest and coldest nights I ever felt upon the ground amongst the slain and wounded of both sides. Our loss is said at most not to exceed a thousand, and that of the French may, I believe, moderately be called four or five; some say seven or nine. What made it heavier to them was, that it fell amongst the best of their troops, as the Mousquetaires, of whom they say but fourscore remained out of 400. The Gendarmerie, Chevaux Legers, and Cuirassiers suffered vastly, as one might know from the vast number of breast-plates that were found on the field."

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF TREATIES.

(Continued from Vol. V., p. 390.)

1732 October 7 : peace between Sweden and Poland.

1733 October 10 : war declared by the king of France against the emperor, on account of the latter combining with the Russians to drive Stanislaus, father-in-law of the French king, from the throne of Poland, to which he had been elected on the death of Augustus II.

1735 October 3 : preliminaries of peace signed at Vienna, between France and the emperor. Spain acceded April 15, 1736.

1736 April 23 : war commenced between Russia and Turkey.

1737 May 4 ; war declared against the Turks by the emperor.

1738 November 18 : *the definitive peace of Vienna*, between the emperor and the king of France, the latter power agreeing to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction. Lorraine ceded to France.

1739 September 18 : *peacé of Belgrade* between the emperor and the Turks, the emperor giving up Belgrade and Servia ; this was speedily followed by a peace between Russia and Turkey, Russia surrendering Azoph and all her conquests on the Black Sea.

1739 October 23 : war declared by England against Spain.

1740 August : a subsidy treaty concluded between Great Britain and Hesse.

1740 October 20 : Charles VI., emperor of Germany, died, and was succeeded by his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, by virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction, which being opposed by the kings of Spain and Poland, who supported the right of the elector of Bavaria, founded on the will of Ferdinand I., gave rise to a war, in which most of the powers of Europe were engaged.

1741 Alliance between Great Britain, Russia, and Holland, with the queen of Hungary (the empress Maria Theresa), for the purpose of supporting the interests of the house of Austria ; France, Spain, and Sardinia uniting about the same time in the interest of the elector of Bavaria.

1742 June 28 : *peace of Berlin*, between the king of Prussia and the queen of Hungary. Silesia given up to Prussia.

1742 November 18 : a treaty for mutual defence and guarantee signed at Whitehall, between Great Britain and Prussia.

1743 June 24 : a defensive treaty concluded between Great Britain and Russia for fifteen years.

1743 August 7 : *Peace of Abo*, between Russia and Sweden.

1744 March 14 : war declared formally by Louis XV. against Great Britain, France having been previously engaged merely as ally of the elector of Bavaria.

1744 April 27 : war declared between the queen of Hungary and king of France.

1745 April 23 : *Peace of Fuessen*, between the queen of Hungary and elector of Bavaria.

1745 December 25 : *Peace of Dresden*, between Saxony, Prussia, and the queen of Hungary, confirming the treaties of Berlin and Breslau.

1748 April 30 : preliminary articles for the *Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle* signed by the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Holland, to which the queen of Hungary, the king of Sardinia, and the duke of Modena, shortly after acceded, and Spain and Genoa before the end of June ; in September and October the definitive treaty was concluded and signed by the respective powers. By this peace the treaties of Westphalia in 1648, of Nimeguen in 1678 and 1679, of Ryswick in 1697, of Utrecht in 1713, of Baden in 1714, of the Triple Alliance in 1717, of the Quadruple Alliance in 1718, and of Vienna in 1738, were renewed and confirmed.

FREDERICK THE GREAT.

Prince Charles Edward in Highland Costume.

CHAPTER VIII.

Prince Charles Edward arrives at Eriska—Lands at Borodale—His interviews with chiefs of clans—The gathering at Glenfinnan—Military resources of the government—Sir John Cope—Highland army marches to Perth—Preparations for defence at Edinburgh—Charles Edward at Holyrood-house—Cope's army lands at Dunbar—Battle of Preston-Pans—Charles Edward's sojourn at Edinburgh—Siege of the Castle—English opinions of the Rebellion. Note on the Highland Costume.

On the 23rd of July, 1745, a French vessel, carrying sixteeen guns, is lying off Eriska, one of the small Western isles between Barra and South Uist. An eagle is hovering over the ship, as if watching the unwonted disturbance of the solitude of these dreary regions; and the presence of the king of birds is hailed as a welcome to a royal stranger who is on board.* Prince Charles Edward is on board, with seven friends, or attendants, one of whom is the marquis of Tullibardine, called by the Jacobites, duke of Athol. The

* "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 9.

prince has been eighteen days at sea, in *La Doutelle*, the little vessel which he has hired to make a descent upon the kingdom which he deems his patrimony; proposing, with a few hundred muskets and broad-swords, and with four thousand louis-d'ors, to overthrow an usurping government, which kept his father and himself from the enjoyment of their hereditary rights. The prince has had some perilous incidents in his voyage from Belleisle. A large French ship-of-war, which was his convoy, has been disabled in an engagement with an English man-of-war; and *La Doutelle* has been chased by other hostile cruisers. The arms, ammunition, and money are at last put on shore at Eriska; and the prince and his followers land on the dreary island. The night is wet and stormy. They find shelter in the house of Angus MacDonald, the tacksman; but this house, the best of the district, belonging to the principal proprietor, was unprovided with any other vent for the peat smoke than the accustomed hole in the roof. Charles Edward, reared in Italian palaces—he who had lately parted with the luxurious accommodations of the Château de Navarre, the seat of the duke de Bouillon, at Evreux,—was choked with the cloud that arose from the fire in the centre of the room. To the inhabitants of the hovel that smoke was pleasurable warmth. The prince again and again sought the open air. The indignant host, unconscious of the rank of his visitor, at length exclaimed, "What a plague is the matter with that fellow, that he can neither sit nor stand still, and neither keep within nor without door."*

From this rough retreat messengers were sent to various persons of consequence in those remote districts. With the exception of Tullibardine, who was attainted in 1715, there was no man of mark with the royal adventurer. His companions were chiefly Irishmen, "drawn into Scotland by the allurement which the enterprise held out to them of making their fortunes."† The first Scottish gentleman who came to Charles Edward, and saw him on board *La Doutelle*, was MacDonald of Boisdale, brother of the chief of Clanranald. This prudent adviser,—who was accused by the Jacobites of "playing the game of the government,"—earnestly discountenanced the attempt to raise an insurrection without better means than the prince could show. He exhorted him to return home. "I am come home, sir," replied the prince;—he would not go back: he relied on his faithful Highlanders.‡

The little vessel now made sail for the mainland, and anchored in the Loch Na Nuagh, a small arm of the sea between the districts of Moidart and Arisaig. The journal of a Highland officer § describes the appearance of the adventurer, as he presented himself on the deck of *La Doutelle*, where a tent had been erected. The prince, the young chief Clanranald, and MacDonald of Kinloch Moidart, had been for three hours in the cabin of Charles,—they arguing against his project, he resolutely combating all their objections. "Clanranald returned to us, and in about half-an-hour after, there entered the tent a tall youth of a most agreeable aspect, in a plain black coat, with a plain shirt not very clean, and a cambric stock fixed with a plain silver buckle; a fair round wig out of the buckle; a plain hat, with a canvas string having one end fixed to one of his coat buttons; he had black stockings,

* "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 11. This speech is doubtless a paraphrase of the Gaelic.
† "Memoirs of the Rebellion," by the Chevalier de Johnstone, p. 4.
‡ "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 12. § "Lockhart Papers," vol. ii. p. 479.

and brass buckles in his shoes." This is not the heroic costume in which imagination delights to dress up the adventurous prince. He was represented to be "ane English clergyman wha had long been possessed with a desire to see and converse with Highlanders." * The hesitation of the two chiefs was at length overcome by the enthusiasm of a younger brother of Kinloch Moidart. He had watched the eagerness of the tall youth, and the coldness of those whom he sought to convince. "When he gathered from their discourse that the stranger was the prince of Wales; when he heard his chief and his brother refuse to take arms with their prince; his colour went and came, his eyes sparkled, he shifted his place, and grasped his sword. Charles observed his demeanour, and turning briskly toward him, called out 'Will not you assist me?' 'I will, I will,' said Ranald; 'though no other man in the Highlands should draw a sword, I am ready to die for you.' Without further deliberation the two MacDonalds declared that they also would join." This is dramatic. The narrator of the scene is John Home, the author of "Douglas."† Gradually more offers of support came by messengers to the prince, who remained on ship-board till the 25th of July. On that day he landed at Borodale; and took up his quarters at a farmhouse belonging to Clanranald.

Charles Edward was not altogether unprepared to look to special quarters for assistance. He had combated the objections of MacDonald of Boisdale by the assurance that he could rely for aid upon MacDonald of Sleat, and the laird of MacLeod, two powerful chiefs who could each raise more than his thousand followers. Clanranald, after his adhesion, was sent to the Isle of Skye to secure these personages. On the 3rd of August MacLeod wrote from Dunvegan in Skye, to Duncan Forbes, the lord president, to give information that "the pretended Prince of Wales is come on the coast;" with the intention, with a few followers, "to raise all the Highlands." The chief adds, "sir Alexander MacDonald and I not only gave no sort of countenance to these people, but we used all the interest we had with our neighbours to follow the same prudent method." In a postscript MacLeod says, "Young Clanranald has been here with us, and has given us all possible assurances of his prudence."‡ Young Clanranald did not succeed in his mission to these cautious chiefs. Charles Edward was more successful with Cameron of Lochiel. He had determined to persuade the prince to withdraw from his rash enterprise, although he had been one of the associates who was in correspondence with the Pretender before the expedition from Dunkirk in 1744. Charles Edward and Lochiel met at Borodale. Lochiel for some time steadily maintained his resolve, although his brother had said to him on his way, "If this prince once sets his eyes upon you, he will make you do whatever he pleases."§ Charles Edward at last declared that with the few friends he had he would raise the royal standard, win the crown of his ancestors, or perish in the attempt: "Lochiel, who my father often told me was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince." Lochiel then passionately declared he would share his prince's fate. This is Home's poetical relation. There is a more prosaic version of this interview, "on the result of which depended peace or war;" for "if Lochiel had persisted

* "Lockhart Papers," vol. ii. p. 480.
‡ "Culloden Papers," p. 203.
† Home's "Works," vol. ii. p. 427.
§ Home, vol. iii. p. 7.

in his refusal, the other chiefs would not have joined."* Bishop Forbes relates that young Glengarry assured him, upon information derived from Charles Edward himself, that Lochiel "had refused to raise a man, or make any appearance, till the prince should give him security for the full value of his estate, in the event of the attempt proving abortive."† Cluny MacPherson "made the same agreement with the prince before he would join the attempt with his following."

On the 19th of August, the prince proceeded to a general gathering of the friendly clans at Glenfinnan, a valley on the border of Loch Shiel. A day or two before, the first blood had been spilt in a skirmish between the Keppoch Macdonalds and a party of the Scots Royals, proceeding to Fort William. The advantage was on the side of the daring band of Highlanders. When Charles Edward and his friends arrived at Glenfinnan the valley bore its usual aspect of a few poor inhabitants. But before noon the bagpipe was heard from the hills; and before evening fifteen hundred Highlanders were assembled. Tullibardine then raised a banner of red silk, with a white space in the centre. "The appearance of the standard was hailed by a storm of pipe-music, a cloud of skimmering bonnets, and a loud and enduring shout."‡ The attainted heir of the dukedom of Athol then read the declaration in the name of James VIII., dated from Rome in 1743, and the commission to his eldest son as Prince Regent. The "loud huzzas and skimming of bonnets up into the air, appearing like a cloud,"§ which followed the rearing of the standard, was the tribute of simple men who obeyed the command of their chief, little heeding the arguments of the Stuart declaration, even if they understood its language. That declaration, promising redress of grievances under a lawful king, was to have its effect upon the general discontent of Scotland, in its denunciation of the Union and of the fiscal exactions which the Union was held to have entailed. The government of an usurper was pronounced to be the cause of national miseries which a free parliament was to redress. The religious institutions of the country were to be respected. The Regent promised indemnity for past treasons to all who should now take arms in his cause. Such arguments and promises were judicious. Nevertheless, "if the phraseology of these documents is examined, it is found that the royal prerogative, as the embodiment of legislative power, is carefully though not offensively or conspicuously reserved." ‖ Few of the discontented in Scotland would carefully examine the phraseology of these documents. The rebellion was begun. Its first success would make the timid bold, and the prudent rash. But in England, every man not ignorant of the history of his country in the past century, could scarcely fail to see that the real question at issue was, whether the whole course of government since the expulsion of James II. had been a series of unlawful usurpations; or whether the national will was not something higher than the principle of divine right, asserted by the descendants of a bigoted tyrant. These declarations treated the whole contest for the throne of England as a personal question between the elector,

* Home, vol. iii p. 7.

† "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 22.

‡ Robert Chambers. "History of the Rebellion of 1745-6"—a work of the highest value in which the author's nationality does not betray him into any partisanship incompatible with a conscientious desire for historical truth.

§ "Culloden Papers," p. 387. Letter of Ter. Mulloy, an eye-witness.

‖ Burton. "History of Scotland," vol. ii. p. 439.

of Hanover and the son of James II. Officers and soldiers were called upon to desert their colours, and violate their oaths, "since they cannot but be sensible that no engagements entered into with a foreign usurper can dispense with the allegiance they owe to their natural sovereign." The British Parliament rightly designated these proclamations as seditious and presumptuous declarations against the Constitution of the United Kingdom.

When Charles Edward landed in Scotland, George II. was in Germany, and the government of Great Britain was directed by a Regency. The administration regarded, as most official persons are inclined to regard, only the material means which the adventurer had at his command. They despised the chances of that popular enthusiasm for the exiled family, which the apparent hopelessness of the young prince's cause carried forward into a personal admiration for his daring confidence. Had the descendant of their ancient kings landed in Scotland with ten thousand Frenchmen, he would have been eventually less powerful to overthrow the established government than when he set foot on Eriska with his seven followers. The sagacity and experience of the Lord President could not see the effect which such undoubting trust has ever produced in converting cold friends into zealous partizans. Forbes wrote to the marquis of Tweeddale, the Scotch Secretary of State in London:—"I am confident that young man cannot expect to be joined by any considerable force in the Highlands. Some loose lawless men, of desperate fortunes, may indeed resort to him; but I am persuaded that none of the Highland gentlemen who have aught to lose will, after the experience with which the year 1715 furnished them, think proper to risk their fortunes in an attempt which to them must appear desperate."* Tweeddale wrote to Forbes in reply, dating from Whitehall:—"I own I have never been alarmed with the reports of the Pretender's son landing in Scotland. I consider it as a rash and desperate attempt, that can have no other consequence than the ruin of those concerned in it." † This indifference was the narrow view of a professional statesman. Charles Edward knew his own power, when he wrote to his father that he was joined by brave people, of whose numbers he could not judge, as he had not yet set up his standard; but manfully adding, "The worst that can happen to me, if France does not succour me, is to die at the head of such brave people as I find here, if I should not be able to make my way; *and that I have promised to them.*" ‡ The enterprise was not altogether so rash and desperate as the members of the government chose to think. The attempt was made when there were few troops in England and Scotland; when the British army in the Low Countries had been seriously crippled in the battle of Fontenoy; when no statesman who possessed the prudence of Walpole, or the energy of Pitt, was at the head of the British councils. In Scotland, in the August of 1745, there were less than three thousand troops, of which number only fourteen hundred were available to oppose the hostile clans. The commander-in-chief in Scotland was sir John Cope, an officer of the routine school, scarcely able of himself to deal with a great emergency. Tweeddale expresses his hope that if sir John Cope should speedily obey the orders he had received, there

* "Culloden Papers," p. 204.
† *Ibid.*, p. 209
‡ "Stuart Papers," in Mahon, vol. iii. - Appendix, p. xxii.

would be an end of the affair.* These orders were to attack the rebels in the mountains; and they assumed that the general would receive important aid from the well-affected clans. Cope marched from Stirling on the 20th of August towards Fort Augustus; and soon in his progress northward he discovered that he could rely little upon Highland auxiliaries. He heard of the successful gathering of the clans round the standard of the Stuarts; of the rapid increase of their forces as they marched onwards. On the 28th Charles Edward was at the foot of Corriaraic, near Fort Augustus. Cope prudently declined to encounter him in the mountain-passes, which the traditional victories of Highlanders over disciplined troops made well-trained veterans regard with something like apprehension. Cope resolved to march to Inverness—an extraordinary resolution, by which he left the Lowlands open to the advance of the rebels. The prince was urged to follow him. One account says, "I am assured that their young forward leader called for his Highland clothes; and that, at tying the latchets of his shoes, he solemnly declared that he would be up with Mr. Cope before they were unloosed." † A wiser resolution was taken. The Highland army crossed the Grampians; and by the road of Blair Athol and Dunkeld, reached Perth on the 4th of September. Blair castle was left by the duke of Athol free to its ancient possessor; and Tullibardine became the host of his prince, and summoned the tenantry, not without threats of vengeance for disobedience, to repair to the Stuart banner.

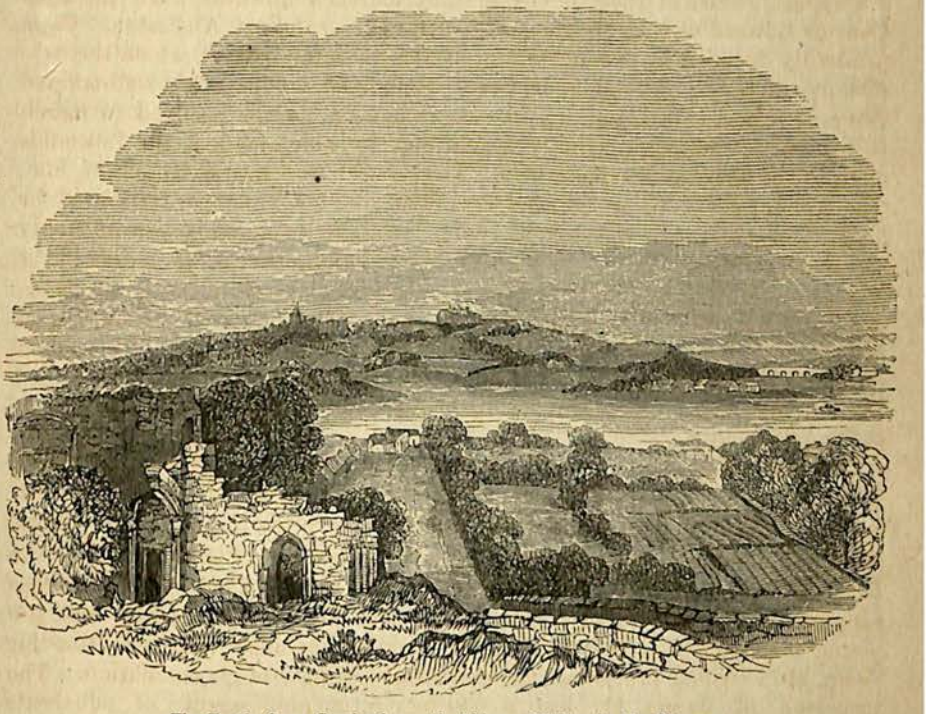
On the 4th of September, the prince made his public entry into Perth. A fair was proceeding in the city, which brought traders from the West of Scotland, and from England. He gave passports to the travelling merchants, and told a London linendraper to inform his fellow-citizens that in two months he should see them at St. James's. There was little at Perth to excite these sanguine hopes. There were remembrances of 1716, when the father of the young man who now commanded the popular applause had fled from his camp, after issuing proclamations, and fixing the date of his coronation. The grandson of James II. had a far less formidable array of adherents than were in arms for the same cause within the memory of living witnesses of his father's regal pomp, and his unheroic retreat. But the bold bearing, the cordial trust, of this young man, won him some supporters; yet not enough to make him feel that the enthusiasm of the Highlands would attend him in the Lowlands. Still he went on. The road was open before him. Two important men joined him—James Drummond, styled duke of Perth,‡ and lord George Murray. Lord George had seen something of war, and was a man of ability. He had been opposed in 1719 to the Hanoverian dynasty, but had made his peace, though he was not trusted or employed. When he joined Charles Edward his qualifications gave him a high place in council, and in military arrangements; but he did not speak the language which hereditary right claims as its absolute due. When the prince used the antiquated tone of the Stuarts of the seventeenth century, lord George Murray pointed out its unsuitableness to a people who had forgotten to recognize such high pretensions; and he was coldly looked upon. Suspicion

* "Culloden Papers," p. 209. † *Ibid.*, p. 216.

‡ The title of Duke was conferred by James II., after his abdication, upon the earl of Perth, who had been Lord-Chancellor of Scotland. (See vol. v. p. 87.)

and jealousy soon divided the rebel camp into factions. But whatever were the dissensions, the great prize of the capital of Scotland was to be attempted to be won. It was won without much difficulty.

On the 11th of September the little army marched southward. They crossed the Forth at the fords of Frew, about eight miles westward of Stirling. The passage was not disputed by Colonel Gardiner's dragoons,



The Forth, from Cambuskenneth Abbey; Stirling in the distance.

who retired before them. At Callender House, near Falkirk, Charles Edward received the adhesion of lord Kilmarnock, the first Lowland man of rank who joined his banner. He went on to Corstorphine, within four miles of Edinburgh, without opposition. There was division in the municipal councils of the Scottish capital. Provost Stewart acted in a spirit of corporate rivalry against an able and zealous loyalist, George Drummond, who was for organizing a vigorous resistance. Even if the civic authorities had agreed amongst themselves, they had to defend old walls which could be easily clambered over or broken down; and all the force which could be mustered was not more than eleven hundred men, not a third of whom were disciplined soldiers. The greater number were rapidly embodied volunteers. On Sunday, the 15th, the citizens were called to arms by the alarming toll of the great fire-bell. The volunteers mustered; but there was no one to command them. They manned the town-walls on that night. On the Monday, the dragoons, who, with the town-guard, were very near the advancing rebels at Colt Bridge, were seized with a sudden panic as their pickets fled before some mounted

Highlanders. The dragoons disgracefully galloped away in a body; and the Edinburgh loyalists were left to their own wretched means of defence. A message was brought to the city that resistance to the prince would be followed by military execution. The magistrates called a meeting; when a formal summons to surrender, containing a similar threat, was read. A deputation was now sent to the rebel camp to offer terms of capitulation. A messenger had meanwhile arrived with the news that general Cope, who had embarked his troops at Aberdeen, was in sight of Dunbar, and would speedily land for the relief of Edinburgh. The deputation returned to say that an unconditional surrender was demanded. A second deputation was sent in the night to entreat for delay. As might have been expected, they obtained no hearing. These baffled negotiators returned to the city before day-break on the morning of the 17th. The Canongate having been opened to allow the hackney carriages which had brought back the deputation to go out to the suburbs, a party of Highlanders, who had waited in ambush, rushed in. The volunteers had dispersed when they saw the disposition of the authorities to surrender, and had delivered up their arms, which were sent to the castle. There were none to dispute the possession of the city with the alert mountaineers. The other gates were soon opened. "The Parliament Close," says an eye-witness, "was filled with rebels before five in the morning. They were very naked, and several wanted arms, especially firelocks. Their weapons, which were unfit for use, were rubbed up by the armourers, who at this time got constant employment. They set about providing clothes, shoes, and linen, of which they were in great want, the most part having nothing but a short old coat of coarse tartan, a pair of hose much worn, coming scarce up to their knees; their plaids and bonnets in the same condition." * Moving by the south of the city, far out of the reach of the guns of the castle, Charles Edward entered the Palace of Holyrood; and, amidst the antique pomp of heralds and poursuivants, king James VIII. was proclaimed at the High Cross of Edinburgh.

Whilst a large number of the populace of Edinburgh huzzaed as prince Charles rode into Holyrood, and the declarations were read at the High Cross; "whilst a number of ladies in the windows strained their voices with acclamation, and their arms with waving white handkerchiefs;" † Cope was landing at Dunbar. On the 18th he had completed the debarkation of his troops, artillery, and stores; and he had been joined by the panic-stricken dragoons, who had run away at Colt's Bridge. On the 19th Cope marched towards Edinburgh. "This little army," says Home, "made a great show, the cavalry, the infantry, the cannon, with a long train of baggage-carts, extended for several miles along the road." Home was himself with that army, being, most probably, the volunteer whom he describes as giving information to the English general of the numbers and condition of the Highland forces, as he had observed them before he quitted Edinburgh. He estimated them at about two thousand men. They had no artillery, except "one small iron gun which he had seen, without a carriage, lying upon a cart drawn by a little Highland horse." About fifteen hundred were armed with firelocks and

* Andrew Henderson. "History of the Rebellion, 1745."
† Home, vol. iii. p. 73.

swords; and a hundred or so had each a scythe fastened to the shaft of a pitch-fork. The volunteer probably underrated the number of the rebel forces; as Cope and other officers overrated them. In the same way Cope's forces were overrated by those opposed to them. The most trustworthy accounts make the Highlanders amount to less than three thousand men, and the royal troops to somewhat above two thousand.* On the 20th Cope had reached the village of Preston; and he there learnt that the prince had marched from Edinburgh to encounter him. The English general resolved to rest here, and wait to be attacked. He had a strong position, thus described by De Johnstone: "We arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon within musket-shot of the enemy, where we halted behind an eminence, having a full view of the camp of general Cope, the position of which was chosen with a good deal of skill. . . . . The general had on his right two enclosures, surrounded by stone-walls, from six to seven feet high, between which there was a road of about twenty feet broad, leading to the village of Preston-Pans. Before him was another enclosure, surrounded by a deep ditch filled with water, and from ten to twelve feet broad, which served as a ditch to the marshy ground. On his left was a marsh, which terminated in a deep pond; and behind him was the sea." The Highlanders saw the difficulty of getting through the morass, so as to attack their enemy in front. During the evening various movements were made in each army, but Cope clung to the supposed advantage of his position; although doubts had arisen whether it was prudent for his troops thus to be shut up, whilst the rebels could move freely about, watching for any opportune advantage. The night came on, dark and cold. Pickets of the royal army kept guard along the morass. Fires were lighted. The baggage was sent to the rear. All seemed safe against a surprise. It had been determined by Charles, with the advice of a council of war, to attack at break of day, from a ground below the east of Tranent; and his little army had been moved into this position. The Highlanders were sleeping, wrapped in their plaids. The prince, lord George Murray, and other chiefs, were lying down in a field of peas. A proprietor, named Anderson, was brought to lord George Murray, to tell him that he knew a far more practicable way through the morass than their present position offered. He had often crossed it when hunting, and he would himself lead the way. Another council was held; and Anderson's plan was adopted. In the silence of the dark morning the Highlanders began to move. As the day broke a frosty mist concealed their advance. The morass was successfully crossed, though some men sank deep in the boggy ground. The column marched northward towards the sea; and then formed in line. Between the two armies was a broad corn-field, the harvest having just been got in. Over the thick stubble rushed the Highlanders. The sun rose; the mist dispersed; the disciplined troops, horse and foot, stood before these wild and ill-armed men, in their firm ranks; their arms glittering in the morning ray; their cannon threatening a swift destruction. Some of the rebel officers afterwards acknowledged that when they looked upon this array they expected the Highland army to be swept away in a moment.† The

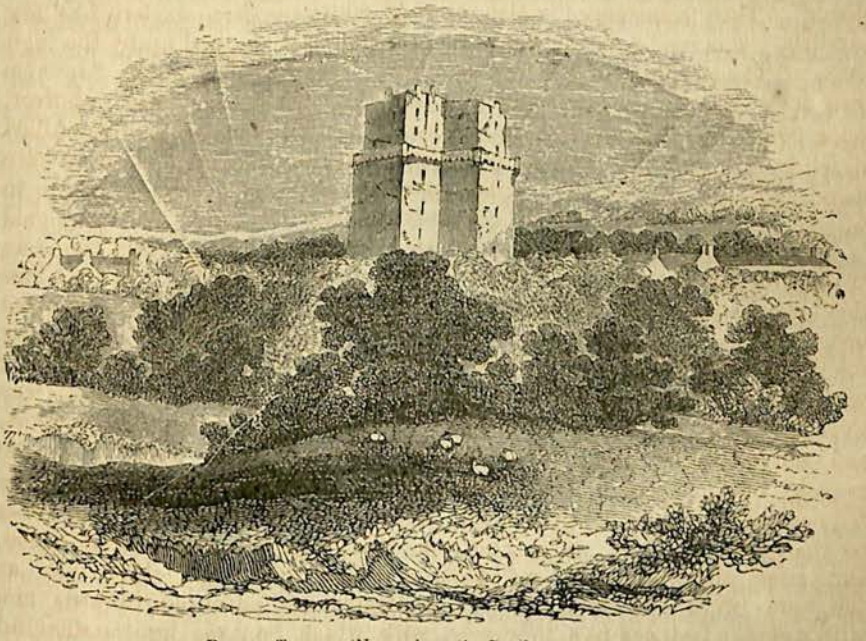
* See Note to Chevalier de Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 30.
† Note to Home, vol. iii. p. 92.

Highlanders rushed on. They fired; cast away their muskets; and threw themselves on the astonished line, "with a swiftness not to be conceived," as one of the English colonels described in evidence. According to De Johnstone's account the Highlanders had been instructed to cut at the noses of the horses, and thus threw the cavalry into confusion. The cannon which Cope had landed was of little use, for he had only one artilleryman; and sailors who were placed to work the guns immediately abandoned them at the rush of the Highlanders. Neither Horse nor Foot could stand up against these strange and terrible foes. "None of the soldiers," says Home, "attempted to load their pieces again, and not one bayonet was stained with blood." Then commenced a slaughter of which modern warfare has few parallels. The road between the two enclosures was stopped up by the fugitives. "The strength of the enemy's camp," says De Johnstone, "became their destruction. . . . . The field of battle presented a spectacle of horror, being covered with heads, legs and arms, and mutilated bodies; for the killed all fell by the sword." The king's officers, with one exception, seem to have abandoned their men to this terrible slaughter, with very feeble attempts to rally them—with no disposition, certainly, to die with them. The one signal exception to the shame of commanders who were the first to carry the news of their own defeat, * was colonel Gardiner. Dr. Doddridge has told how this brave and pious man fell, close to the door of his own mansion. He had been wounded in the breast and in the thigh. He had tried, in vain, to rally his panic-stricken troop, who at last made a precipitate flight. Deliberating what his duty next required of him, "he saw a party of the foot, who were then bravely fighting near him, and whom he was ordered to support, had no officer to head them; upon which he said eagerly, in the hearing of the person from whom I had this account, 'These brave fellows will be cut to pieces for want of a commmander,' or words to that effect; which, while he was speaking, he rode up to them, and cried out, 'Fire on, my lads, and fear nothing.' But just as the words were out of his mouth, a Highlander advanced towards him with a scythe fastened to a long pole, with which he gave him so dreadful a wound on his right arm, that his sword dropped out of his hand; and at the same time several others coming about him while he was thus dreadfully entangled with that cruel weapon, he was dragged off from his horse. The moment he fell, another Highlander gave him a stroke either with a broad sword or a Lochaber-axe (for my informant could not exactly distinguish) on the hinder part of his head, which was the mortal blow. All that his faithful attendant saw further at this time was, that as his hat was falling off, he took it in his left hand and waved it as a signal for him to retreat, and added, what were the last words he ever heard him speak, 'Take care of yourself;' upon which the servant retired."

The prince, as related by Home, "remained on the field of battle till midnight, giving orders for the relief of the wounded of both parties." We may add a characteristic passage from a Manuscript Journal of a Scottish chaplain in the Highland army: "Then I rode straight into the field of

* A just sarcasm to this effect was addressed by lord Mark Kerr to brigadier Waugh and colonel Lasselles; according to some accounts addressed to Cope himself.

battle; and after meeting Invernahyle and his men in the pursuit, I made up to the prince, and wished him joy of the glorious victory! To which he was pleased to reply, with a smile, 'Sir, the Highlanders have done it all.' After the wounded of both sides and the prisoners were taken care of, there was a table spread for his Royal Highness on the field of battle, at Cope's cannons; and he did me the honour to bid me say grace, to which he rose, and stood very gravely." * This triumph was called by the rebels the victory of Gladsmuir—a place about a mile from Preston-Pans—there being an old prediction "On Gladsmuir shall the battle be."



Preston Tower. (Near where the Battle was fought.)

Charles Edward slept on the night of the battle at Pinkie House; and he returned to Edinburgh on the 22nd of September, with exulting followers but with a diminished army. The booty of the field of Preston was too great to allow the Highlanders to believe that there was any duty more urgent than to return to their homes in triumph with their spoil, provided they could escape from the control of their leaders. They found serviceable arms and good clothes; money, whose value they comprehended, and watches, whose use they could not readily understand. But the victory which had been gained inspired such confidence in wavering chiefs and hesitating lairds, that, during the time of the prince's sojourn in Edinburgh, nearly six weeks, he was enabled, in spite of large desertions, to muster double the number of men that he had been able to oppose to general Cope. Duncan Forbes describes the effect produced by the possession of Edinburgh,

* This MS. Journal, in the possession of the author of the "Popular History," was contributed by him to the "London Magazine" of September, 1828. It appears incidentally in the narrative that the chaplain's name was Mac Lachlan, and that his home was at St. Cowan's.

and the battle of Preston: "All Jacobites, how prudent soever, became mad; all doubtful people became Jacobites; and all bankrupts became heroes, and talked nothing but hereditary rights and victory. What was more grievous to men of gallantry, and if you will believe me much more mischievous to the public, all the fine ladies, except one or two, became passionately fond of the young adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him in the most intemperate manner." * From the 22nd of September to the 31st of October, Edinburgh was unwontedly gay in the sunshine of the young prince's successes. There was some terror when the governor of the castle, general Guest, threatened to bombard the city if the blockade which cut off the supplies of the garrison were not removed. Charles was indignant at what he called the barbarity of the governor; although he listened to the prayer of the magistrates that he would not persevere in exposing them to this peril. General Guest was also induced to suspend his resolve till orders had been received from London. There was a sort of armistice, which the Highlanders broke by firing upon men who were carrying provisions up the Castle-hill. The governor retaliated; and swept the streets with his artillery loaded with small shot. The prince then yielded to the terror of the citizens, and revoked the order "which made it death to carry provisions to the castle."

The intention of Charles Edward to cross the Border was formed immediately after the victory of the 21st of September. He gave authority to a person named Hickson to repair forthwith to England, to notify to his friends the great success he had met with; and "to let them know that it is my full intention, in a few days, to move towards them." † Hickson was apprehended at Newcastle; and attempted to destroy himself.

We shall have to direct our view to the state of affairs in England,—to the movements of the administration, the opinions of the parliament, and the temper of the people,—under the extraordinary circumstances which had placed the capital of Scotland in the possession of the Jacobites, and which rendered an invasion of the south a very imminent danger. In the illusions of the romance of the Forty-five, or in sympathies with a faded Toryism, writers, otherwise judicious and impartial, have taken little trouble to examine the real difficulties of an attempt, in the middle of the eighteenth century, for the restoration of the Stuarts. In entering upon such an examination, we demur to the conclusion of one excellent historian, who expresses his belief, that if, after the battle of Preston, Charles could have pushed on with two or three thousand men, "he might have reached the capital with but little opposition, and succeeded in at least a temporary restoration." ‡ He says "the spirit of the people in no degree responded to the efforts of the government; they remained cold lookers-on, not indeed apparently favouring the rebellion, but as little disposed to strive against it." § The popular feeling is described as, first apathy, and then terror. In our view, the public spirit of the people of England, in the crisis of 1745, is not to be estimated by the alarm of timid ministers, or the indifference of fashionable triflers. Pelham was not so apprehensive of the strength or zeal of the enemy, as fearful of the inability or languidness of friends. Some politicians

* "Culloden Papers," p 250. Letter to Mitchell.
† *Ibid.*, p. 226.
‡ Mahon, vol. iii. p. 368.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

went further. England, Fox thought, would be for the first comer—the English and Dutch battalions from Flanders, or the French and Spaniards. Horace Walpole was alternating between selfish fears and affected nonchalance. On the 6th of September he looks upon Scotland as gone. On the 13th he does not despair, yet expects nothing but bad. On the 20th his apprehensions are not nearly so strong as they were. On the 27th, when the news of Preston battle has arrived, he has so trained himself to expect this ruin, that he sees it approach without any emotion. This is the ordinary mode in which the exclusive world looks at great public events that affect a nation. On the 4th of October the smart letter-writer discovers that there is a community, who are not about to be conquered by "banditti," as he had termed the Highlanders. "A wonderful spirit is arisen in all counties, and among all sorts of people." The merchants of London, he says, have undertaken to support public credit; noblemen are raising regiments; the archbishop of York has set an example that would rouse the most indifferent. He then, as was his wont, shuts up his hopes and his fears in matter for a laugh. "As an instance of more spirit and wit than there is in all Scotland," he quotes an address "To all jolly Butchers,—My bold hearts, the Papists eat no meat on Wednesdays, Fridays, Saturdays, nor during Lent." *

* Letters to Mann.

NOTE ON THE HIGHLAND COSTUME.

The engraving at the head of Chapter VIII. is from an authentic portrait of Charles Edward, as he appeared on his march into England. He adopted the Highland costume as one of the means of acquiring the affection of the mountaineers. In this costume we do not recognize the picturesque garb which is usually associated with the person of the Highlander; the garb which Scottish gentlemen delight to wear on their high festivals, and which the household-god of the snuff-shop once made familiar to the eyes of the Londoners. Prince Charles Edward is painted as wearing the *truis*, the breeches and stockings in one piece, or hose pantaloon; and not as wearing the *kilt* or *philibeg*, with the knee and part of the leg uncovered. Without entering into any examination of the disputed question of the high antiquity of the reputed Highland costume, it may be satisfactory to show what the ordinary costume really was, as described by a traveller in Scotland at a period between the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745 :*—

"The Highland dress consists of a bonnet made of thrum without a brim, a short coat, a waistcoat longer by five or six inches, short stockings, and *brogues* or pumps without heels. By the way, they cut holes in their *brogues*, though new made, to let out the water when they have far to go and rivers to pass; and this they do to preserve their feet from galling.

"Few besides gentlemen wear the *trowze* [truis], that is, the breeches and stockings all of one piece and drawn on together; over this habit they wear a plaid, which is usually three yards long and two breadths wide, and the whole garb is made of chequered tartan or plaiding; this, with the sword and pistol, is called a full dress, and to a well-proportioned man with any tolerable air, it makes an agreeable figure; but this you have seen in London, and it is chiefly their mode of dressing when they are in the Lowlands, or when they make a neighbouring visit, or go anywhere on horseback; but when those among them who travel on foot, and have not attendants to carry them over the waters, they vary it with the *quelt* [kilt], which is a manner I am about to describe.

"The common habit of the ordinary Highlanders is far from being acceptable to the eye; with them a small part of the plaid, which is not so large as the former, is set in folds and girt round the waist to make of it a short petticoat that reaches half-way down the thigh, and the rest is brought over the shoulders, and then fastened before, below the neck, often with a fork, and sometimes with a bodkin, or sharpened piece of stick, so that they make pretty near the appearance of the poor women in London when they bring their gowns over their heads to shelter them from the rain. In this way of wearing the plaid, they have sometimes nothing else to cover them, and are often barefoot; but some I have seen shod with a kind of pumps made out of a raw cow-hide with the hair turned outward, which being ill-made, the wearer's feet looked something like those of a rough-footed hen or pigeon: these are called *quarrants*, and are not only offensive to the sight but intolerable to the smell of those who are near them. The stocking rises no higher than the thick of the calf, and from the middle of the thigh to the

* "Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to his friend in London," 1754, vol. ii. p. 183. These letters, written from 1726 to 1732, by an engineer of the name of —— Burt, are commonly quoted as "Burt's Letters."

middle of the leg is a naked space, which being exposed to all weathers, becomes tanned and freckled. This dress is called the *quelt.*"

The kilt,—as a part of the dress separate from the plaid, "set in folds and girt round the waist, to make of it a short petticoat that reaches half-way down the thigh,"—is held to have been an innovation occurring between the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. It is ascribed to the genius of an army tailor attached to the troops of General Wade, who saw the inconvenience of the old cumbrous arrangement. Thus the Highland costume, "in its more complete shape, has every appearance of being essentially modern."* The difference of colours in the tartan, as distinguishing various clans, is also held to be of comparatively modern origin.

"Various reasons," says the author of the "Letters," are given both for and against the Highland dress. It is urged against it, that it distinguishes the natives as a body of people distinct and separate from the rest of the subjects of Great Britain, and thereby is one cause of their narrow adherence among themselves to the exclusion of all the rest of the kingdom; but the part of the habit chiefly objected to is the plaid (or mantle), which, they say, is calculated for the encouragement of an idle life in lying about upon the heath in the day-time, instead of following some lawful employment; that it serves to cover them in the night when they lie in wait among the mountains to commit their robberies and depredations, and is composed of such colours as altogether in the mass so nearly resemble the heath on which they lie, that it is hardly to be distinguished from it till one is so near them as to be within their power, if they have any evil intention.

"On the other hand it is alleged; the dress is most convenient to those who, with no ill design, are obliged to travel from one part to another upon their lawful occasions, viz.: That they would not be so free to skip over the rocks and bogs with breeches, as they are in the short petticoat. That it would be greatly incommodious, to those who are frequently to wade through waters, to wear breeches, which must be taken off upon every such occurrence, or would not only gall the wearer, but render it very unhealthful and dangerous to their limbs to be constantly wet in that part of the body, especially in winter-time, when they might be frozen. And with respect to the plaid, in particular, the distance between one place of shelter and another are often too great to be reached before night comes on, and being intercepted by sudden floods, or hindered by other impediments, they are frequently obliged to lie all night in the hills, in which case they must perish were it not for the covering they carry with them."

The preceding is an intelligible description, which may enable us to form a truer conception of the Highland army than we may derive from romances or melodramas. In the Act of Parliament of 1747, by which "the clothes commonly called Highland clothes," are forbidden to be worn except by officers and soldiers; these clothes are described as "the plaid, philibeg or little kilt, trouze, shoulder-belts;" and it is enacted, "that no tartan or parti-coloured plaid should be used for great coats or upper coats." In the "Humphrey Clinker" of Smollett, which embodies his remarks on his native country in 1766, we may trace the operation of this statute, which had for its object the amalgamation of Highlanders and Lowlanders: "It must be observed that the poor Highlanders are now seen to disadvantage. They have been not only disarmed by Act of Parliament, but also deprived of their ancient garb, which was both graceful and convenient; and, what is a greater hardship still, they are compelled to wear breeches—a restraint which they cannot bear with any degree of patience; indeed, the majority wear them, not in their proper place, but on poles or long staves over their shoulders; they are even debarred the use of their striped stuff, called

* Burton, vol. ii. p. 382.

Tartan, which was their own manufacture, prized by them above all the velvet, brocades, and tissues of Europe and Asia. They now lounge along in loose great coats of coarse russet, equally mean and cumbersome, and betray manifest marks of dejection. Certain it is, the government could not have taken a more effectual method to break their national spirit." These "breeches" were certainly not the "trouze" of the Highland gentlemen. "The 'breeks' attempted to be forced upon the nether limbs of the brawny Highlanders were the Lowland and English knee-breeches of George the Second's reign, with all the buttons and buckles thereunto belonging." * The author of the interesting Letters which we have quoted gives an example to show that the whole people were "fond and tenacious of their Highland clothing" before the eventful period which was to produce such changes in this matter, as well as in greater affairs: "Being, in a wet season, upon one of my peregrinations, accompanied by a Highland gentleman, who was one of the clan through which I was passing, I observed the women to be in great anger with him about something that I did not understand. At length, I asked him wherein he had offended them? Upon this question he laughed, and told me his great coat was the cause of their wrath, and that their reproach was, that he could not be contented with the garb of his ancestors, but was degenerated into a Lowlander, and condescended to follow their unmanly fashions." †

* Planché. "British Costume," p. 435.

† Burt's "Letters," vol. ii. p. 191.

The House in which Charles Edward lodged at Derby.

CHAPTER IX.

Meeting of the British Parliament.—New regiments to be raised by Peers—Divided counsels in the Cabinet and in Parliament—The insurgent army crosses the Border—Siege of Carlisle—State of Public Intelligence—The continued march into England—Manchester recruits—Roman Catholic families in Manchester—The rebel army reaches Derby—The duke of Cumberland's army close at hand—The retreat of the rebels resolved upon—Public feeling in London—The populace—The commercial and moneyed classes—Suspicions attached to Scotsmen in London—Andrew Drummond, the banker—Proceedings against Popish priests.

The king returned from Hanover on the 31st of August. The Parliament was summoned to meet on the 17th of October. On the 9th of October, "Charles, Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland," issued his proclamation from his palace of Holyrood House, warning all his subjects, peers or commoners, to pay no obedience to this summons of the Elector of Hanover, and threatening that if any peers or commoners of Scotland should presume to sit or vote in such Parliament, they should be proceeded against as rebels and traitors. Nevertheless, in spite of this doughty manifesto, the Parliament did meet at Westminster on the 17th of October, although some few Scottish peers did keep away. The king expressed his surprise that any of his Protestant subjects should have been concerned in this rebellion; for throughout the whole course of his reign he had made the laws of the land the rule of his government; and the preservation of the constitution in church and state, and the rights of his people,

the main end and aim of all his actions. Whatever had been the defects of the government of the two Georges, the laws of the land had not been violated; the constitution under which they reigned had been upheld. The freedom of speech which was heard in both Houses, at this crisis of danger, is the best proof that no arbitrary power had deadened the old spirit which ejected the Stuarts; that the corruption, by which sir Robert Walpole had believed that the intrigues of the Jacobites could only be effectually resisted, had not created a Parliament of slaves and sycophants. In the Lords the earl of Westmoreland proclaimed that "the people suspect that both Houses are under a corrupt dependency upon the Crown."* In the Commons, major Selwyn denounced the system of continually interposing in continental affairs: "We have been doing little else for above twenty years, than pulling down with one hand, and setting up again with the other; so that a drum was never to beat in Germany, but we, knight-errant like, thought we must have recourse to arms."† The Opposition in the Commons, even at this time of public alarm, supported an amendment to the address as boldly conceived as in the previous days of domestic security: "In order to the firmer establishment of his majesty's throne on the solid and truly glorious basis of his people's affections, it shall be our zealous and speedy care to frame such bills as, if passed into laws, may prove most effectual for securing to his majesty's faithful subjects the perpetual enjoyment of their undoubted right to be freely and fairly represented in Parliament, frequently chosen, and exempted from undue influence of any kind."‡ Lyttelton and Pitt, who had bearded Walpole in the height of his power, and had exercised all their oratory to drive Carteret from office, now spoke against the amendment. Pitt was indeed looking for place, from which the personal dislike of the king alone excluded him; but it was something far nobler than courtly subserviency which prompted him at this juncture to postpone every other consideration to the great question of the defence of his country; for he knew that the stability of the throne was undoubtedly the firmest foundation for the liberties of the people. In his speech on this occasion Pitt said that he had always been a friend to everything that could reasonably be offered to secure the independence of Parliament; that, because he was a real friend to every regulation that might appear likely to be effectual for preventing the fatal effects of corruption, he would never propose or advise the introduction of any such regulation into the House but at a proper season. Was this a proper season? "Whilst the nation is engaged in a most dangerous and expensive foreign war, a rebellion breaks out at home. Those rebels have already gained a victory over the king's troops, which has made them almost wholly masters of one part of the United Kingdom. We are under daily apprehensions, both of an irruption, and a foreign invasion, being made upon the other; and that invasion would, certainly, be attended with an insurrection. In such circumstances, shall we amuse ourselves with contriving methods to prevent the effects of corruption? Shall we spend our time in projects for guarding our liberties against corruption, when they are in such immediate danger of being trampled under foot by force of arms? Would not this be like a man's sitting down to think of ways and means for pre-

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xiii. col. 1324. † *Ibid.*, col. 1335. ‡ *Ibid.*, col. 1342.

venting his being cheated by his servants, at the very time that thieves were breaking into his house?"* This was the language of a statesman. The amendment was negatived. On the 28th of October, a motion was made for a committee "to inquire into the causes of the progress of the Rebellion in Scotland." The supineness of the ministry was defended on the ground "that they could not have supposed that a few Scotch Highlanders would be so mad as to take it into their heads that without any foreign assistance they could conquer the whole island of Great Britain."† The motion was negatived.

When Charles Edward was marching southward, party-jealousies and court-intrigues took a shape essentially characteristic of a period when most public men thought their own petty interests and rivalries of far more importance than the welfare of the nation. Fifteen peers had offered to raise regiments. The offer was accepted by the government. Had the lords "paid them too, the service had been noble," writes Horace Walpole. The king was to pay them; and their colonels, it was alleged, named none but their own relations and dependents for the officers. Walpole insinuates that some of these peers took the pay but did not raise the men; and he distinctly says that not six regiments were raised, and not four employed. The duke of Bedford, he admits, actually raised, and served with, his regiment. "The fourteen promised regiments," says lord Mahon, "all vanished to air or dwindled to jobs." There is no authority for this sweeping statement even in the sarcasms of Horace Walpole. But there is little doubt that the public spirit of the aristocracy was not very great or very universal. Andrew Mitchell describes in a letter to Duncan Forbes this affair of the new regiments with a bitter irony: "It is certain that no job was intended by those who made the first proposal, but your lordship knows this country too well to believe that in the time of public danger any man would attend to his own private advantage."‡ On the 4th of November, a motion was made in the Commons, for an address to beseech his majesty, "that the officers in the new regiments, now raising, or already raised, may not be allowed any rank from their commissions after these regiments are broke." This address was rejected only by a small majority. The king was against the officers taking rank, but he did not wish to refuse it. Courtiers, patriots, and Jacobites supported the address, which if carried would have put an end to the scheme for raising those regiments. Pitt took a part which may lead us not wholly to believe the calumnies of Walpole; a part best calculated to make any selfish grandee ashamed of his baseness, if any portion of these calumnies were true. The noble peers, he said, who had undertaken to raise these regiments, "have stood like men of fortitude and integrity in the gap at which war and confusion were breaking in upon us, and have by their influence and example raised the same spirit in others, who, had they not been thus animated to resistance and resolution, would inevitably have sunk under their fears, and suffered all the calamities of an invasion without daring to attempt the means of opposing or preventing them."§ The officers, he said,

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xiii. col. 1349. † Winnington, *ibid.*, col. 1372.
‡ "Culloden Papers," p. 245. Letter of 19th November.
§ "Parliamentary History," vol. xiii. col. 1388.

who are to be employed under them, are men whose fortunes and whose merit raise them to distinction in their own counties—men who voluntarily serve their country from their zeal for its security. The suspicions of the integrity of the highest in rank, and the differences of opinion in statesmen professing the same principles, which these discussions exhibited, were not favourable to the belief that the prayer would be realized which the archbishop of York so fervently put up at the commencement of the Rebellion: "May the great God of battles stretch out his all powerful hand to defend us; inspire an union of hearts and hands among all ranks of people; a clear wisdom into the councils of his majesty; and a steady courage and resolution into the hearts of his generals." The want of concert amongst the Whigs in Parliament, and the absence of cordiality amongst the advisers of the king, are described in the letter of Andrew Mitchell just quoted: "Affairs in the House of Commons are not now carried on in the manner they were when your lordship sat in Parliament. Their proceedings are now like the operations of an army composed of several nations, where all the leaders must be satisfied, and where there is properly no commander-in-chief. Though the influence of some be great, yet in many points they must yield to their new allies. In the Cabinet, I fear, there is as little harmony as elsewhere; the consequence of which must be an unsteadiness of councils, and want of all scheme or plan of action."

The Parliamentary Reports in the "Gentleman's Magazine" and the "London Magazine," from which waverers in England might have learnt in October something of the divided opinions of Parliament, could scarcely have reached the west of Scotland, before prince Charles entered Cumberland on the 8th of November. His march into England had been regarded with little favour by the Highland chiefs. Some, according to the Chevalier de Johnstone, told him that it was ridiculous to invade England with such a handful of men. Others said they had taken arms to seat him on the throne of Scotland, but wished to have nothing to do with England.* The adventurer had wild notions of a great insurrectionary movement in his favour, after he had crossed the Border. The experience of lord Kilmarnock might have taught the prince that communities flourishing by their industry were not likely to forsake the protection of an established government, to enter into a dispute of hereditary right against a constitutional succession of half-a-century's duration. The father of Kilmarnock raised a regiment for the Pretender in 1715; when claims to feudal service were respected in the Scottish Lowlands. In 1745, the mistaken and unfortunate lord called upon his tenants and the carpet-weaving population of the town of Kilmarnock, to follow him to fight for the Stuart; and he was roughly told by all, to a man, of those he called his people, that neither threats nor entreaties should take them from their homes. The young prince was as ignorant of the real condition of the English people—of the rapid progress that had been made in the industrial arts, and in the improved resources of all ranks, since his grandfather left Whitehall in 1688—as he was unconscious of the resolution of the people not to put to risk every good which they enjoyed, for the sake of a dynasty hated by four-fifths of the general population, without any

* "Memoirs," p. 53.

zealous support except from the professors of antiquated creeds in religion and politics. The Georges had never been popular. They were disliked as foreigners. There was no comparison to be made between the attractions of the tall young prince, who was playing the part of a hero of romance, and of the little old gentleman, who, although he had flourished his sword at Dettingen, received no greetings of white handkerchiefs from fair ladies in London windows. But George II. had not been a harsh or an unjust king. Archbishop Herring spoke to the hearts of his hearers at York, when he said, "not an instance can be pointed out during his whole reign, wherein he made the least attempt upon the liberty, or property, or religion of a single person." The contrast with the last king of the Stuart line was not forgotten, even in Scotland.

"In the year 1745," writes Gibbon, "the throne and the constitution were attacked by a rebellion, which does not reflect much honour on the national spirit; since the English friends of the Pretender wanted courage to join his standard; and his enemies—the bulk of the people—allowed him to advance into the heart of the kingdom." The father of the great historian was one of those who had not the courage to take a decided part in a cause to which his inclination tended: "Without daring, perhaps without desiring, to aid the rebels, my father invariably adhered to the Tory opposition. In the most critical season he accepted, for the service of the party, the office of alderman in the city of London."* This covert Jacobitism, "willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike," furnishes an explanation for a portion of the seeming indifference to the result, which marked the public demeanour of some men of rank and wealth on the approach towards London of the Highland army. Why the enemies of the leader of this army allowed him to advance into the heart of the kingdom, is capable of very easy solution, if we trace his progress step by step. We doubt if this non-resistance can be fairly ascribed to any want of national spirit in "the bulk of the people."

The Highland army, upon leaving Dalkeith, divided into two columns. One, under the command of lord George Murray, took the western route into England by Peebles and Moffat; the other, with the prince at its head, marched as if about to proceed by the eastern road to Berwick. The Chevalier de Johnstone attributed to this stratagem the determination of Wade to remain with his large force to protect Newcastle. The prince, suddenly turning westward from Kelso, joined the other division near Reddings. On the 10th, the entire army invested Carlisle. The inhabitants of Newcastle were relieved from the fears which they are held to have entertained after the battle of Preston-Pans. John Wesley was in the town on the 23rd of September. No English or Dutch troops were yet there for the protection of the inhabitants; but, writes Wesley, "the walls are mounted with cannon, and all things prepared for sustaining an assault." This preparation for defence scarcely bears out the belief that at Newcastle the arms of Charles Edward "had struck the deepest dismay." † Wesley says, "Our poor neighbours on either hand are busy removing their goods; and most of the best houses in our street are left without either furniture or inhabitants." When a bombardment is expected, the inhabitants of the

* "Memoirs of Edward Gibbon." The alderman resigned about two months before the landing of Charles Edward.

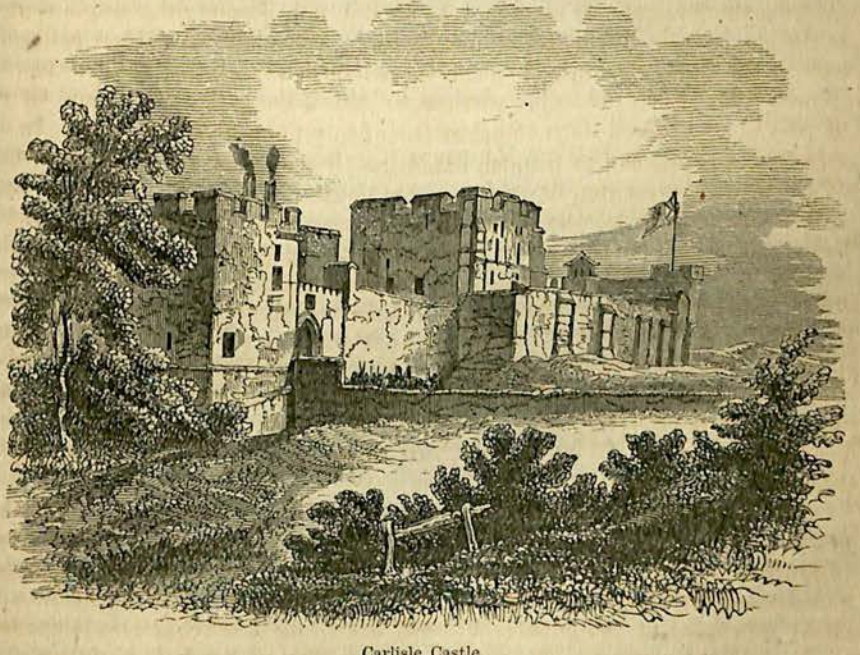
† Lord Mahon.

threatened town may remove their goods from an exposed to a secure place, without feeling "the deepest dismay." General Wade did not march from Newcastle till five days after the investment of Carlisle. The surrender of that city, before Wade arrived in the neighbourhood for its relief, can scarcely be accounted for, except through the disaffection of a few, operating upon the gross ignorance and folly of its magisterial defenders. In the castle, the garrison consisted of only one company of invalids, commanded by colonel Durand. The besieged were not wanting in artillery. The city was surrounded with old walls, within which was the militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland. The siege was conducted by the duke of Perth with a small force; for the prince, with the greater part of the army, had marched to Brampton, in the expectation of giving battle to Wade. There was a valiant mayor of Carlisle, who wrote to the Secretary of State that he had fired on the rebels and made them retire; adding, in his heroic epistle, "And so I think the town of Carlisle has done his majesty more service than the great city of Edinburgh, or than all Scotland together." * The king spoke of this Mr. Patteson, at his levee, with great encomiums. The boasts of the mayor soon came to an end. The besieging army had twelve field-pieces, six of which had been taken at Preston. The city, says De Johnstone, "surrendered the third day after the opening of the trenches, rather from our threatening to fire red-hot balls upon the town and reduce it to ashes, than from the force of our artillery; as we did not discharge a single shot, lest the garrison should become acquainted with the smallness of their calibre, which might have encouraged them to defend themselves." † The town authorities compelled the feeble garrison to join in the capitulation; and they had previously ordered them to desist from firing upon the besiegers. In a letter from a gentleman in Kendal, dated the 18th of November, the citizens of Carlisle are represented in no favourable light: "Most of our militia are got home from Carlisle, who generally complained of very ill-usage in that place; and though perhaps some of them may exaggerate matters through resentment, yet, by all accounts, the conduct of that city fell much short of what was expected from a place of so much strength and reputed loyalty." ‡ The people of Whitehaven, according to the loyal volunteer, James Ray, had raised ten companies of fifty men each for the defence of the place, and had formed breastworks before the town, in which cannon was planted. But when they heard of the surrender of Carlisle, the guns were dismounted, and put on board ships, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands.

It is at this period, when the newspapers announced the advance of the rebels into England, and their successful attack upon Carlisle, which from early times had been regarded as one of the most formidable barriers against Scottish assault, that we find in the letters of the poet of the Leasowes, a slight indication of the popular interest which these stirring events excited in the midland counties. Shenstone, on the 22nd of November, thus writes to his friend, Mr. Graves: "The rebellion, you may guess, is the subject of all conversation. Every individual nailer here takes in a newspaper (a more

* Walpole to Mann, November 22. † "Memoirs," p. 58.
‡ Given in "History of the Rebellion," by James Ray of Whitehaven, Volunteer, &c

pregnant one by far than any of the London ones), and talks as familiarly of kings and princes as ever Master Shallow did of John of Gaunt. Indeed it is no bad thing that they do so; for I cannot conceive that the people want so much to be convinced by sermons of the absurdity of popery, as they do by newspapers that it may possibly prevail. The reasons and arguments, too, in favour of the present government are so strong and obvious, that even I, and every country squire, and every country clerk, and Sam Shaw the tailor, seem to be as much masters of them as the bishops themselves. I must not say we could express them so politely." * Secker and Sherlock and Warburton were preaching like sensible divines against the mischiefs which a change of dynasty would produce; and the newspapers, London and provincial, gave little encouragement to the enterprise of a family that had not been distinguished for a regard to the freedom of the press. A few years later than this, Dr. Johnson, who saw without much favour the fact that "almost every large town has its weekly historian," makes this admission of the utility of newspapers, even in this early period of the development of their mighty influence: "All foreigners remark that the knowledge of the common people in England is greater than that of any other vulgar. This superiority we undoubtedly owe to the rivulets of intelligence which are continually trickling among us, which every one may catch, and of which every one partakes." †



Carlisle Castle.

The possession of Carlisle appears to have somewhat influenced the decision of Charles's council to march onward towards London. Some, accord-

* Shenstone's Works, vol. iii. p. 103. † "Idler," No. 7.

ing to lord George Murray, proposed returning to Scotland. The cause of the Stuarts was not flourishing there. Although lord Strathallan, who had been left in command at Perth, had received a considerable accession of force, from clans who had taken arms under the son of lord Lovat and other chiefs, the large commercial towns had given the most decided manifestations in favour of the established government. Glasgow, Paisley, and Dumfries had raised their militia for the reigning House. Edinburgh had renewed its allegiance. Even at Dundee and Perth, "the populace had insisted on celebrating king George's birthday, and a few shots or blows had been exchanged between them and their Jacobite garrisons." * "The populace" may here have a wider significance than "the mob." Lord George Murray (the project for marching back to Scotland not being approved) says that some were for quartering in the country about Carlisle. "Others were for marching forward the west road, and that now we had Carlisle, at worst we had a safe retreat. His Royal Highness declared for this." His own opinion being asked, lord George said he could not venture to advise "to march far into England without more encouragement from the country than we had hitherto got;" but he added that, if the prince was resolved to make a trial, the army, though small, would follow him. "Upon this he immediately said he would venture." † Murray at that time had resigned his commission, and was determined to serve only as a volunteer. There had been differences between him and the duke of Perth, who was in especial favour with Charles. But the experience and knowledge of the plain-speaking general could not be safely dispensed with. He soon, he says, "as all the other officers were very pressing with me," laid aside the thought of serving only as a volunteer.

On the 20th of November, the van of the Highland army marched from Carlisle; and the main body, in a second division commanded by the prince, followed shortly after. The whole force did not reach five thousand men, according to some accounts; it amounted nearly to seven thousand, upon other estimates. At Penrith the main body halted on the 22nd for a day, the van having marched to Kendal. Home says that the second division, "coming to Penrith, occupied the quarters which the van had left." ‡ The chaplain, from whose MS. we have already quoted, says, under the date of the 22nd, "the van marched to Kendal, and the main body halted at Penrith." These accounts, corroborated by De Johnstone, refute the statement that "the whole army re-united at Penrith, and halted there one day, in the expectation that Wade was advancing to attack them; but on learning the retreat of that doughty veteran from Hexham they pursued their progress." § On the 27th the two divisions were united at Preston. "Last night they were to be at Preston," writes Walpole, on the 29th. He adds, "The country is so far from rising for them that the towns are left desolate on their approach, and the people hide and bury their effects, even to their pewter." We must not cease to bear in mind that the towns, then left desolate, were essentially different from the towns of half a century later—mere hamlets compared with the vast abodes of manufacturing industry into whose localities Charles

* Lord Mahon, vol. iii. p. 395.
† "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 48.
‡ "History of the Rebellion," Works, vol. iii. p. 122.
§ Lord Mahon, vol. iii. p. 397.

Edward was now entering. "Manchester," says Volunteer Ray, "was taken by a sergeant, a drum, and a woman, about two o'clock in the afternoon [of the 28th], who rode up to the Bull's Head on horses with hempen halters, where they dined. After dinner they beat up for recruits, and in less than an hour listed about thirty." * This seemingly apocryphal story is confirmed by letters given by lord Mahon, but more circumstantially by a very interesting narrative of the Chevalier de Johnstone. One of his sergeants, he says, a young Scotsman named Dickson, who had been enlisted from the prisoners of war at Gladsmuir, asked his permission to go forward to Manchester to make sure of some recruits before the arrival of the army. The general laughed at the notion of the adventurous youth, "as bold and intrepid as a lion." But Dickson was not to be baulked in this way. He went off with a horse, and with his commander's portmanteau and blunderbuss; and on the evening of the 29th atoned for his insubordination by presenting himself at Manchester with a hundred and eighty recruits. De Johnstone gives with considerable narrative power the history of the surrender of Manchester to Dickson and his blunderbuss: "He had quitted Preston, in the evening, with his mistress, and my drummer; and having marched all night, he arrived next morning at Manchester, which is about twenty miles distant from Preston, and immediately began to beat up for recruits for 'the yellow-haired laddie.' The populace, at first, did not interrupt him, conceiving our army to be near the town; but as soon as they knew that it would not arrive till the evening, they surrounded him in a tumultuous manner, with the intention of taking him prisoner, alive or dead. Dickson presented his blunderbuss, which was charged with slugs, threatening to blow out the brains of those who first dared to lay hands on himself or the two who accompanied him; and by turning round continually, facing in all directions, and behaving like a lion, he soon enlarged the circle which a crowd of people had formed round them. Having continued for some time to manœuvre in this way, those of the inhabitants of Manchester who were attached to the house of Stuart took arms, and flew to the assistance of Dickson, to rescue him from the fury of the mob; so that he soon had five or six hundred men to aid him, who dispersed the crowd in a very short time. Dickson now triumphed in his turn; and putting himself at the head of his followers, he proudly paraded, undisturbed, the whole day, with his drummer, enlisting for my company all who offered themselves. On presenting me with a list of one hundred and eighty recruits, I was agreeably surprised to find that the whole amount of his expenses did not exceed three guineas. This adventure of Dickson gave rise to many a joke at the expense of the town of Manchester, from the singular circumstance of its having been taken by a sergeant, a drummer, and a girl. The circumstance may serve to show the enthusiastic courage of our army, and the alarm and terror with which the English were seized." † The "alarm and terror" were perhaps as much produced by "those of the inhabitants of Manchester who, attached to the house of Stuart, took arms," as by the enthusiastic courage of the sergeant, the drummer, and the girl, as the representatives of "our army." The Manchester recruits were formed into a regiment. It "never exceeded three hundred men," says De Johnstone, "of whom the

* Ray, p. 132.

† "Memoirs of the Rebellion," p. 64.

recruits furnished by my sergeant formed more than the half. These were all the English who ever declared themselves openly in favour of the prince; and the chiefs of the clans were not far wrong, therefore, in distrusting the pretended succours on which the prince so implicitly relied." The bell-ringing, the illuminations, the bonfires, which are described as "signs of popular favour upon the entry of the prince," lose a little of their value, when we learn, from one source, that "the bellman has been ordering us to illuminate our houses to-night, which must be done;" * and from Volunteer Ray, that the bellman, who, in the morning, "had been sent about the town requiring all such as had any public money in their hands to bring it in," was, in the evening, "again sent about to order the town to be illuminated." The probability is that the inhabitants generally of Manchester, thriving as they were upon their manufactures of fustians, dimities, laces, and the various small articles of dress known as Manchester ware, and having extensive dealings with distant places, would not very gladly have seen property destroyed and credit suspended by the near prospect of insurrection and civil war. But the ancient and wealthy Roman Catholic families who dwelt among them were in general harmless; and if the bellman ordered illuminations, it was not for the industrious and loyal majority to break the Papist windows. The Protestants of this busy town were not likely to be more disaffected than their neighbours. "In every place we passed through," says De Johnstone, "we found the English very ill-disposed towards us, except at Manchester, where there appeared some remains of attachment to the House of Stuart." † The Jacobite sympathy, "the old spirit of loyalty," that displayed itself in kissing the hands of the tall young prince—and which in one instance went so far as to make an ancient lady somewhat irreverently employ the sacred words of the *Nunc dimittis*—is a pretty object to contemplate through the haze of a century. But we cannot join in the historian's sneer at the reasoning loyalty which has taken the place of the old prostration before every wearer of a crown: "How greatly have we now improved upon those unphilosophical times! How far more judicious to value kings and governments, like all other articles, only according to their cheapness and convenience!" ‡

Having been in Manchester two days, the rebel army marched on the 1st of December to Macclesfield, fording the Mersey near Stockport. It was determined to proceed to Derby; but lord George Murray, with the van, moved from Macclesfield to Congleton, "which was the straight road to Lichfield; so that the enemy would have reason to think we intended to come upon them, which would make them gather together in a body, and readily advance upon that road, so that we could get before them to Derby." § The manœuvre succeeded. The duke of Cumberland, who was at Newcastle-under-Line with his army, thought the object of the rebels was to get to Wales, where Jacobitism had its adherents. He therefore marched to Stone; and left the road to London open. Murray suddenly altered his course, and passing through Leek and Ashbourn, reached Derby at noon on the 5th. The prince, with the main body, arrived there the same evening. The duke of

* Letter given by Lord Mahon.
‡ Lord Mahon, vol. iii. p. 405.
† "Memoirs," p. 81.
§ "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 53.

Cumberland's spies had been taken prisoners, especially "the famous captain Weir, well known to all about court," who fell in the way of lord George Murray. "He was sent to the prince to be examined," writes the Highland officer in his Account;* and whether it was clemency or prudence in the prince, Weir was saved from hanging to reveal all he knew of the movements of the English forces. In Derby the rebels obtained only three recruits; and, as was their usual course, they possessed themselves of the money collected for the taxes, which here amounted to 2500*l.* Without these resources, it is difficult to understand how this army contrived to subsist by paying for the necessaries which it wanted. The plunder was really inconsiderable. But the wants of the hardy Highlanders were easily supplied. They could march for a whole day upon a little oatmeal, which they carried in bags, mixed with the water of the streams through which they waded. It is highly honourable to these poor men, who in their own country were not averse to depredations upon a large scale which looked like warfare, that in their march through a rich land they plundered very little, and committed no wanton mischief. William Hutton justly appreciated this behaviour: "They frequently," he said, "paid their quarters—more frequently it was not expected." He has an excuse for their petty depredations: "If they took people's shoes, it was because they had none of their own; and no voice speaks so loud as that of necessity." The general expectation in Derby was that the rebels had determined to march on. The same belief prevailed in the surrounding districts. Gray has an amusing anecdote of the temper in which this possible advance was regarded: "I heard three people, sensible middle-aged men, when the Scotch were said to be at Stamford, and actually were at Derby, talking of hiring a chaise to go to Caxton, a place in the high road, to see the Pretender and the Highlanders as they passed."† This has been called "indifference," an "unconcern to the interests of the reigning family." It was simply curiosity mixed with a good deal of contempt. The unconcern at the advance into the kingdom of a small army of strangely clad and irregularly armed mountaineers, was produced by the certainty that there were in arms a very powerful force of disciplined soldiers moving to attack them, or to intercept their march to the metropolis; concentrating to put down an insane enterprise by some signal vengeance. Lord George Murray has clearly described the dangers which surrounded the adventurous prince and his men when they had reached Derby: "We did not doubt but that the duke of Cumberland would be that night at Stafford, which was as near to London as Derby. Mr. Wade was coming up by hard marches the east road; and we knew that an army, at least equal to any of these, would be formed near London, consisting of guards and horse, with troops which they would bring from the coast where they were quartered; so that there would be three armies made up of regular troops, that would surround us, being above thirty thousand men, whereas we were not above five thousand fighting men, if so many."‡

It is scarcely necessary to believe that, in the face of this danger, there were any especial reasons, which time has not yet devoleped, to determine

* "Lockhart Papers," p. 458.
† Letter to Walpole, February 3, 1746. Works, vol. ii. p. 181—Pickering's edit.
‡ "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 54.

Charles's council of war to advise a retreat. Lord George Murray has detailed the solid arguments which were opposed to the obstinate rashness of Charles. The prince did not doubt that the justness of his cause would prevail; he had hopes of a defection in the enemy's army; he was bent upon putting all to the risk. It was vain to tell him that, if a misfortune should happen, "it could not be supposed that one man could escape; for the militia, who had not appeared much against us hitherto, would, upon our defeat, possess all the roads, and the enemy's horse would surround us on all hands." * The Highlanders in the streets of Derby were animated to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, breathing nothing but a desire for the combat with the duke of Cumberland. "They were to be seen, during the whole day, in crowds before the shops of the cutlers, quarrelling about who should be the first to sharpen and give a proper edge to their swords." † In spite of this ardour, the chiefs, one and all, combated the desire of the prince to give battle on the 6th. They knew, says De Johnstone, that, "in case of a defeat in England, no one in our army could by any possibility escape destruction, as the English peasants were hostile to us in the highest degree." They told the prince that there could be no doubt but that they should easily beat the army of the duke of Cumberland, though much superior in point of numbers; but then another battle must be fought on Finchley Common, before they could enter London; and they very quietly asked, if by a miracle they could arrive at the capital, what sort of figure four thousand men would make amidst a population of a million.‡ This was an exaggerated estimate of the London population—a common error of that period. But the argument was equally strong if applied to a population of half-a-million. Before we proceed to describe the retreat, which was the result of these sensible opinions, let us, out of very imperfect materials, endeavour to obtain a glimpse of what the people of London were doing and thinking at this period, when war appeared to be closely approaching their peaceful homes.

The chief authority upon which a sober historian rests his belief that, when Charles Edward was known to have reached Derby, the English metropolis presented a frightful scene of terror and want of confidence, is the statement of the Chevalier de Johnstone: "Our arrival at Derby was known at London on the 5th of December; and the following day, called by the English Black Monday, the intelligence was known throughout the whole city, which was filled with terror and consternation." § The 6th of December was a Friday, and not a Monday. With no personal knowledge of the circumstances, De Johnstone goes on to tell us that a run was made upon the Bank; that it only escaped bankruptcy by paying in sixpences, and by sending its own agents to be foremost in the crowd, and to present the notes at one door, and take back the sixpences by another door. There was a Jacobite party in London, with one of the City members, alderman Heathcote, at its head; and a run upon the Bank was one of the means adopted to produce confusion. But the sixpenny story rests upon no other evidence than that of De Johnstone; and no fact is more indisputable than that a very large number of those who are called by Smollett "the trading part of the City,

* "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 54.
† De Johnstone, p. 67.
‡ De Johnstone, p. 71.
§ "Memoirs," p. 75.

and those concerned in money-corporations," gave public notice that they would not refuse to receive the notes of the Bank of England, in payment of any sum of money.* Smollett indeed says that the moneyed and commercial persons "prognosticated their own ruin in the approaching revolution, and their countenances exhibited the plainest marks of horror and despair." But Smollett, entertaining himself Jacobite partialities, tells us something more: "The militia of London and Middlesex were kept in readiness to march; double watches were posted at the city-gates, and signals of alarm appointed. The volunteers of the City were incorporated into a regiment; the practitioners of the law headed by the judges; the weavers of Spitalfields, and other communities, engaged in associations; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependents for the service of the government." We do not find these circumstances noticed by the historian who asks, "Had, then, the Highlanders continued to push forward, must not the increasing terror have palsied all power of resistance?"† The inhabitants of London, according to De Johnstone, fled to the country, with their most precious effects.‡ A

Military Costume, temp. George II. (Selected from Hogarth's March to Finchley.)

great number certainly left the busy streets, and were crowding up Highgate Hill. But it was to gaze upon the camp at Finchley, in which London artisans were associated with troops of the line, who could inspire courage, if such inspiration were needed, by tales of Dettingen and Fontenoy. A far larger

* Maitland. "History of London," vol. i. p. 646.

† Lord Mahon, vol. iii. p. 413.

‡ "Memoirs," p. 75.

proportion were laughing at caricatures of the Pretender, the Pope, and the king of France; and at those which, after the unvarying fashion of Englishmen to laugh at themselves, ridiculed Johnnie Cope, and did not spare the duke of Newcastle. They were reading the "Penny Post," with a border of capital letters forming the words, "No Pretender! No Popery! No slavery! No arbitrary power! No wooden shoes!*" Hogarth's wonderful print of the "March to Finchley" was not published till 1750; but from this minute embodiment of all the prevailing aspects of the outer life of the London population, we may gather some clearer notion of the realities of 1745, than from the most elaborate description. We may here trace the military costume of the time—the Prussian sugar-loaf cap of the grenadier—the fifer then first naturalized in the British army. We may form some notion of the licence of the soldiery in those days of cheap intoxication. We may follow all the rough diversions and practical jokes of the London populace, who exhibit in their demeanour any feeling but that of terror. We may notice how the great observer of the life around him alluded to—what was perhaps the only real danger in this crisis—the prospect of a French invasion, by which, in conjunction with the Highland insurrection, "the Jacobites were elevated to an insolence of hope which they were at no pains to conceal."† The French spy, communicating to the eager old Scot the letter which promises a descent from Dunkirk, is one of those Hogarthian groups which we may accept without hesitation as the truth of individuality.

Scotsman and Frenchman. (From Hogarth's March to Finchley.)

The fashionable world of London was dull at the opening of this winter: "There never was so melancholy a town; no kind of public place but the

* Wright. "House of Hanover," vol. i. p. 226. † Smollett

play-houses, and they look as if the rebels had just driven away the company. Nobody but has some fear for themselves, for their money, or for their friends in the army;"* This is the serious fear which becomes a grave nation at a dangerous crisis; but it is not the fear of cowardice. To understand why there should have been fear at all, we must bear in mind how imperfect were the means of public information. The numbers of the rebels were generally estimated at fifteen thousand. But the fidelity of the common people to their government, and their aversion to the cause of the Stuarts, are unquestionable. A French ship called the Soleil had been taken, with many Jacobites on board, who were coming to join their Scottish friends. There was among them a member of the unfortunate family of Derwentwater. "The mob," says Walpole, "persuaded of his being the youngest Pretender, could scarcely be persuaded from tearing him to pieces all the way on the road, and at his arrival. He said he had heard of English mobs, but could not conceive they were so dreadful." The populace of London have, happily, long since ceased to be ferocious. In this instance, and in several others, we recognize no generous pity for the unfortunate; but we have, even in this temper, one of the many evidences of the mistake into which some recent writers have fallen—that of speaking "of the march to Derby as an enterprise, which, had it been continued, was extremely likely to overturn the Hanover settlement and restore the Stuarts to the throne." The sensible and unprejudiced historian from whom we quote, truly says, "The country had already pronounced upon the question, in the cold silence with which it received the Highland march." †

But there was an influence of public opinion, not only in England but in parts of Scotland, of far more importance than the hostility of the English peasantry, and the rude aversion of a London mob,—an influence that rendered even the temporary success of the Stuart cause almost an impossibility. Mr. Hallam has pointed out that the "augmentation of the democratical influence, using that term as applied to the commercial and industrious classes in contradistinction to the territorial aristocracy, was the slow but certain effect of accumulated wealth and diffused knowledge, acting, however, on the traditional notions of freedom and equality, which had ever prevailed in the English people." ‡ The encouragement which Charles Edward undoubtedly received from some considerable portion of the territorial aristocracy, and on which he too confidently relied, was counteracted by the impassive calmness, or decided resistance, of the commercial and industrious classes. It was not till the too confiding prince had got to Derby, that it was pointed out to him that, "after traversing all the provinces which had the reputation of being most attached to his family, in order to enable them to join him, a single person of distinction had not yet declared himself." § The commercial and industrious classes were fairly represented at Liverpool, where a regiment of foot of seven hundred men was raised, clothed, and paid by public subscription. They were represented at Glasgow, where a body of twelve hundred men were raised, half of whom were sent to the defence of Stirling, and half retained to protect the city. In Bristol, the same spirit

* Horace Walpole to Mann, Nov. 29. † Burton. "History of Scotland," vol. iii. p. 484.
‡ "Constitutional History," chap. xvi. § De Johnstone, p. 71.

was displayed. We may therefore receive, with considerable suspicion, the statement of Smollett, that the trading part of the City were overwhelmed with fear and dejection. They were subscribing large sums at the beginning of December, to procure additional warm clothing for the troops engaged in the suppression of the rebellion; and the Quakers even provided woollen under-waistcoats for the troops in the North. London had received its abundant share of that commercial prosperity which, in twenty years, had added a third to the value of the country's exports; and which had enabled the wages of the labourer to command a larger portion of subsistence than at any previous period of our history.* The community in general was flourishing and contented; and whilst Smollett, speaking from his own political prejudices, says that many, who had no property to lose, thought no change could be for the worse, we may, on the contrary, believe that the bulk even of the humblest, who lived under equal laws which protected labour as much as capital, really desired no change, even amidst their grumbling against a German king, and their angry recollections of Excise and the Gin Act.

In periods of great political excitement, when opposite principles are ripening into active hostility, the prejudices of a people, and the unreasonable suspicions of a government, are almost as destructive of the peace of society as the positive dangers of insurrection and anarchy. There is an instance of the terror produced by apprehensions of popular violence, in the case of the father of Nollekens, the sculptor. The old man, a Roman Catholic native of Antwerp, lived in Dean Street, Soho, at the time of the Rebellion. He was a hoarder of his money; and he became so convinced that, as a foreigner and a papist, his house would be attacked by a mob, and his precious savings carried away, that "he lingered in a state of alarm until his death" in 1747.† The suspicions attached during this crisis to Scotsmen in London are described by Sir Andrew Mitchell, in a letter to Duncan Forbes, of the 23rd of October: "Already every man of our country is looked on as a traitor, as one secretly inclined to the Pretender, and waiting but an opportunity to declare. The guilty and the innocent are confounded together, and the crimes of a few imputed to the whole nation."‡ An example of this undiscriminating suspicion may be found in a curious incident in the life of a very remarkable man, the founder of the great banking-house of Drummond. Andrew Drummond was the brother of sir William Drummond, who became viscount Strathallan in 1711. Strathallan was taken prisoner at Sheriffmuir, in 1715, but was released, and continued to reside in Scotland. Andrew, like many other younger branches of high Scottish families, felt that he must endeavour to secure independence by a mercantile pursuit. He settled in London soon after the Union; uniting the proper business of a banker with that of a goldsmith, according to the fashion of earlier times. His ledger of 1716, in the possession of his successors, shows that he sold and exchanged jewellery, such as diamond ear-rings, buckles, and other personal adornments. In the early years of his banking business he was chiefly entrusted with the management of the pecuniary affairs of the friends of the House of Stuart, particularly of those who were abroad. Without compromising himself, he rendered valuable assistance to many who

* Malthus, referred to by Hallam.

† Smith. "Nollekens and his Times," vol. i. p. 2. ‡ "Culloden Papers," p. 426.

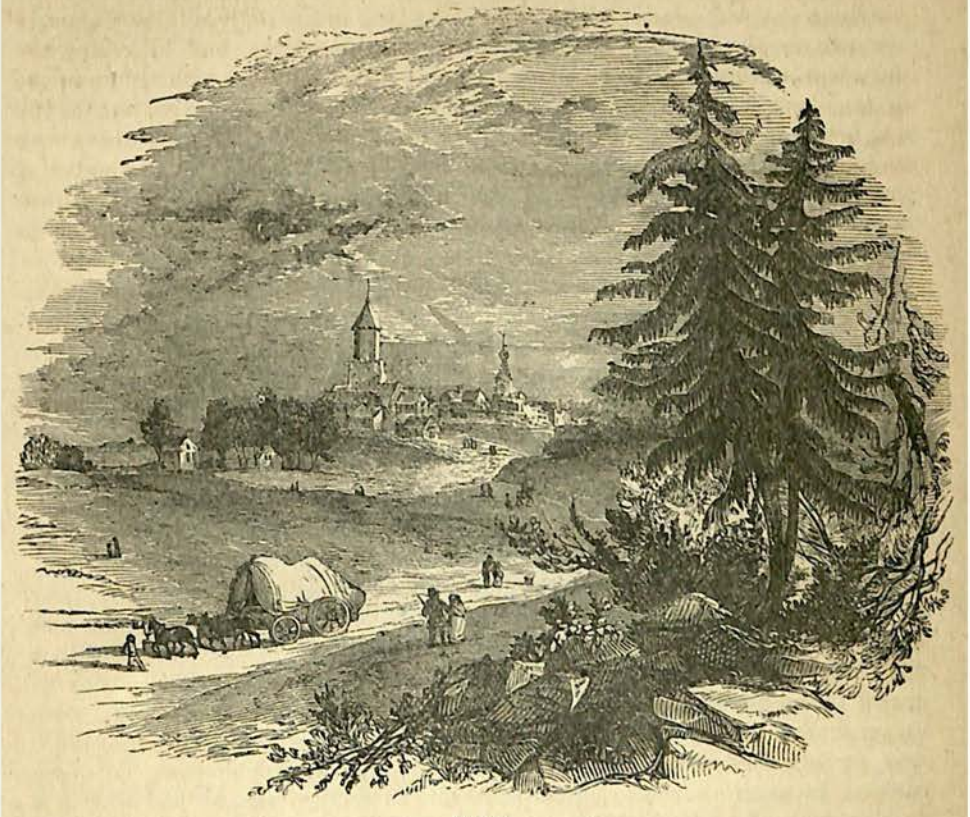
were exiled or suspected; not in assisting designs against the reigning family, but in a faithful administration of their private funds. "His brother sent up to him his two nephews, Robert and Henry, with whom he shared whatever emoluments he derived from the services he rendered to the royalists; and in this way grew up the banking establishment which his descendants have ever since carried on."* In 1745, when lord Strathallan was actively engaged in the Rebellion, suspicion not unnaturally fell upon the banker at Charing Cross. A warrant was sent into his house, and his books and papers were seized. A report was spread that he was ruined. It was the crisis of the thriving Scotsman's fortune. He published a notice in the Gazette that he would instantly pay all his creditors in full. Confidence did not desert him. The government could find nothing to inculpate him after the most searching examination; and obtained no knowledge from his papers "of what was going on in Scotland." His books and papers were returned; and a round-robin was signed by every member of the Cabinet as an approving testimonial of his conduct. The king desired to see him at St. James's; but at that interview the sturdy banker turned his back upon the Secretary, sir Edward Winnington, to whom he attributed the calumny against him. Andrew Drummond's bank became the favoured establishment of the aristocracy of all parties. George II. there kept his private account, and so also George III. This is one of the many instances of the rapidity with which, after the final struggle, national and dynastic contests became merged in individual confidence and public tranquillity. There were national prejudices of Englishman and Scot still to be overcome; but these were only as the shifting clouds after a storm. The trust in Andrew Drummond, the banker, of the second and third sovereigns of the Brunswick line, may be regarded as a graceful tribute, not only to his individual integrity and honour, but as exhibiting some sympathy for the misfortunes of his house. The representative of the elder branch of that house, the duke of Perth, died on shipboard after his escape from Scotland in 1746. The head of the other branch, lord Strathallan, was killed at the battle of Culloden.†

But if the ancient resistance and disaffection of the Jacobite party gradually melted away in the security for good government which the nation enjoyed under the Act of Settlement, the fears of the Administration, and the traditional feelings of the people, too long endured in the penal laws against Roman Catholics. There was no attempt at their conciliation at the crisis of the Rebellion. At the beginning of December, 1745, a proclamation was issued, calling upon magistrates to discover and bring to justice all jesuits and popish priests; and offering a reward of one hundred pounds for the apprehension of any such objects of the severity of the earlier statutes. This proclamation called forth a strong remonstrance from the resident ministers of various Catholic states, and especially on the arrest of a domestic of the Venetian ambassador. They contended that the law of nations had been violated; and that the Act of Anne, which forbade the arrest upon civil

* Memoir of the House of Drummond, in "Histories of Noble British Families," vol. ii. p. 21.

† There is a portrait of Andrew Drummond by Reynolds, and a very admirable one by Zoffany, in the possession of his great-grandson, Mr. Andrew Mortimer Drummond, to whose kindness we are indebted for some facts here mentioned.

process, of the ministers of foreign powers, or of their servants, was infringed in these proceedings. The Secretary of State, in his reply, did not approve of the arrest of the Venetian ambassador's domestic; but he rested the justification of the government upon the plea that chapels, with an enormous number of priests, were maintained, wherein mass was celebrated, not for the use of the minister's family, but rather for the sake of allowing the king's converted subjects to be present at mass, contrary to law. "The number of national Roman Catholic priests, who swarm more than ever in this town, was found dangerous to the State, especially at a time of open rebellion in favour of a Pretender of the same religion."



Falkirk.

CHAPTER X.

Charles Edward retreats from Derby—The retreating army pursued—Skirmish at Clifton—Bombardment and capitulation of Carlisle—Charles Edward in Scotland—General Hawley takes the command of the king's troops—Battle of Falkirk—Retreat of Hawley to Edinburgh—Lord Lovat—The duke of Cumberland in Scotland—Flight of the Highland army from Stirling.

THE retreat from Derby, regarded as a military operation, was highly creditable to the officers by whom it was conducted, and especially to lord George Murray. He was foremost to advise that retreat; and to his prudence and watchfulness may be attributed, in great measure, that the depressed Highlanders marched back to their own mountains, without serious disorganization. "I offered," he says, "to make the retreat, and be always in the rear myself." * Before daybreak on the morning of the 6th of December,

* "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 55.

the little army left Derby. The men thought they were advancing to attack the duke of Cumberland. "As soon," says De Johnstone, "as the day allowed them to see the objects around them, and they found that we were retracing our steps, nothing was to be heard throughout the whole army but expressions of rage and lamentation."* The prince, as blindly confident as the brave and ignorant Highlanders who would have followed him to destruction, was no longer cheerful and alert. "In marching forwards he had always been the first up in the morning, and had the men in motion before break of day, and commonly marched himself a-foot; but in the retreat he was much longer of leaving his quarters; so that, though the rest of the army were all on their march, the rear could not move till he went, and then he rode straight on, and got to the quarters with the van." Such is the relation of lord George Murray. The partizans of this young prince have delighted to exhibit his condescending participation in the fatigue and privations of his followers, when leading them, as he and they thought, to the rewards of his bold enterprise. His moody displeasure and haughty indifference when his insane plans were opposed and rejected, show how truly he adhered to his family convictions, that the sovereign will should over-ride every other consideration; that, to use his own words, "he was accountable to no one but God." His physical courage has been doubted, probably with great injustice. But his conduct in this retreat exhibits none of those qualities which appear in heroic minds, when high hopes are suddenly destroyed and serious dangers are to be confronted. Charles Edward had been deceived into the belief that the friends of his house in England were numerous, powerful, and ready to crowd round his standard. Not one of the secret Jacobites or avowed Tories of great families in the north lifted up a voice for him. He expected a descent from France would have been made upon British shores. To make such an invasion in some degree palateable to Englishmen, he had said, in a proclamation of the 10th of October, that when he saw a foreign force brought by his enemies against him—when the elector of Hanover's allies were called over to protect his government against the subjects of the lawful sovereign—it was high time for the king, his father, to accept the assistance of those who had engaged to support him. That assistance did not come. There was a numerous and vigilant Channel fleet ready to resist every attempt at invasion. Not in the smoky hut at Eriska,—not when he was hiding after the fatal day of Culloden,—could the thoughts of Charles Edward have been more cheerless than on the retreat from Derby. His weakness of character displayed itself in a rash trust that his cause was so sacred that some miraculous success would ever attend it: "From the facility with which he had gained the victory at Gladsmuir he was always for fighting; and sometimes even reproached lord George for his unwillingness to incur the risk of an engagement, when no advantage could be derived from a victory, and for his having prevented him from fighting the duke of Cumberland at Derby." †

It is one of the many instances of the want of correct intelligence at the head-quarters of the English generals, that the rebel army had been two days on its march back to Scotland before the duke of Cumberland became aware

* "Memoirs," p. 72 † *Ibid.*, p. 84.

that they were not advancing towards London. He immediately despatched from his camp at Meriden, near Coventry, all his cavalry to pursue them; and the country people, as the infantry followed, furnished horses to mount foot-soldiers, draughted out of various regiments.* A thousand cavalry troops were thus extemporised. "Our foot-soldiers not being accustomed to riding, I thought," says Volunteer Ray, "they looked odd on horseback, with their muskets and knapsacks flung over their shoulders." Marshal Wade was at Wakefield, with his army, on the 10th, when he heard of the retreat; and he also despatched his cavalry, under general Oglethorpe, in pursuit of the rebels. The duke of Cumberland and Oglethorpe arrived at Preston on the 13th; and on the 17th they united their mounted forces at Kendal. They were now close upon the rear of the Highland army. The hurried march back of Charles Edward, over ground which he had so recently passed in some sort of triumph, was not accompanied by any encouraging popular demonstrations. At Manchester the Highlanders were now received with "visible marks of dislike." The peaceful and orderly disposition of these men in their advance was now with difficulty kept up. At Lancaster they plundered, and threw open the prisons. As they went onward, "few there were who would go on foot if they could ride; and mighty stealing, taking, and pressing of horses there was amongst us." The captain, who thus records that the army "began to behave with less forbearance," adds, "diverting it was to see the Highlanders mounted, without either breeches, saddle, or anything else but the bare backs of the horses to ride on, and for their bridle only a straw rope." † Near Stockport the Highlanders set fire to a village, the peasants having shot at one of their comrades acting as a patrol. The retreat was now manifestly through a hostile district. The duke of Perth, having been detached with some horsemen to proceed to Scotland, was attacked by the country people after he had passed Kendal, and was compelled to return. He again rode with a large escort the next day to Penrith, when he was again driven back.

The retreating and the pursuing forces were close together on the 18th of December. Lord George Murray had been detained at Shap on the 17th, from the difficulties of getting along the bad roads, and up the steep hills. The weather was wet and tempestuous. "I was stopped," says Lord George, "by what I always suspected—the waggons could not be carried through a water where there was a narrow turn and a steep ascent." ‡ Horses and men could not overcome the difficulty until night-fall. The van and the rear were widely separated, when Murray reached the village of Clifton, near Penrith, on the 18th. They were encountered by a party of volunteers, but the Highlanders soon dispersed these. A footman of the duke of Cumberland was taken prisoner, and he said the duke was very close at hand. Lord George had only about a thousand men. He was resolved to wait an attack, even without reinforcements, for which he had applied. He took up a position between the hedges of the village and the wall of lord Lonsdale's park. The night was cloudy, with a feeble moonlight. Creeping along amongst the inclosures the

* Ray, p. 187.
† "MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel," quoted by Lord Mahon, vol. iii. p. 418.
‡ 'Jacobite Memoirs," p. 62.

dismounted dragoons of the royal army were advancing upon the Highlanders. Their main body was on horseback at some distance. Murray's own narrative of this skirmish is clear and spirited: "The dismounted dragoons had not only lined the bottom inclosures, but several of them had come up to two hedges that lay south and north; the others where we were, and the dragoons at the bottom, lay east and west. The Appin battalion were next the lane upon that side, and Cluny's farther to their left. We advanced, and had a good deal of fire on both sides. After the Highlanders on that side had given most of their fire, they lay close at an open hedge, which was the second in these fields. We then received the whole fire of the dragoons that were at the bottom, upon which Cluny said, 'What the devil is this?' Indeed, the bullets were going thick enough. I told him we had nothing for it but going down upon them, sword in hand, before they had time to charge again. I immediately drew my sword, and cried, 'Claymore!' Cluny did the same, and we ran down to the bottom ditch, clearing the diagonal hedges as we went. There were a good many of the enemy killed at the bottom ditch, and the rest took to their heels, but received the fire of the Glengarry regiment."* There was no more firing. Murray had secured by his courageous stand a safer continuance of their retreat for the van. Half-an-hour after the skirmish he also ordered a retreat. "We travelled all night," says the chaplain MacLachlan, "though the moon set at twelve o'clock, and arrived at Carlisle early next day." The van had reached that city the same morning.

On the 20th of December, before break of day, the rebel army, with the exception of a portion of the English regiment raised at Manchester and some Scottish companies, quitted Carlisle. "I could never comprehend the reason," says De Johnstone, "for sacrificing these unfortunate victims." The duke of Perth was unwilling, naturally enough, to leave any of his men. Murray told him, in the presence of Charles, that if the prince would order him, he would stay with the Athol brigade, though he knew his fate; for as soon as cannon could be brought up from Whitehaven, the place would not be tenable. The works might have been blown up, Murray held. At any rate, if the Scottish army returned, Carlisle could not harm them. "I was little at the prince's quarters that day," says Murray, "but I found he was determined on the thing. It was very late next day before we marched. The prince had some difficulty about those who were to stay at Carlisle, who were very unwilling." Dr. King, who was in correspondence with Charles Edward for some years after these events, says, "I never heard him discover any sorrow or compassion for the misfortune of so many worthy men who had suffered in his cause."† Their sufferings, in his view, were nothing but the just tribute of loyalty to their rightful master. Upon the same principle he had no remorse in determining, against all remonstrance, to sacrifice a band of brave men to "that egotistic fanaticism, which made every calamity endured by his followers in the cause of his house, a simple incident in their line of duty."‡ The callous obduracy with which Charles Edward resolved to leave this unhappy garrison to the first vengeance of the English, by military slaughter or civil proceedings against traitors, is, in our view as

* "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 70.
† "Anecdotes of his own Times," p. 201.
‡ Burton, vol. ii. p. 497.

odious as the barbarities which procured William of Cumberland the title of "the Butcher." The duke came up to Carlisle on the 21st. He invested the place, which resisted with its small means of defence; but there was no artillery to compel an immediate surrender. Large guns, as Murray had expected, were brought up from Whitehaven. Ray records his own share in procuring these means of attack: "I was sent to Whitehaven, to order the battering cannon from thence. The people rose in a body, and got horses and carriages with all expedition. They were ten pieces of eighteen pounders, of which four were drawn by forty horses of sir James Lowther, which went along pretty briskly; but I saw sixteen or eighteen of the country horses to a gun, and often set, the roads being very soft."* When Ray returned on the 22nd he found Carlisle invested on all sides. "A great many people," he says, "came out of the country to assist the duke's army, with clubs and staves, and such other weapons as they had; the game-laws forbidding the use of fire-arms. The countrymen being most of them no use, and their number being about ten thousand, his royal highness ordered them all to return home, except a few who were employed in cutting fascines for the batteries. The duke's regular forces at this time were about four thousand." The bombardment of Carlisle began on the 28th. "The rebel garrison," continues the volunteer, "were as much surprised as if they had felt the shock of an earthquake, wondering from whence these roaring guns came." It has been alleged as an excuse for the sacrifice of this garrison by Charles Edward, that he believed the duke "had no battering artillery at his disposal." On the 30th a white flag was hung out from the walls. The firing ceased. John Hamilton, the governor, asked to know what terms would be given upon the surrender of the city and castle of Carlisle. The stern answer was, "All the terms his royal highness will, or can, grant to the rebel garrison of Carlisle, are that they shall not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the king's pleasure." The garrison capitulated. The number of prisoners was a hundred and fourteen English, two hundred and seventy-four Scotsmen, and eight Frenchmen. This enumeration, made by Ray, sufficiently confutes the calumnious charge that the abandonment of this garrison by Charles Edward, "originated in a spirit of vengeance against the English nation, as no one of all the persons of distinction in England, who invited the prince to make a descent in Great Britain, had declared themselves openly in his favour, by attaching their fortunes to his, as the Scots had done."†

The duke of Cumberland, after the surrender of Carlisle, was summoned to London to take the command of the forces that were assembled to guard the south coast against a threatened French invasion. A portion of the army of the duke was left under the command of general Hawley, to advance into Scotland. Marshal Wade's troops were to return to their post at Newcastle. On the 20th of December the Highland army quitted England. This day was the anniversary of the prince's birth. When the impulsive race whom he had led to a promised conquest—those who had gloomily turned back from the rich prize which they fancied within their reach—had crossed the border-river Esk, wading up to their arm-pits, "the bag-pipers having commenced playing, the Highlanders began all to dance

* P. 201. † De Johnstone, p. 201.

expressing the utmost joy at seeing their country again." They forgot the chagrin "which they had continually nourished ever since their departure from Derby." * Passing through Dumfries,—a town described by De Johnstone as full of fanatical Calvinists, who had seized some ammunition waggons, and who now were punished by a considerable fine,—they reached Glasgow on the 24th. When the Highland army was in the neighbourhood of that city in September, a demand of fifteen thousand pounds was made under the sign-manual of the prince, as the price the citizens were to pay to save themselves from confiscations enforced by Highlanders in arms, who had long been their terror. They compromised the matter by a payment to the amount of five thousand five hundred pounds, part in money and goods, and part in bills. Their enemies had now come to make heavier demands, in the shape of thousands of Highland coats, shirts, shoes, tartan hose, bonnets, and money. There was no escaping. They were told that they were rebels. Parliament afterwards voted ten thousand pounds as a compensation to the loyal traders.

After remaining a week at Glasgow, the Highland army marched to Stirling. They were sturdily opposed by the people; but they got possession of the town. General Blakeney, the governor of the castle, met them with defiance. The prince had now been joined by large numbers of Highlanders from Perth, under the command of lord Strathallan; and by refugees who had been landed from France. His army now reached nine thousand men. He was turned aside from the siege of Stirling by the intelligence that general Hawley had marched from Edinburgh, through Linlithgow, and had reached the neighbourhood of Falkirk. Hawley, who had fought under Argyle at the battle of Sheriffmuir, and had served in Flanders in the army of the duke of Cumberland, was appointed,—perhaps more on account of his repute for ferocity than for his military talents—to the most important command at this juncture. "He is called Lord Chief Justice," says Horace Walpole; "frequent and sudden executions are his passion. . . . . He is very brave and able; with no small bias to the brutal." †. His ability was tested in the field of Falkirk. He set out to meet the Highland army with a presumptuous contempt for what he called "undisciplined rabbles." He must have recollected something of the mode in which Highlanders fought, and of the extreme caution with which it was necessary to guard against their rapid surprises of an enemy. He was satisfied that with his disciplined troops he could easily destroy the insurgents. De Johnstone truly observes, that the Highlanders "proved that bravery may supply the place of discipline at times, as discipline supplies the place of bravery;" and that the Highland mode of attack "is so terrible, that the best troops in Europe would with difficulty sustain the first shock of it." ‡ Hawley took no care to enable his men steadily to bear the first shock. He neglected the ordinary prudence of so disposing his troops that the Highlanders should not have that advantage of situation which they always sought for, and that no sudden attack by his enemy should produce a panic equivalent to a victory.

John Home, who joined general Hawley's army as a lieutenant in the

* De Johnstone, p. 100.

† Letter to Mann, January 17, 1746.

‡ "Memoirs," p. 114.

Glasgow volunteers, has described the battle of Falkirk with care and impartiality. On the morning of the 17th of January, Hawley's army had been joined by a regiment of dragoons, and by a thousand Highlanders under the command of colonel Campbell, afterwards duke of Argyle. When they encamped near Falkirk, some Highland horse and foot were seen moving about, with their colours displayed, upon the high-road from Stirling to Falkirk, through the middle of the Torwood. The parade thus made was a stratagem to divert attention from the principal attack, which had been skilfully planned. About one o'clock two English officers climbed a tree; and saw the main body of the Highlanders marching towards them, by the south side of the Torwood. Hawley was spending a pleasant morning at Callander House, and being apprised of this movement of the enemy, he said the men might put on their accoutrements, but there was no necessity for them to be under arms. The report of the officers who had climbed the tree was confirmed by horsemen well-mounted, who came in upon the spur. The troops became alarmed. The officers were heard to exclaim, again and again, where is the General? In his continued absence, they formed their regiments in front of the camp. The general at last came; and ordered three regiments of dragoons to march to the moor, and take possession of the high ground between them and the advancing enemy. The infantry were commanded to follow. "At the very instant," says Home, "the regiments of foot began to march, the day was overcast; and by-and-by a storm of wind and rain beat directly in the face of the soldiers, who were marching up the hill with their bayonets fixed, and could not secure their pieces from the rain. The cavalry was a good way before the infantry, and for some time it seemed a sort of race between the Highlanders and the dragoons, which of them should get first to the top of the hill." The rebel army was marching in two columns. Three Macdonald regiments, who were at the head of the columns to the north, got to the top of the hill before the dragoons, and, taking ground where they had a morass on their right flank, turned their backs to the storm. This struggle for the advantage of position determined the course of this sudden contest. The Highland columns were formed in two lines, with a reserve in the rear, amongst which the prince was stationed. The royal army was also formed in two lines, with a reserve. The hurry in which the troops on both sides were formed; the inequality of the ground; and the darkness of the storm, produced a scene of confusion which could scarcely be called a battle. It was, says Sir Walter Scott, "as confused an affair as can well be imagined."* Before the infantry of Hawley's army were completely formed, he sent an order for the cavalry, in number about seven or eight hundred, to attack the two lines of eight thousand Highlanders. The bold general had seen at the battle of Sheriffmuir, the discomfiture of the flank of the rebel army by a charge through a morass. He repeated the movement at Falkirk. There was a slight difference of circumstances. At Sheriffmuir a severe frost had rendered the morass passable. At Falkirk, the dragoons plunged into a bog; "where," says Scott, "the Highlanders cut them to pieces with so little trouble, that, as one of the performers assured us, the feat was as easy as slicing *baacon*." † It was then nearly four o'clock. The storm continued.

* "Quarterly Review," vol. xxxvi. p. 179. † *Ibid.*

The darkness rendered the movements of either army scarcely perceptible. But the Highlanders, pursuing the discomfited dragoons, received the fire of the English infantry, which they returned, and then, throwing away their muskets, attacked after their fashion with broadsword and dirk. "It seemed a total rout," says Home, "and for some time general Hawley did not know that any one regiment of his army was standing." But one regiment remained steady; and being joined by other infantry, drove back the pursuers. The Highlanders now, in turn, fancied themselves defeated. "Part of the king's army, much the greater part, was flying to the eastward, and part of the rebel army was flying to the westward." Hawley, before it became quite dark, tried to set fire to his tents, but they would not burn; and he retreated to Linlithgow, through Falkirk, leaving his baggage and his guns. The next day he marched to Edinburgh with an army not greatly reduced in numbers, but sadly degraded in the senseless conduct of this battle of half an hour. The leaders of the rebel army scarcely exulted in their victory. They blamed each other for its incompleteness. Hawley took no blame to himself, but caused several officers and soldiers to be tried by court-martial, of whom two soldiers were condemned to be shot, and more than one officer was cashiered. In a letter from general Wightman to Duncan Forbes, he says, "everything would have gone to wreck, in a worse manner than at Preston, if general Huske had not acted with judgment and courage, and appeared everywhere. Hawley seems to be sensible of his misconduct; for when I was with him on Saturday morning at Linlithgow, he looked most wretchedly; even worse than Cope did a few hours after his scuffle, when I saw him at Fala." * The writer of this letter says, "This is an odd scene of things, and altogether an unexpected occurrence; and will doubtless shock the king and the ministry, as well as the whole English nation." The king and the ministry sent off the duke of Cumberland to Scotland, in the confidence that he would retrieve this disaster. The English nation was not greatly shocked, if we may accept an interesting passage in a letter of Gray to Walpole, as an evidence of the general feeling: "Our defeat, to be sure, is a rueful affair for the honour of our troops; but the duke is gone, it seems, with the rapidity of a cannon-bullet to undefeat us again. The common people in town at least know how to be afraid: but we are such uncommon people here † as to have no more sense of danger than if the battle had been fought when and where the battle of Cannæ was. The perception of these calamities, and their consequences, that we are supposed to get from books, is so faintly impressed, that we talk of war, famine, and pestilence, with no more apprehension than of a broken head, or of a coach overturned between York and Edinburgh."

In the accounts of the battle of Falkirk, we find mention of lord Lovat's regiment, as one of those which repulsed the dragoons. Simon Fraser, lord Lovat, was not with his clan, but his son was with them. The chief of the clan, who had exhibited the passions of an untamed savage in his youth; who, in his maturer age, pursued the same system of barbarian violence in his transactions with his neighbours; now, in his extreme old age, covered his

* "Culloden Papers," p. 267.

† This letter is dated from Cambridge, February 3, 1746.

actions with what he considered an impenetrable shield of craft. It was still the cunning of the uncivilized man, rather than the honourable reserve of a gentleman engaged in high and dangerous political enterprises. There are no more curious exhibitions of human character than the letters of this remarkable person, at the crisis of 1745. After the landing of Charles Edward, Lovat wrote to the lord advocate, that he was ready to serve the king and the government as in 1715, when he did more in suppressing that rebellion than any other man of his rank. But he begged to have a thousand stand of arms delivered to him and his clan at Inverness.* To Lochiel he wrote at the same time:—"My service to the prince. I will aid you what I can; but my prayers are all I can give at present." In a letter of the same period to the lord president, he calls the landing of Charles "a mad enterprise:" and weeps to think that "this desperate prince" would be the cause of much bloodshed. When Cope was beaten at Preston-Pans, lord Lovat thought the Stuart cause would prosper; and he compelled his son, by threats and entreaties, to join the insurgents. The Master of Lovat, as he was styled, was too late to join the march into England. He remained with other clans, at Perth. Meanwhile the old man, still doubtful which might be the winning side, poured forth his protestations to Duncan Forbes that he himself was entirely innocent of his son's proceedings: "I do solemnly declare to your lordship that nothing ever vexed my soul so much as my son's resolution to go and join the prince." † In another letter he says, "Since my son was determined on that mad foolish project, I never spoke to him about it but he always flew in my face like a wild cat." ‡ We may thus explain how lord Lovat's regiment was at the battle of Falkirk, when the old man had himself been playing fast and loose. After the retreat from Derby he tried to make his son faithless to the cause he had himself driven him to adopt. The honour of the son, in clinging to the side on which he was fighting, is a pleasing contrast to the habitual perfidy of the father.

The duke of Cumberland, travelling post night and day, arrived at Edinburgh on the 30th of January. All London was in anxious expectation to hear news of another battle. "Nothing," says Walpole, "was talked of but the expectation of the courier." The duke set out on his march on the 31st to raise the siege of Stirling. That siege had been very inefficiently conducted. There was little hope that the French engineers would be able to silence the fire of the castle by their ill-constructed batteries. The prince, with his own immediate advisers, was for protracting the siege, and remaining to fight the duke of Cumberland. More prudent counsel enforced the necessity of a retreat. A paper was addressed to him on the 29th of January, signed by lord George Murray, Lochiel, and six other chiefs, pointing out that the army had been much reduced by desertions; and that if the enemy should march before the reduction of Stirling, they anticipated a speedy destruction through the inequality of their numbers. John Hay, who was officially employed by the prince, says that Charles being in bed, he went into his room with this dispatch; and that when the prince read the paper

* "Culloden Papers," p. 210. † *Ibid.*, p. 234.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 236. It is satisfactory to know that the younger Fraser, thus destined to be the scape-goat of an unnatural father, was pardoned for his share in the rebellion, and became a distinguished officer in the British army.

"he struck his head against the wall till he staggered, and exclaimed most violently against lord George Murray. His words were, 'Good God! have I lived to see this!'" Hay adds, that the number of men said to be absent was greatly exaggerated. The chaplain MacLachlan has recorded that, on the night of the battle of Falkirk, some of the men went off in the hurry; that three of the prince's aides-de-camp entreated him to rally them, because he could speak Erse to them; that he succeeded with many; and that he then rode off to the duke of Perth, to entreat him to place a strong guard at the Fords of Frewe to intercept these deserters.* The amount of desertion was increased by a circumstanse peculiarly characteristic of Highland clan-jealousies. One of the clan Clanranald accidentally shot a younger son of Glengarry. It was not sufficient to appease the anger of the Glengarry tribe that the poor fellow who fired a musket, without knowing that it was loaded, was condemned and shot. They went off in a body to their mountains. The prince had no choice but to yield to the advice of the chiefs who had counselled an immediate retreat. But he is held to have shown his anger, like a petted child, by deranging all the precautions that had been taken for an orderly march. In their hurry to destroy their magazine of powder, the rebels blew up a church in which it had been deposited. MacLachlan says this was the act of a rash young fellow who, without any orders, fired a pistol at the powder, by which folly he killed himself, and killed and wounded others. Murray records that, at a council of war held at Crieff, he "complained much of the flight, and entreated to know who had advised it. The prince did not incline to lay the blame on any body, but said he took it on himself." † When the news arrived in London that "the moment the rebel army saw the duke's, they turned back, with the utmost precipitation," it was concluded that this flight, as Murray termed the retreat, "looked exceedingly like the conclusion of this business." ‡ Unhappily, there is more of this business to be related; and much of it of a painful nature, from which we would gladly turn our view.

* MS. Journal. † "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 100. ‡ Walpole to Mann, Feb. 7.

Culloden, or Drumossie Moor.

CHAPTER XI.

Charles Edward at Inverness—The duke of Cumberland at Aberdeen—The passage of the Spey—The duke at Nairn—The prince at Culloden—Projected night-attack on the king's camp—The victory of Culloden—Barbarities after Culloden—Impolicy of the treatment of the rebels—Trials and executions—Trials of the rebel lords—Their demeanour—Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and Lovat—Hidings of Charles Edward—His return to France.

THE Highland army, marching rapidly in two divisions—one by Blair Athol, and one by the coast—reached Inverness on the 18th of February. The duke of Cumberland, moving much more slowly, took up his head-quarters at Aberdeen. Five thousand Hessian troops had arrived to strengthen the forces of the British government. Whilst Cumberland remained inactive at Aberdeen, Charles had taken the citadel of Inverness; and Fort Augustus had been destroyed by one of the Highland parties. Fort William and Blair Castle held out against him. The interval which elapsed between the prince's arrival at Inverness, and the duke's advance to attack him, was unfavourable to the success of the insurrection. The insurgents were cut off from the abundant supplies of the Lowlands. The king's ships intercepted the pro-

visions and the gold which were occasionally dispatched from France. The active and hardy mountaineers engaged in various expeditions; but the advantages which they gained were of little importance in the great issue which was approaching. Time was working to their destruction. The Highland army was without pay; and they sold their allowances of oatmeal "for their other needs, at which the poor creatures grumbled exceedingly."* They were certainly not in the best fighting condition, when, on the 8th of April, the duke of Cumberland commenced his march from Aberdeen. As he advanced along the coast, his army of about nine thousand men were abundantly provided from the transports, which "moved along shore with a gentle breeze and a fair wind."† On the 11th the army reached the Spey. As the duke approached, lord John Drummond, who was posted to guard the passage of the deep and rapid river, fell back. The Highland officer says in his journal, "to guard the Spey was ane easy matter." Volunteer Ray confirms this opinion, in his description of the passage of the English troops: "I was in my station at the head of the regiment, where I very narrowly escaped being shot; for some of the rebels fired at us across the river, kneeling and taking sight as at a blackbird. We entered the river with a guide wading on foot to show where the ford lay; which was bad enough, having loose stones at the bottom, which made it very difficult for man or horse to step without falling, the water belly-deep and very rapid. The ford not lying right across, we were obliged to go mid-way into the river, then turn to the right, and go down it for about sixty yards, and then turn to the left, inclining upwards to the landing-place. In this situation, had the rebels stood us here it might have been of bad consequence to our army, they having a great advantage over us, and might have defended this important pass a long time, to our great loss; but they wanted to draw our army over, and farther into their country, from whence, in their imagination, we were never to return. When we got up the banks on the other side of the river, the rebels were all fled, and appeared on a hill about half a mile distant, from which they retreated out of sight, as we advanced."‡ On the 15th the duke's army reached Nairn, and there halted. The prince's army was encamped on Culloden Moor, about twelve miles distant. The greater part of the moor is in the parish of Daviot. The district is not mountainous. "The land rises like a broken wave from the sea, in some places with a bank of considerable steepness and height; then sinks into a vale of moss land (from which, till reduced to cultivation, the town of Inverness used to be supplied with rushes); thence it ascends again to the parish of Croy and the Moor of Culloden, which extends along the ridge."§ On this flat moor, so unsuited to their peculiar tactics, the Highland army awaited the coming struggle. But doubts came over their leaders, and something bolder might be attempted.

In the afternoon of the 15th a night attack upon the royal army was resolved upon. The English, it was deemed, would be sleeping, after the drunken revels of the duke's birthday, which they had halted at Nairn to celebrate. The Highland officer says, "We set out about eight o'clock that night, with express orders to observe the profoundest silence in our march.

* "Lockhart Papers," vol. ii. p. 508. † Ray, p. 312.
‡ Ray, p. 317. § "Statistical Account of Scotland"—Inverness-shire.

Our word was 'king James the Eighth.' We were likewise forbid in the attack to make any use of our fire-arms, but only of sword, dirk, and bayonet; to cut the tent-strings, and pull down the poles, and where we observed a swelling or bulge in the fallen tent there to strike and push vigorously."* The project utterly failed. The darkness of the night made the way uncertain over the rough and swampy waste. The men were weary and half-famished. Lord George Murray had the command of the van. About two o'clock he halted; for there were four miles still to march, and there was a great interval between the two columns. A surprise had become impossible. "It was found impracticable," says lord George, "to be near the enemy till it was within an hour of daylight; and as our only hope was surprising them, and attacking them before day, we were forced to give it up and return to Culloden, where we got about five."†

On Monday, the 14th of April, says a narrative of the period, "the young chevalier mustered his troops in the town of Inverness, and marched along the lines, encouraging them as he passed. Never were men in more exalted spirits." ‡ On the 15th, writes the chaplain, MacLachlan, in his Journal, "our prince royal had a review in the Muir of Culloden. And as I chanced to come close to him stepping up the hill, I saluted him in my ordinary way—'God bless and prosper your royal highness.' To which he vouchsafed a reply in a familiar manner, and with a charming smile, 'It will be Gladsmuir, wherever it be.'" Never, under any circumstances, did this confidence in his destiny appear to have deserted the adventurer—a confidence that might have betrayed him earlier to his ruin, had he not been surrounded by men of judgment and experience. The projected surprise at Nairn would probably have terminated fatally, had the attack upon the royal camp been made after the sun had risen—if the desire of the prince to attack at any hour had been complied with. The jaded men who returned to Culloden Moor after that night march were in a very unfit condition for the final struggle of the morning of the 16th. Great exertions were made to procure them food upon the dreary waste; but many had gone to Inverness to seek refreshment for themselves. The duke of Cumberland was close at hand. Murray had been convinced the day before that the open muir "was certainly not proper for the Highlanders." He caused the ground "on the other side the water of Nairn" to be viewed. "It was found to be hilly and boggy, so that the enemy's cannon and horse could be of no great use to them there." § When it was proposed to take this better position, the old confidence in some miraculous success prevailed, and the insurgents prepared for battle.

It was eleven o'clock when the king's army was seen advancing. It was formed in three lines, one of which was a reserve. The two foremost lines were so disposed that if the first line were broken by the Highland charge, the second line should stand firm. Cannon were placed between the battalions, and cavalry on the flanks. The men had been trained to remain steady under a rush such as that which had been so fatal at Preston-Pans; and they had been instructed to direct the bayonet against the right breast of each opposing Highlander, so as not to be met by his target. The battle-field, so unfavourable to

* "Lockhart Papers," p. 508.
† "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 122.
‡ "The Young Chevalier," p. 2.
§ "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 121.

Highland onslaughts and surprises, rendered these precautions in some degree unnecessary; but they evince the judgment of the young commander, who had profited by the fatal lessons of the past. Charles Edward, according to some accounts, was in considerable danger while in the heart of his ranks, which had been drawn up in two lines. "As soon as the duke's cannon were placed, he began cannonading; which was answered by the prince's, who rode along the lines to encourage his men, and posted himself in the most convenient place to see what passed, where one of his servants was killed by his side." * The chaplain, MacLachlan,—one who from his pushing character always endeavoured to be near the prince,—says, "From the time I entered the field, especially after the action began, I sat on horseback near our prince royal; and observing many cannon-bullets flying over our heads, whereof one did knock dead his highness's principal groom that stood at twenty paces distance behind us, I rode up to sir Thomas Sheridan, and begged of him to take notice of the imminent danger the prince was exposed to, without any occasion for it, and therefore to persuade him to withdraw a little. Whereupon sir Thomas addressed him, and prevailed with him to retire." This is scarcely compatible with the statement that after the servant was killed, whilst the prince was in the lines, "he coolly continued his inspection." † The cannonade upon which Cumberland wisely relied, in the first instance, to renew in the Highlanders that awe of artillery which they had once felt, had caused deadly havoc in their ranks, before a charge was ordered. It was made at great disadvantage, for a violent storm was driving hail and sleet in their faces. But that terrible onset, which few disciplined troops could stand, carried the Highlanders partly through the first line. The second line stood firm. Then one volley from the unbroken ranks, three deep, utterly disordered the right and centre of the rebel army. They fled in irredeemable confusion. The Clan MacDonald, which had been placed in the left wing, and were offended, to use the words of one of their officers, at not having "this day the right hand in battle."—the honour which "Robert the Bruce bestowed upon Angus MacDonald, Lord of the Isles," ‡—refused to make an onset. Their chief, Keppoch, fell, exclaiming, "My God! have the children of my tribe forsaken me!" The contest became an indiscriminate slaughter. The conduct of Charles Edward has been variously represented. He has been accused of want of courage; but the disproof of this charge was manifested on too many occasions, to allow an implicit credit to the statement of lord Elcho, in his manuscript Memoirs, that he "requested the Chevalier to charge in person at the head of the left wing, after the right was routed, and that on his not so advancing, lord Elcho called him an Italian scoundrel, or a worse epithet, and declared he would never see his face more." § We again quote from the chaplain Mac Lachlan, who followed the prince from the field: "I chanced to meet the duke of Athol coming off from his retreating brigade; and as I had the honour to be well known to him, he told me with an oath, 'The Highlanders are broken.' To which I replied, 'I am heartily sorry to

* Colonel Ker's Narrative in "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 141.
† Mahon, vol. iii p. 455.
‡ "Journal of Highland Officer—Lockhart Papers," p. 51.
§ "Quarterly Review," vol. xxxvi. p. 213.

hear it, my Lord Duke; I fear all is lost.' The prince, knowing of the disaster, stepped on, and a good number of retreaters followed him." This battle, which conclusively ended a dynastic contest of fifty-seven years, did not continue for fifty-seven minutes.

If we could here close the narrative of the battle of Culloden, and of the military proceedings which resulted from the victory of the established government, we should not have necessarily to excite the indignation of every reader against the author of barbarities which, happily, very rarely occur in the wars of civilized nations. We scarcely know how to deal with the details of those atrocities which a young prince of the house of Brunswick deemed it necessary to perpetrate. In the valuable collection of "Jacobite Memoirs," there are a hundred and seventeen pages headed "Barbarities after Culloden." To enter minutely into a view of these disgusting occurrences, is scarcely necessary for any lessons of historical importance. To slur them over, would be a vain attempt to cancel a very black page in our country's annals. We doubt, however, whether a rapid summary, or a minute exposition, of these facts, can have its use "in showing how liable an improved system of government, like that of the Brunswick family, is to fall into the worst errors of that which preceded it; and how liable the people are to be disappointed in their most sanguine expectations of political perfection." * The editor of these memoirs would compare the atrocities after Culloden with "the tyrannical barbarity of the latter Stuarts," upon the principle of the one being "a good offset" to the other. It appears to us that the only real advantage to be derived from such narratives, is to make us grateful that we live in times when "an improved system of government" has gradually produced such a state of public opinion, that the ordinary tyrannies of the days of James II., and the exceptional cruelties of the days of George II., could not be repeated without more danger to the throne than the revolts which they sought to crush. The national prejudices of the English at that period, and at subsequent times when these prejudices were even more intense, never led them to countenance the barbarity after Culloden. It is some satisfaction to know that William of Cumberland was "during many years one of the most unpopular men in England." † The alderman of London, who, when it was proposed to present the duke with the freedom of some city company, exclaimed, "then let it be of the Butchers," anticipated the feeling of a better time, when bravery and compassion would be held as inseparable in the character of the great soldier. The people of the duke of Cumberland's day dreaded that he might be the man to subject them to a military despotism. His nephews feared him. He was compared with the Crookback Richard, who murdered his nephews in the Tower. All this was unjust enough, no doubt, but it showed the feelings of the English nation with regard to the great blot upon the character of one who was blunt, brave, and honest, but who believed too much in the power of brute force in countries under military government. He lived for many years in the retirement of Windsor Great Park. He amused himself by planting hills with Scotch firs, and in making an artificial lake and a cascade, as if to produce a miniature resemblance of

* Introduction to this Section of "Jacobite Memoirs," by the Editor, Mr. R. Chambers.
† Macaulay—"Essay on Chatham."

the scenery in which he had earned his glory and his twenty-five thousand a year. Perhaps in some moments his favourite Virginia Water, then a wild and unenclosed tract, might have suggested a compunctious remembrance of the solitary lakes, the woods and the wastes, amongst which he had hunted Highlanders as beasts of prey.

The slaughter of the wounded rebels upon the field of Culloden, the atrocious treatment of the prisoners, and the cold-blooded murders committed on the first and second days after the battle, are much too circumstantially detailed by many witnesses, to allow us to believe that the odium which ultimately rested upon the duke of Cumberland, was the effect of national or party violence. Indifferent to the disgrace he was bringing upon the English nation, he looked at the Rebellion as a crime against his house, to be dealt with in a spirit of revenge. "I tremble," he wrote from Scotland, "for fear that this vile spot may still be the ruin of this island and of our family." In another letter he says that "a little blood-letting has only weakened the madness and not cured it." The "little blood-letting" is the opprobrium which a century of equal justice to Scotland has scarcely yet obliterated. The accursed story may be thus briefly told.

On the day of the battle, the wounded rebels that lay on the field received none of that aid which brave men usually offer to their vanquished enemies. The soldiers went up and down, knocking such on the head as had any remains of life in them. The weather was cold; the dead, and those supposed to be dead, had been stripped. But, naked and starving, some wretched creatures were still alive on the morning of the 17th of April. A resident in Inverness, who claims to be regarded as a supporter of the government, writes to bishop Forbes, that although the report of the cruelties was much aggravated, "it is certain that a resolution was taken, that it was not proper to load or crowd this little town with a multitude of wounded and incurable men of our enemy's; and, therefore, a party was ordered to the field of battle, who gathered all the wounded men from the different corners of the field, to one or two parts; and there, on a little rising hillock or ground properly planted, they were finished, with great despatch; and this, as you and everybody else must own, was, as to them, performing the greatest act of humanity, as it put an end to many miserable lives, remaining in the utmost torture, without any hopes of relief." * This "greatest act of humanity" is termed a most bloody and ruthless deed by a more modern authority, † by whom it is stated that the wounded men still alive were collected in two heaps, and a six-pounder applied to each heap. The following evidence to the fact is then adduced: "One Mac Iver, a private, though mutilated in several parts of his body, survived this massacre, a dismal memorial of Cumberland's tender mercies. The man died near Beauly, about the year 1796, where many are still living, who may have known him. But to put the bloody deed beyond the shadow of doubt, the writer of this account knew for several years a John Reid, who fought that day in the second battalion of the Royal Scots, and heard from his lips that he saw the cruel deed, and thanked God that he had nothing to do with the *black work*.

* "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 273.

† "Statistical Account of Scotland—Parishes of Croy and Dalcross."

John fought at the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy, and only died about the year 1807, in the 105th year of his age, and in the full enjoyment of all his mental faculties. He was a lively little man, and retained a correct and vivid recollection of what he had seen and heard."

The slaughter of the miserable survivors found in the field, was not the only atrocity of that week of triumph and of shame. To a little cot-house, where goats or sheep used to shelter, about a quarter of a mile distant from the battle-ground, many of the wounded men had crawled in the night-time. They were found by the soldiers. The door of the hut was shut; fire was put to the frail building; and thirty-two persons, including some beggars who had come to the field for plunder, perished in the flames.* On the 18th, parties were sent to search the houses in the neighbourhood of the battle; to remove the wounded, and to kill them. John Fraser, called Mac Iver, an officer in Lovat's regiment, with eighteen other officers, had been carried wounded to Culloden House, the residence of the lord president Forbes. They were treated with kindness by his agent, "who performed acts of beneficence to the wounded in and about the house of Culloden, at the hazard of his life." These nineteen men were tied with ropes; thrown into a cart; carried some distance; and shot under the park-wall. Fraser, though left for dead, after some hours, dragged his mangled carcase to a little distance. Lord Boyd riding by, espied him; had him removed and concealed; and the poor fellow recovered, to remain a crippled memorial of these atrocities.

To go over the afflicting details of military executions;—of men whipped to extort confession;—of boys, women, and old men murdered and maltreated;—of prisoners left to perish upon insufficient allowance in filthy dungeons;—would be as disgusting to our readers as the perusal of the documents has been to ourselves. The folly of these proceedings is as manifest as their wickedness. A Londoner, who travelled in the north of Scotland in 1750, writes to his friend, "I happened to fall in with a venerable old gentleman, an honest Whig, who, looking me seriously in the face, asked if the duke of Cumberland was not a Jacobite? 'A Jacobite!' said I, 'how comes that in your head?' 'Sure,' replied the old gentleman, 'the warmest zealot in the interest of the prince could not possibly devise more proper methods for sowing the seeds of Jacobitism and disaffection, than the duke of Cumberland did.'" The same letter-writer relates two circumstances sufficiently characteristic of the temper and manners of some commanders of that day—their contempt for civilians, and for civil authority. We must indeed receive with the doubt that ought always to attach to hearsay evidence the anecdotes thus related. But if not strictly to be relied upon, they show something of the prevailing opinions of the time. The provost and aldermen of Inverness went to the levee of the duke of Cumberland. One of their number, Mr. Hossack, a friend of Duncan Forbes, presumed to say, that he hoped mercy would be mingled with judgment; upon which Hawley cried out, "D—n the puppy! does he pretend to dictate here? Carry him away." Another cried, "Kick him out,"—and he was kicked out. Duncan Forbes himself the wisest and truest friend of the Hanoverian government, who expended

* "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 274.

large sums in opposing the Rebellion, which sums he was never repaid—in an interview with the duke of Cumberland at Inverness, ventured to make mention of the laws of the country. The duke's reply, if we can rely upon the fact, was an example of the insolence that might have plunged England and Scotland into another civil war, had the power of princes to do evil not been sufficiently abridged in the tenure upon which the family of the unwise young man was called to the highest estate amongst a free people. This was the reputed answer to the lord president of Scotland: "The laws of the country! My lord, I'll make a brigade give laws, by G—d." *

Amongst the papers of Duncan Forbes were found some thoughts upon the extent and degree of punishment that ought to be awarded to those concerned in the Rebellion. He was for severity towards the leaders. He thought that severity towards the crowd of common people would do more harm than good, by raising pity, "the rather, that it is most certainly true that great numbers were compelled to join the active rebels, by threats which were justly terrible to them."† It would have been well if these sound views could have been more regarded by the members of the government, which had a task before them, where no passion or party-zeal could furnish even the shadow of an excuse for excess of punishment. The opinion of dispassionate writers upon the legal severities that followed the Rebellion of 1745,—which were more extensive than those of 1715,—was that they were really less necessary for any purpose of warning than at the former period. In England, Jacobitism, as the march to Derby had proved, was rather a form of discontent shown to the Whig ministries than any active partisanship for the exiled family. England, therefore, could only feel disgusted at wholesale hangings on Kennington Common, and at seeing crowds of plebeian heads on Temple-bar. In Scotland the commercial towns had been adverse to Charles Edward, and, as Forbes pointed out, the numbers of those of the clans who had not actually rebelled, although their chiefs were Jacobites, were greater than those who were in arms.‡ An Act had been passed, suspending that portion of the law of high-treason which required that bills should be found in the counties where the offence was alleged to have been committed. The object was to try Scottish prisoners in England. The first persons brought to trial were eighteen officers of the Manchester regiment who were left to their fate at Carlisle by the prince for whom they had risked their lives and estates. Mr. Townley, the colonel, and seventeen of his companions, were tried, and nine were executed on the 30th of July. James Dawson, the son of a Lancashire gentleman,—the hero of the ballad of Shenstone,—was amongst the number. The catastrophe which followed the determination of the lady to whom he was betrothed, to witness his execution, is not a poetical fiction:

> "The dismal scene was o'er and pass'd,
> The lover's mournful hearse retir'd;
> The maid drew back her languid head,
> And, sighing forth his name, expir'd."

Three of the Scottish officers who were left at Carlisle were condemned and executed at Kennington Common in August; and five others, taken at various

* "Jacobite Memoirs," p. 334.
† "Culloden Papers," p. 284. ‡ *Ibid.*

places, suffered in November. A special commission was opened at Carlisle in August. There were three hundred and eighty-two prisoners in the castle; but they were allowed to draw lots, that one in twenty might be selected for trial. Thirty-three were executed. At York twenty-two were also subjected to the brutal penalties of high-treason. We shall dismiss this painful subject with a brief relation of the fate of the rebel lords who were taken prisoners.

Whilst the populace of London were gazing upon the heads of Mr. Townley and other Manchester rebels upon Temple-bar, "where people make a trade of letting spy-glasses at a halfpenny a look,"* three rebel lords were in the Tower awaiting their fate. The trials of lord Kilmarnock, lord Cromartie, and lord Balmerino, began on the 28th of July. "London," wrote Walpole to Montagu, "will be as full as at a coronation." There was to be a show which, happily, England had not seen for more than thirty years. The anecdotes connected with this melancholy exhibition have a more enduring interest than the formal proceedings of the trials themselves. These proceedings took the usual course when the evidence is too strong to involve any doubt of the legal guilt of the accused. Their personal demeanour is, in such cases, the chief object of attention. Bills of indictment had been found by the grand jury of Surrey against the three noblemen, and they were tried by the Peers in Westminster Hall. Walpole says it was the greatest and most melancholy scene he ever saw, the whole ceremony being conducted with the most awful solemnity and decency. Walpole expected to look on without emotion. He thought of the crimes of the prisoners, and of the dangers that the country had passed. Their first appearance shocked him; their behaviour melted him.† Kilmarnock and Cromartie pleaded guilty. Balmerino stood his trial. Walpole describes him as "the most natural brave old man I ever saw; the highest intrepidity, even to indifference." He played with his fingers upon the axe. A little boy wanted to see what was going on, and he placed him near himself. Murray, the solicitor-general, after the Lords had pronounced Balmerino guilty, went up to him, and asked him how he could give the Lords so much trouble when he had been told that his plea was useless. Balmerino met the impertinence with a cool retort: "Oh, Mr. Murray, I am extremely glad to see you; I have been with several of your relations; the good lady, your mother, was of great use to us at Perth."‡ Kilmarnock, upon being brought up for sentence, expressed deep contrition for having joined the rebellion at a rash moment. Cromartie manifested a similar feeling of remorse. Balmerino simply desired the Lords to intercede for mercy. Gray, who was present at the trials, describes the conduct of these noblemen, in a letter to Wharton: "Kilmarnock spoke in mitigation of his crime near half an hour, with a decent courage, and in a strong but pathetic voice. His figure would prejudice people in his favour, being tall and genteel; he is upwards of forty, but to the eye not above thirty-five years of age. What he said appears to less advantage when read. Cromartie (who is about the same age, a man of lower stature, but much like a gentleman), was sinking into the earth with grief and dejection; with eyes cast down, and a voice so low, that no one heard a syllable that did not sit

* Walpole to Mann, August 16, 1746. † Letter to Mann, August 1. ‡ *Ibid.*

close to the bar; he made a short speech to raise compassion. It is now I see printed; and is reckoned extremely fine. I believe you will think it touching and well-expressed; if there be any meanness in it, it is lost in that sorrow he gives us for so numerous and helpless a family. . . . . As to Balmerino, he never had any hopes from the beginning. He is an old soldier-like man, of a vulgar manner and aspect, speaks the broadest Scotch, and shows an intrepidity, that some ascribe to real courage, and some to brandy. . . . . The duke of Argyle, telling him how sorry and how astonished he was to see him engaged in such a cause, 'My lord (says he), for the two kings, and their rights, I cared not a farthing which prevailed; but I was starving; and if Mahomet had set up his standard in the Highlands, I had been a good Mussulman for bread, and stuck close to the party, for I must eat.'" This latter speech sounds like an invention of the day. Cromartie was pardoned. Kilmarnock and Balmerino were executed on Tower-hill, on the 18th of August. When the deputy-lieutenant, as they passed out of the Tower, cried out, according to the usual form, "God bless king George," Kilmarnock bowed; Balmerino exclaimed, "God bless king James." When the two parted, Balmerino embraced his companion in misfortune, saying, "My lord, I wish I could suffer for both." Walpole then relates a circumstance of some historical import. Balmerino, after their parting, desired again to see Kilmarnock, and then thus addressed him: "'My lord Kilmarnock, do you know anything of the resolution taken in our army, the day before the battle of Culloden, to put the English prisoners to death?' He replied, 'My lord, I was not present; but since I came hither, I have had all the reason in the world to believe that there was such order taken; and I hear the duke has the pocket-book with the order.' Balmerino answered, 'It was a lie raised to excuse their barbarity to us!'—Take notice, that the duke's charging this on lord Kilmarnock (certainly on misinformation) decided this unhappy man's fate." * Kilmarnock suffered with resolution. Balmerino's behaviour is noticed by Shenstone, as either "to have wanted coolness, or else to equal that of Adrian, Cato, Sir Thomas More, or any of those heroes who had spirit enough to make an ostentation of their unconcern." He wore the regimentals which he had worn in the Rebellion—a blue coat turned up with red—(the dress which, curiously enough, was afterwards known as the Windsor uniform of the time of George III.); and when on the scaffold, he took off his periwig, and put on a night-cap of Scotch plaid. "He died," says Walpole, "with the intrepidity of a hero, but with the insensibility of one too."

The last of the titled sufferers was lord Lovat. In December, 1746, he was impeached by the House of Commons. His trial commenced before the Peers on the 9th of March. The chief evidence against him was John Murray, of Broughton; who had been secretary to Charles Edward, and, with sir Thomas Sheridan, was held to be the adviser of many rash measures which the young prince obstinately pressed. It was a pitiful exhibition to behold this man giving evidence against the old chief, whose cunning could not save him from these treacherous disclosures of his long career of double dealing. Lovat's conduct upon his trial was as little dignified as his ordinary

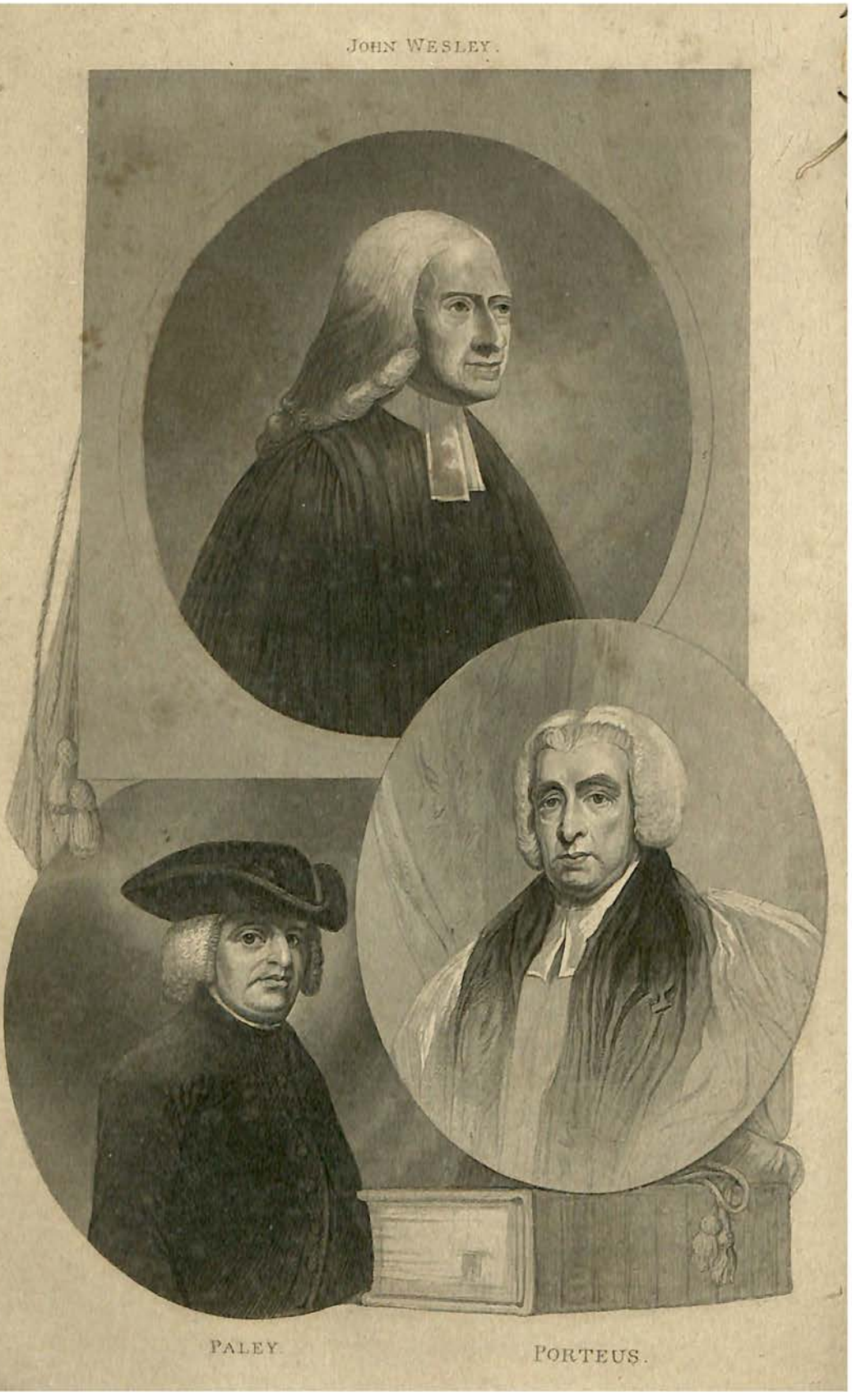
* Walpole to Mann, August 21.

mode of life. He died decorously, quoting the line of Horace, which was a bitter satire upon his course of selfish tyranny and unprincipled ambition—"It is pleasant and honourable to die for one's country." There were forty-three persons attainted by Parliament. Some of them were of noble families, but a large proportion were of inferior rank, including a few engaged in commercial and professional employments.

There was one fugitive from the field of Culloden whose adventures have the same sort of interest as those of Charles II. after the battle of Worcester. For the purpose of a general history of our country it is unnecessary here minutely to detail them. Charles Edward quitted the large body of horsemen who had accompanied him from the fatal moor, having resolved to make his way, with a few of his personal friends, to the west coast, in order to embark for France. He rested at Gortuleg, a house belonging to one of the Frasers, where, for the first time, he met lord Lovat. According to one account, the old chief reproached the Prince, when he avowed his intention to quit Scotland without hazarding another battle. Riding past the ruins of Fort Augustus, he halted at Invergarry, an almost deserted house of MacDonell of Glengarry. Here he was left to pursue his course, with two of his companions, and a poor Highlander, Ned Burke, who had been his guide from the battle-field. On the 24th of April, he was sailing in a small boat from Loch Na Nuagh, where, nine months before, he had landed with few companions, but with the support of the most sanguine hopes. These solitary lakes and islands were now unsafe. Parties of soldiers penetrated into the most remote places, hunting down rebels, burning cabins, and chasing women and children from their desolate homes. Soon after the wanderings of Charles Edward had begun, the duke of Cumberland fixed his head-quarters at Fort Augustus, in the very heart of the district where the young Prince was hiding, for whose apprehension a reward of thirty thousand pounds had been offered. For five months did this ill-fated adventurer lead a life of constant privation and alarm; generally evading observation; sometimes known; but never betrayed. When he had gained a place of shelter in the house of the elder Clanranald, in the island of South Uist, he was soon disturbed by parties of militia who landed, and by vessels of war cruising about the coast. Obliged to quit his hospitable abode, he wandered alone amongst the hills, till he was enabled to escape to Skye. This he effected through the compassionate courage and sagacity of Flora MacDonald, a name ever to be numbered in the illustrious roll of heroic women. Charles was dressed as a female when, with Flora and a faithful Highlander, he went to sea in an open boat. They landed at last in the country of sir Alexander MacDonald, who was opposed to the Jacobite cause. Flora boldly appealed to the sympathy of the wife of the chief, lady Margaret MacDonald, and through her aid Charles was enabled to escape from the danger which he might have encountered in this hostile district. The kind lady MacDonald employed her kinsman, Kingsburgh, to be his guide, in company with Flora. He thus safely got out of Skye; and, taking leave of his companions, he reached the isle of Rasay, alone, disguised as a man-servant. Day after day the Prince sustained new hardships. He returned to Skye, and early in July was conveyed in a boat to the mainland. He wandered long amongst the glens between Loch Shiel and Loch Hourn. He had to elude the sentinels

who watched the head of the two lochs. He dwelt amongst freebooters in a cave, and lived on the plunder which they brought in. In August he returned to the Glengarry country, which was then cleared of troops. Finally, on the 20th of September, he, for the third time, sailed from Loch Na Nuagh; but he now sailed in a French vessel, accompanied by Lochiel, and three other of his fugitive adherents.

Flora MacDonald.


JOHN WESLEY.
PALEY.
PORTEUS.

The Prince and Princess of Wales viewing the Lord Mayor's Show, 1750. (Hogarth.)

CHAPTER XII.

Parliamentary calm—Mr. Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle—Mr. Pitt—Naval successes—Defeats by land—Battle of Lauffeld—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—Charles Edward sent out of France—Pacification of the Highlands—The peace regarded as a hard necessity for Britain—Measures of the Parliament—Reduction of Interest on the National Debt—Combination Laws—Parliamentary Privilege—Reform of the Calendar—Death of Frederick, prince of Wales—Official changes—Act for dissection in cases of murder—Act for preventing Thefts and Robberies, and for regulating Places of Public Entertainment—Gin Act—The Jew Bill—The Marriage Act. Note on the Stuart Family.

THE interval between the suppression of the Scottish Rebellion in 1746, and the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, is perhaps as little interesting in its details as any period of our history. Nor are there many exciting events to give spirit to a narrative of the remaining six years of that Administration which was broken up by the death of Mr. Pelham in 1754. Opinion became torpid, after the excitement of the rebellion had passed away. Jacobitism slunk to its hiding-places. Patriotism looked out for pensions and sinecures. Party-contests had nearly subsided into personal struggles for place and power, which those who are curious as to such mysterious affairs may drowsily meditate upon in the sober narrative of Coxe,* or laugh over in the sarcastic anecdotes of Walpole. During the agony of the rebellion, immediately after the defeat at Falkirk—at a time when it might be supposed that English statesmen would have cast away their petty ambitions—there came what is termed a ministerial crisis. Lord Granville (Carteret), although

* "Administration of Henry Pelham."

out of office, had the confidence of the king; whilst the duke of Newcastle, and his brother, Mr. Pelham, his majesty's chief ministers, were not favourites with him. They resolved to try their strength. They demanded office for Mr. Pitt, rather from their fear of him than from their love. The king refused to give a place to one who had so bitterly thwarted his Hanoverian partialities. The Pelhams and the whole body of their Whig followers resigned. Granville became minister—for forty-eight hours; for he could command no parliamentary support. The Pelhams returned triumphantly to power, upon their own terms; giving Pitt an office, but one which would not necessarily bring him into personal intercourse with the king. "Lord Granville left St. James's laughing," says Walpole.* After this victory the Pelhams had little to fear even from the dislike or the coldness of their sovereign. The cabinet had little to dread but jealousies and dissensions amongst its members. It continued its temporising course through eight years of a monopoly of the real authority of the state. Opposition was hushed. The great parliamentary orators, Pitt, Fox, Murray, were propitiated into silence by office, and bided their time for power. The bitter opponents of Walpole and Carteret were no longer "the boys." Pitt professed to have cast away some of the extreme opinions of his nonage. "Never," says a reviewer of the Pelham Administration, "was the tempestuous sea of Parliament lulled into a profounder calm."† This is meant as commendation. Something of the calm was produced by the almost complete absence of publicity from parliamentary proceedings. Cave, the proprietor of 'The Gentleman's Magazine,' and Astley, the printer of 'The London Magazine,' were so terrified at the bar of the House of Lords in 1747, where they stood in custody of the Usher of the Black Rod for publishing the proceedings on lord Lovat's trial, that no glimpse of what Lords or Commons were doing met the public eye for several years; and then so briefly and obscurely that Pitt might, for any gratification of general curiosity, have as well harangued upon the sea-shore like his great model. But the parliamentary calm was chiefly produced by influences far more cunningly devised than the despotic privileges which controlled the public Journals. Mr. Pelham and his brother divided the labours of Administration pretty equally. The one quietly conducted parliamentary and treasury business; the other managed the more complex affairs of his private levée. Pelham was a skilful financier in the open management of the public money. Newcastle was the most adroit and experienced trafficker for seats in the House of Commons. He bought boroughs with a profuse employment of his own wealth, that made his family power almost irresistible. He bought members with the secret-service money, exercising a tact that put Walpole's coarser operations to shame. He cajoled; he promised; and, if wheedling and lying were in vain, he freely paid. This was Newcastle's peculiar talent. He hugged the dirty work to his bosom as if it were the great glory of his life. He would share with no man the distinction of bribing for votes. It can scarcely be matter of surprise that under such a system the nation resigned itself to the comatose symptoms which the opiates of the state-physicians were gradually producing. The scheme of corruption which Walpole instituted to keep things quiet, whilst the contests for the restoration of

* "Memoirs of the Reign of George II.," vol. ii. p. 174, 8vo. edit.
† "Quarterly Review," vol. 50, p. 90.

the Stuarts were truly formidable, was perfected under the Pelhams, when the danger had passed away. The agency which had been resorted to for the support of the Crown was perpetuated for the aggrandisement of an Oligarchy. The parliamentary domination of the great Whig families, divided as a party but united as a caste, had almost ceased to be regarded as unconstitutional.

The appointment under the Pelhams of William Pitt to an office, however secondary, is an event of historical importance. The king refused to nominate him Secretary-at-war—a post in which his energy might have produced some more decided successes than were obtained previous to the peace of 1748 by the supine Pelhams. Pitt was first appointed Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, and within a few months was promoted to be Paymaster-General. The character of Pitt, who, without wealth or high birth, had made himself the marked man of his time, was now developed in a way that must have been somewhat incomprehensible to the greedy aspirants for the emoluments place. He received his salary; he disdained to pocket more than his salary. The Paymaster-General used to retain a hundred thousand pounds as a balance in his own hands, which he invested in government securities, for his private benefit; the public thus paying interest upon their own money to their own salaried servant. Pitt sent every balance, as it accrued, to the Bank of England, to be available for its proper purposes. The indirect modes in which ministers of state grew rich, through other means than the legal receipts of their highly-paid offices, received another illustration from the self-denial of this extraordinary Paymaster. When a subsidy was advanced to a foreign power, it had been customary for the itching palm of office to demand half-per-cent as its honorarium. Pitt astonished the king of Sardinia by sending him the sum without deduction which Parliament had voted; and he raised his majesty's astonishment still higher when he refused a present as a compliment to his integrity. Pitt was a poor man; but he had higher aspirations than the "auri sacra fames" of a venal age. His pride, which betrayed him into many errors, saved him from the degradation of the meanest of passions. Amidst their general contempt for the government, the people came to know that there was one man who professed some regard for public virtue.

When the British troops, and foreign troops in the pay of Great Britain, had been withdrawn from the Low Countries to put down rebellion and defend our own shores, the successes of the French were rapid and decisive. All the Austrian Netherlands submitted to their arms. On the other hand, the French were driven out of Italy by the Austrians and Sardinians. The year 1746 offered no prospect of a speedy termination of the war. In 1747, the maritime power of the country was signally asserted. Admiral Anson, on the 3rd of May, captured, sunk, or destroyed the French fleet off Cape Finisterre. The fleet thus annihilated had for its principal object to attempt the recovery of Cape Breton, which had been taken from the French in 1745. Commodore Fox, on the 16th of June, took forty French ships, richly laden from the West Indies. Admiral Hawke, on the 14th of October, defeated a French fleet off Belleisle. England had acquired full confidence in the might of her naval arm. Her Channel fleet had rendered invasion almost impossible during the troubles of 1745. She had bold and skilful admirals. She had hardy seamen, confident in their national superiority if they

were well commanded. The land operations of 1747 were of a different character.

The political importance of Holland had for some years been frittered away by an imbecile government. The republic was losing its ancient place amongst the European nations. Its thriving cities appeared likely, in the apparent decay of the old warlike spirit, to become the prey of the same enemy that had been driven back by the energy of William of Orange. Upon the death of that prince, the office of hereditary Stadtholder had been merged in that of Grand Pensionary. Louis XV. in 1747 sent an army of twenty thousand men to invade Brabant. The hearts of the Dutch people were roused as in 1672; and they sought the same means of deliverance as at that period. Prince William of Nassau was proclaimed Stadtholder; and to him were entrusted the means of national defence. This young man had succeeded, as Captain-General and Lord High Admiral, to the powers held by William III.; but the popular acclamation could not evoke in him those qualities which made his great predecessor the saviour of his country. He was the son-in-law of George II. The favourite son of George, and the husband of his daughter, were to command the allied forces of British and Dutch. "Our two young heroes agree but little," wrote Mr. Pelham. "Our own is open, frank, resolute, and perhaps hasty; the other assuming, pedantic, ratiocinating, and tenacious." On the 2nd of July, at Lauffeld, near Maestricht, the "two young heroes," with an Austrian army commanded by marshal Bathiany, were to encounter the French headed by marshal Saxe. The duke of Cumberland with his British, fought with desperation. "His royal highness's valour has shone extremely," says Walpole, "at the expense of his judgment. . . . His prowess is so well established, that it grows time for him to exert other qualities of a general." * The prince of Nassau, with his Dutch, got out of the fight as soon as possible. The Austrian marshal never moved from his entrenched position. There was a terrible slaughter of the British and the French. Sir John Ligonier, who had commanded the English cavalry, was taken prisoner. Louis XV., who was present at the battle, hinted to this general, who first came to England as a French Protestant refugee, that it would be better to think of peace than to witness the destruction of so many brave men. Marshal Saxe talked confidentially with the prisoner upon the same subject. The war still went on unfavourably for the allies, Bergen-op-Zoom having surrendered to the French in September. Louis expressed sentiments of moderation; and finally Ligonier was sent by the French king to the duke of Cumberland, to intimate his desire that they should meet, and agree upon terms of peace. The English ministry did not believe that the duke was exactly fitted for a negotiator; and, much to his father's annoyance, sent the earl of Sandwich to watch over him. But it was many months before peace was accomplished. The "two young heroes" wanted more fighting. George II. wanted to obtain some paltry advantage for his beloved Hanover which might be won by another campaign. A Congress was opened at Aix-la-Chapelle in March, 1748; even while the war of British, Dutch, and Austrians against the French was going on in Flanders. In April it became

* Letters to Mann, July 2 and July 3.

pretty clear that Cumberland, always ready to fight, was no match for De Saxe, who fought only when he saw his advantage in fighting. The French marshal had so conducted his operations that for Cumberland to hazard another battle before Maestricht would have been a rashness too great for an English ministry to sanction. The pacific members of the cabinet outvoted the warlike; and Mr. Pelham wrote to lord Sandwich, that as it was impossible to check the progress of the French army, or to reconcile the discordant pretensions of the Allies, the king resolved to accept the conditions of peace proposed by France, without having the concurrence of the other powers. The preliminaries were signed by the plenipotentiaries of England, Holland, and France, at the end of April.

The king, in his speech on opening the session of the new Parliament in November, 1747, had announced that overtures of pacification had been made by France. He looked back to the origin of the war: "By the advice of my Parliament I entered into the war against Spain, to vindicate and secure the trade and commerce of my subjects." The bells were ringing in October, 1739, upon the declaration of hostilities against Spain. They were ringing in April, 1748, upon the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which not a single point was gained for which England had been fighting with Spain and France for eight years. The peace was such as a nation makes when it is weary of blood-shedding; when its government can no longer trust to the repetition of the parrot words, "just and necessary war." All conquests, in all parts of the world, that had been made by any of the powers engaged in the war, were to be restored. The English grumbled about the restitution of Cape Breton. They grumbled more, that the right of search claimed by Spain off her American coasts should have been left precisely in its former position—a constant source of violence and animosity. One point was gained, which George and his ministers not unnaturally held of importance. The Pretender and his descendants were to be renounced. Charles Edward was to be expelled from France. The French government intimated its intention to behave compassionately to the young prince who had dared and endured so much for his family. They proposed to establish him at Fribourg, with an adequate pension, and the honours that attached to the empty title of prince of Wales. The young man, with characteristic obstinacy, refused to quit Paris. He was entreated; he was threatened; but he defied what he termed the orders of the House of Hanover. He was at last arrested as he was going to the opera; imprisoned for a few days at Vincennes; and then turned loose on the frontier of Savoy. He wandered about Europe for many years, bearing a fictitious name. He contracted debasing habits of intoxication. He outraged his few remaining supporters, by refusing to give up a mistress whom they regarded as a spy. There is a relation by Dr. King of a venturous visit which Charles Edward made to England in 1750. The Jacobite Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, saw the prince several times during the five days which he remained in London. "The impatience of his friends who were in exile had formed a scheme which was impracticable; but although it had been as feasible as they represented to him, yet no preparations had been made, nor was anything ready to carry it into execution. He was soon convinced that he had been deceived." To have remained long in England would have been rash, beyond the usual

rashness of the prince. The servant of Dr. King remarked the resemblance of the gentleman who had come to drink tea with his master, to "the busts which are sold in Red Lion-street, and are said to be the busts of Prince Charles." * The brother of the unhappy prince had been named a cardinal in 1747; and this was considered by Charles and his friends as a fatal barrier to the restoration of the House of Stuart to the throne of Protestant Great Britain—an event more fatal than the defeat of Culloden.†

The measures of the English government in relation to Scotland were of much greater importance to the security of the House of Brunswick, than the humiliation of Charles Edward, or the dedication to the papacy of Cardinal York. The pacification of the Highlands was gradually being accomplished by a series of enactments, one of which was of unquestionable public benefit. The disarming Act of 1748, and that for the abolition of the Highland dress, might be regarded as unnecessary severities, and as sources of national irritation. But the great measure for the abolition of heritable jurisdictions was open to no objection beyond the complaints of a few interested nobles. It was carefully considered by the law authorities of England, and was carried through under the advice of the Scottish Court of Session. The sum of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds was wisely expended in buying up the emoluments which great and petty chiefs of clans derived from the exercise of their arbitrary and dangerous powers. The Sheriff Courts were taken as the foundation of local tribunals where justice should be administered by responsible judges. The exclusive privileges which were thus abolished destroyed that power which, whether it be regarded as feudal or patriarchal, was a real tyranny, as dangerous to the State as oppressive to the people. There was one indication of an attempt to revive the disaffection of the Highland chiefs. In 1753, the execution of Dr. Archibald Cameron, upon a previous attainder, renewed some of the odium which attached to the severities of 1746. He had not come to Scotland solely upon his private affairs, as alleged, but "to inquire about a considerable sum of money which had been remitted from France to the friends of the exiled family," and he had a commission to hold intercourse with M'Pherson of Cluny, who kept up the correspondence between Charles Edward and his friends. Sir Walter Scott, who relates these circumstances, holds that the execution of Dr. Cameron might have been justified upon reasons of a public nature, had the king's ministers thought it prudent to develop the channel of information which they possessed as to the plots of Charles Edward.‡

The termination of the war was publicly celebrated as if it had been the glorious result of sagacious counsels and military bravery. On the 27th of April, 1749, there was an unequalled display of fire-works in the Green Park. Handel composed a grand overture of warlike instruments. An Italian artist designed a temple, a hundred and fourteen feet high, with statues and pictures—heathen gods and cardinal virtues; Neptune drawn by sea-horses; Mars drawn by three lions. The king was recorded in Latin inscriptions as having given peace to Europe, secured the faith of treaties, restored and enlarged commerce. Britannia joined hands with France and Spain, in renewed concord and for mutual benefit. The people were pleased, and cared

* "Anecdotes," p. 196. † See Note, at the end of this chapter.
‡ Introduction to "Redgauntlet."

little for caricatures in which the fire-works were called "The grand whim for posterity to laugh at." But the shouts of the multitude were not echoed in Parliament. Mr. Pelham, who carried political candour somewhat beyond the point of prudence, spoke of the necessity for this peace in a tone which indicated very much of that prostration of national spirit of which there were too many evidences at this particular period. In a speech on the 5th of February, 1750, in reply to a motion of lord Egmont on the article of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle respecting Dunkirk, Mr. Pelham, as head of the Administration, said that the wonder was that England could have obtained such good terms as she did; that another campaign would have made the French masters of the Dutch provinces; that if the Dutch had joined France in alliance against this country, we should not long have preserved our superiority at sea, "the loss of which would soon have put an end to our sitting here, to debate about the demolition of Dunkirk, or any other point relating to the honour or interest of Great Britain." * This timid minister even went farther in the course of this speech: "I think myself in duty bound to declare, that in our present loaded condition, when the people are so burdened with taxes, and most of those taxes mortgaged for the payment of debts, it is my opinion, that we are not able to stand single and alone in a war against the whole House of Bourbon; and the circumstances of Europe are such at present, that it would be impossible for us to form a confederacy upon the continent that would not be a burden rather than an advantage to us." Pelham wrote in the same desponding temper to the duke of Newcastle:—"Dear brother, we are conquered; we have little strength of our own, and less of other people's." With such a humiliated spirit in the prime-minister of a country, it is easy to understand how, during the years which remained of the Pelham Administration, the nation was held to be sunk and degraded. A mighty change was produced by the genius of one man—he who having been thrust upon the king as a subordinate member of the government in 1746, came gradually to be looked up to as the most influential man in the state, especially after the death of Henry Pelham in 1754. The extraordinary abilities of William Pitt at length rose above the control of incapable colleagues. In five years he raised a dispirited nation to an unprecedented height of honour and power. The history of this great man's administration is a history of which England may well be proud, even after a century has elapsed of events too wonderful, and of changes too vast, to have presented themselves to the imagination of the most sanguine believer in his country's future greatness, who lived in the last years of George the Second. But before we reach the history of that period, we have first to trace the less stimulating occurrences of six or seven years of peace. In those years Great Britain was husbanding the means of triumph. Her people were carrying forward their industry with a success which gave them the sinews of war. Some important social reforms were made; others were attempted, and were deferred through antiquated prejudices. A careful examination will show, that, amidst much that was rotten and corrupt, the nation was unusually prosperous; and that the common predictions of its decline were the fallacies of superficial observers.

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xiv. col. 678.

The Parliament which commenced its sittings in November 1747 was continued through its full septennial period until April, 1754. This tenth Parliament of Great Britain holds an honourable place in history for two measures of permanent utility—the Reform of the Calendar, and the Marriage Act. Other portions of its legislation are interesting, as bearing upon some questions which are still not wholly settled; or as illustrating the state of public morality. During the remaining years of the Pelham administration we may follow the course of parliamentary proceedings as the best outline of the progress of the nation.

Mr. Pelham, though a timid war-minister, was sufficiently bold as a financier. At the opening of the Session, the king recommended to the Commons "to be watchful to improve any opportunity of putting the national debt in a method of being reduced, with a strict regard to public faith and private property." In a fortnight the proposal of the minister was entertained, to reduce the 4 per cent. annuities to a lower rate of interest. The whole unredeemed capital of the funded debt amounted, in round numbers, to seventy-one millions, of which forty-three millions were due to the Bank of England, the South Sea Company, and the East India Company, at varying rates of interest,—namely: 4 per cent., 3½ per cent., 3 per cent. Of the other public debt, nearly nineteen millions were in 4 per cent. annuities, and eight millions in 3 per cent. consolidated annuities. Mr. Pelham proposed that all persons or bodies corporate entitled to any part of the redeemable national debt, which carried interest at 4 per cent., who should consent to receive interest at 3 per cent., commencing on the 25th December, 1757, should receive 3½ per cent. in the intermediate years. The scheme, according to Tindal, was regarded as a very bold and even dangerous measure by many friends of the minister. Smollett says that foreign nations looked on with wonder, to see such a proposition carried without disturbance, and asked where money could be found to pay off the dissentient fund-holders. But there were very few who chose to be paid off. The confidence in the government, and the convenience to many persons of these public investments with their certain dividends, enabled the minister to accomplish his plan without the disquiet which some had dreaded. The public benefit of the reduction of interest was sensibly felt when, after the death of Mr. Pelham, the nation became engaged in the Seven Years War. After languishing for a year or two, this contest was conducted to a successful close, with a lavish expense wholly unprecedented on the part of England. In 1749, when the funded debt was seventy-one millions, the interest was very nearly three millions. In 1759, when the funded debt was eighty-nine millions, the interest was still under three millions.*

In the middle of the eighteenth century, such a change had taken place in the relations between employers and workmen, that the old system of regimenting labour, by prescribing the rate of wages and the hours of work, was coming quickly to an end. Four hundred years before that time the labour-question, as it is called, was putting strife between masters and servants. The labourers of the reign of Edward III., in consequence of a pestilence which had reduced the amount of labour seeking employment, demanded a

* See Parliamentary Return of the National Debt, &c. Ordered to be printed 19th July, 1858.

rise in wages—as they justly might, according to the natural law which regulates wages. They founded their demand upon sound principles, although these were not reduced into a science. But it was held that the labourers of the time of Edward III. demanded what the employers considered excessive wages; and the legislature stepped in to compel a rate of hire, and to confine labourers to one locality. This was the stronger tyranny; and the precedent was ever at hand, in future contests.* Statutes for the regulation of wages and the hours of labour went on multiplying, even against the growing conviction that they were inefficient. There was a constant and gradual tendency in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for the prices of commodities to advance; and this inevitable result of the discovery of the precious metals in America baffled every attempt to fix a stationary scale of wages. A statute of 1548 endeavours to grapple with what it held to be two flagrant evils. Sellers of victuals were to be punished for conspiring and covenanting to sell their commodities at unreasonable prices. This was to be a boon to those who laboured for subsistence. But, on the other hand, combinations of workmen were prohibited by this statute, under severe penalties. It would appear from this enactment that workmen, under a system of promises and mutual oaths, then engaged in a confederacy against the liberty of other workmen; and to this extent the legislators were right, even in enacting their harsh penalties of imprisonment and pillory. We here see the commencement of statutory regulations against combinations of workmen; which, however, were always punishable at common law, as well as combinations of masters. We go on to the eighteenth century, and we then find special laws against combinations in particular trades. A statute of the 7th George I, is "for regulating journeymen tailors," especially those of London and Westminster, "who have lately departed from their services without just cause, and have entered into combinations to advance their wages to unreasonable prices, and lessen their usual hours of work." A statute of the 12th George I. extends the penalties against combinations to "workmen employed in the woollen manufacture." The next step is the Act of 1749, which especially extends the provisions of the two previous statutes to those employed in hat-making, and to the workers in all textile substances, and in leather; and, moreover, provides the usual supposed remedies of legal punishments against all combinations of workmen whatever. It required the experience of three quarters of a century to show that such legislation was essentially a mistake. The statutes against combinations had been so multiplied that when these laws were repealed in 1824, they amounted to thirty-five different enactments. It was inconsistent with the principle of justice to all classes that they should continue on the statute-book in their original arbitrary and unequal provisions. Adam Smith, in 1776, proclaimed this inequality: "We have no acts of parliament against combining to lower the price of work, but many against combining to raise it." † The injustice has been remedied, and workmen are free to combine not to work under certain wages, and to regulate the hours of work; always provided that they do not by violence, threats, or otherwise, interfere with the freedom of action in other workmen. We shall have to note hereafter the repeal of the Combination Laws, and the effects of that repeal.

* See *ante*, vol. i. p. 471.

† "Wealth of Nations," book i. c. 8

This change and its consequences form an important consideration in the history of our social state, and in any estimate of its possible future. The change could not be avoided. But the rude contest of four centuries ago still subsists under different forms scarcely less rude. Legislation is not competent to deal with the evil. Its remedy can only be found in a better appreciation by employers and workmen of their mutual rights and duties. The preparation for a happier system than that which results in the ruin and misery of strikes, is to be sought in the real and solid instruction of all classes in the great natural laws by which the relations of capital and labour must inevitably be adjusted, whatever be the disturbing forces which interfere with an adjustment. The gross ignorance of these laws exhibited by the legislators of Trades Unions, in the middle of the nineteenth century, is even more deplorable than that of the law-givers of the nation in the fifteenth century. Untaught workmen of the time of Edward III. had the laws of political economy with them, when they demanded an increase of wages in consequence of the decrease in the number of labourers. Half-educated artisans of the days of queen Victoria demand an increase of wages because the number of labourers has increased. On the other hand, we are not to conclude, that the ignorance, grosser than that of the dark ages, which says, "if political economy is against us we are against political economy," and the tyranny against fellow-workmen by which that ignorance is upheld,—that these are to be met by the capitalist, in a partial triumph over combinations, requiring conditions which appear to interfere with the free action of the individual labourer. Let us have no class despotism, on one side or the other; no arbitrary regulations, if not quite as odious, certainly as ineffectual, as the partial and unjust distinction of the days of the first and second Georges between the rights of capital and the rights of labour.

The question, so often raised, and on which different opinions are still continued to be held,—the question of parliamentary privilege,—agitated the nation in 1750 and in 1751. On the 22d of November, 1749, an election was held for Westminster, in which the ministerial candidate, lord Trentham, was opposed by sir George Vandeput, supported by a strong body of persons calling themselves the Independent Electors. A scrutiny was demanded, upon lord Trentham being returned. On the 22nd of February, 1750, no return having been made to the writ, the high bailiff was called to the bar of the House of Commons; but he was dismissed, upon his assurance being given that he would use his endeavours to expedite the election. Parliament was prorogued before the return was made, which return was in favour of lord Trentham. Soon after the opening of the Session in 1751, a petition was presented from the inhabitants of Westminster complaining of an undue return, arising out of the partiality of the high bailiff. This officer accused three gentlemen, Mr. Crowle, the Hon. Alexander Murray, and Mr. Gibson, of having illegally interfered to obstruct the proceedings on the scrutiny, and to influence him in the return. Crowle was reprimanded and discharged. Gibson was sent to Newgate. When Murray was brought to the bar, to receive his sentence of a close committal to Newgate, he refused to kneel, as commanded by the Speaker. Horace Walpole has related the scene which took place: "He entered with an air of confidence, composed of something between a martyr and a coxcomb. The Speaker called out, 'Your obeisances!

sir, your obeisances!'—and then—'Sir, you must kneel.' He replied, 'Sir, I beg to be excused; I never kneel but to God.' The Speaker repeated the command with great warmth. Murray answered, 'Sir, I am sorry I cannot comply with your request, I would in anything else.' The Speaker cried, 'Sir, I call upon you again to consider of it.' Murray answered, 'Sir, when I have committed a crime, I kneel to God for pardon; but I know my own innocence, and cannot kneel to anybody else.' The Speaker ordered the serjeant to take him away, and secure him."* In April Murray was brought by Habeas Corpus into the King's Bench, where his case was argued. But the validity of his commitment being affirmed by three judges, he was remanded to Newgate. Upon the prorogation of Parliament he was conducted in triumph to his own house, attended by the sheriffs of London. In the next Session of Parliament, a motion was made that Murray should be apprehended, and again committed to Newgate for contempt of privilege. It was fortunate for the honour of Parliament that, upon the motion being carried, Murray absconded. A reward of five hundred pounds was offered for his apprehension, but without effect. A prosecution against the publisher of a pamphlet on this subject was ordered by the House. A London jury acquitted the defendant. The public sympathy with Murray was a manifestation of the growing temper with which the proceedings of their representatives had come to be regarded by the people;—a temper which in a few years was to convulse the nation almost to the verge of anarchy.

The Reform of the Calendar, in 1751, is a measure of which no one can be more sensible of the advantage than he who has to write the annals of his country. The change which pope Gregory XIII. had introduced in 1582 had gradually been adopted by all European states except England, Russia, and Sweden. Thus, in reading a French historian, we not only find an event bearing date ten or eleven days in advance of the date of an English narrative, but the year is made to begin from the 1st of January in the foreign annalist instead of the 25th of March, as in the English. To prevent mistakes arising out of this confusion requires perpetual vigilance in the historical writer. To attempt to reconcile these discrepancies in all cases would be needless; and most annalists are generally content to take the dates as they find them. The energy of lord Chesterfield—a man of great and various ability, who had filled high offices, but in 1751 had retired from ministerial business—carried this reform through, with the learned aid of lord Macclesfield, who was afterwards president of the Royal Society. The commencement of the year on the 1st of January was not calculated to disturb any popular prejudice; for the 25th of February, 1751, on which day the bill was introduced into the House of Lords, was ordinarily written, 25th February, 1750-51. But the necessity for another change was thus indicated by lord Macclesfield; "The same day which, in each month, is with us the first, is called the twelfth day of the month throughout almost all the other parts of Europe; and in like manner through all the other days of the month, we are just eleven days behind them." To make the legal year correspond in all future time with the solar year, was the result of scientific calculations, the rationale of which is now generally understood. It was necessary also to make a change in the Calendar

* "Memoirs of the Reign of George II.," vol. i. p. 29.

as to the time of finding Easter. There were many minor regulations essential to be provided for in consequence of the great change. The payments of rents, annuities, and salaries for public service were not to be accelerated; and thus the 5th of July, the 10th of October, the 5th of January, and the 5th of April, long held their place as rent days; and the dividends upon stock are still paid at those periods. It may be supposed that such a reform, however valuable, would not be made without some popular discontent. The timid Newcastle told Chesterfield that he hated new-fangled things—that he had better not meddle with matters so long established. The witty earl was wiser. He made a speech of which he has given a most ingenuous account in a letter to his son: "I consulted the ablest lawyers and the most skilful astronomers, and we cooked up a Bill for that purpose. But then my difficulty began. I was to bring in this Bill, which was necessarily composed of law-jargon and astronomical calculations, to both which I am an utter stranger. However, it was absolutely necessary to make the House of Lords think that I knew something of the matter; and also make them believe that they knew something of it themselves, which they do not. For my own part, I could just as soon have talked Celtic or Sclavonian to them, as astronomy, and they would have understood me full as well; so I resolved to do better than speak to the purpose, and to please instead of informing them." The peers were amused by Chesterfield; the thinking part of the nation were convinced by Macclesfield, who published his speech. Hogarth has immortalized the vulgar opposition to the reform of the Calendar in his picture of An Election Feast, in which the popular prejudices are flattered by the Whig candidate in his banner inscribed with "Give us our eleven days."

In 1751 an event occurred which, for some time, disturbed all the calculations of the scheming politicians of this intriguing age. Frederick, prince of Wales, died after a short illness on the 20th of March. Leicester House, his town abode, had long been the central point of opposition to the government. We have seen how far the unhappy estrangement of the prince from his parents was carried before the death of queen Caroline. Years had passed over, and yet the animosities between the reigning king and the heir-apparent were never subdued. In 1751 George II., although a hale man, was in his sixty-eighth year. The worshippers of the rising sun grew bolder in their devotion. Bubb Doddington, the treasurer of the navy, resigned his office in March, 1749, having received a message from the prince that the principal direction of his royal highness's affairs should be put in the skilful intriguer's hands. He saw the prince at Kew, and was told that "what he could not do for me in his present situation must be made up to me in futurity." The prince farther said "that he thought a peerage, with the management of the House of Lords, and the seals of secretary of state for the southern provinces, would be a proper station for me, if I approved of

George Bubb Doddington.

it." * Such was the mode in which England was to be governed by favoritism had she endured the misfortune of a king Frederick I. A worthy junto took counsel with the prince as to "the immediate steps to be taken upon the demise of the king, more particularly in relation to the Civil List." † The prince directed the movements of the Opposition through the indefatigable borough-monger who had now the chief direction of his affairs; suggesting, amongst other modes of embarrassing his father's ministers, that the business of Dunkirk "was an opportunity to abuse them." ‡ This system was broken up by the event of the 20th of March. The king felt the premature death of his son rather keenly; and appeared desirous that the remembrance of their differences should pass away. The managers of state ceremonials otherwise interpreted the sovereign's wishes. Frederick was interred without all the usual honours bestowed upon the remains of the first prince of the blood royal. None of his family followed him to the grave; and, except certain lords appointed to hold the pall, the whole tribe of courtiers studiously kept away:—

"No pitying heart, no eye, afford
A tear to grace his obsequies."

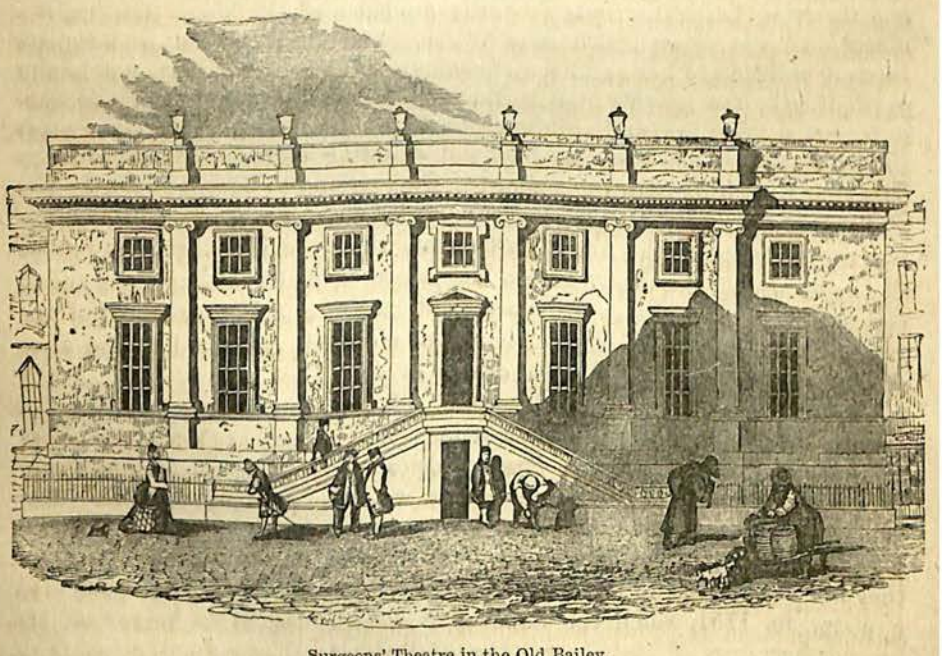
He had bid high for popularity; but even the patriots of the City soon forgot their idol. The public sympathy was directed towards the Princess Dowager and her eight children. She conducted herself with great prudence; refusing to enter into any of the cabals of those called her husband's friends; and throwing herself entirely upon the guidance of the king. George, her eldest son, was created Prince of Wales. The Princess had an adequate revenue assigned to her; and the education of the heir-apparent, now twelve years of age, was provided for by the appointment of a governor and sub-governor, a preceptor and sub-preceptor. A Bill of Regency excited great public attention, and produced long and agitating debates in both Houses. The king wished the unpopular duke of Cumberland to be sole regent. The Princess Dowager had the public feeling in favour of her claims. The matter was compromised by the Act of Parliament, which provided that in the event of the demise of the Crown before the prince of Wales attained the age of eighteen, his mother should be guardian of his person; but, as regent of the kingdom, she should act with the advice of a council, composed of the duke of Cumberland and nine principal officers of state.

By the death of Frederick, prince of Wales, the organization of a parliamentary opposition was broken up. But as long as there were places to be filled—as long as there were rivalries in the struggles for office, and jealousies amongst its possessors,—there would be personal contests, which had their interests for their little hour, and may still interest those who believe that in getting hold of the clue to court and ministerial intrigues they are in the road to historical discovery. There was a partial change of ministry in 1751, when the duke of Newcastle desired to be rid of his brother secretary of state, the duke of Bedford. These great peers, from the very nature of their offices, were not likely to act with perfect union unless they were warm friends. The one held the seals of the Southern department, the other of the Northern department—a division of labour

* Doddington's "Diary," July 18, 1749. † *Ibid.*, Nov. 12. ‡ *Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1750

which involved correspondence of the one Secretary with one half of Europe, and of the other Secretary with the other half. Lord John Russell has described this arrangement somewhat humorously: "It was as if two coachmen were on a box of the mail-coach, one holding the right-hand rein the other the left."* Newcastle wanted a partner on the box who would only pretend to hold the one rein. Bedford was therefore got rid of, and a very tractable successor appointed in his place, who would make no pretence to the management of the rein or the whip. Those who are curious to know how this change was effected, may find it agreeably told by Horace Walpole.† We turn to more vulgar matters. We advert to those legislative proceedings which were designed to remedy the grosser immoralities, and to check the atrocious crimes, which were as characteristic of this period as the political corruption and the loose examples of the higher orders of society.

In 1752 an Act was passed "for the better preventing thefts and robberies, and for regulating places of public entertainment, and for punishing people keeping disorderly houses." In the same year an Act was also passed, directing that in cases of wilful murder immediate execution should take place after the criminal had been sentenced, and that his body should be given to the surgeons to be dissected and anatomized. The Surgeons' Theatre



Surgeons' Theatre in the Old Bailey.

in the Old Bailey was built for the convenience of this process. Hogarth's print of the Progress of Cruelty shows how the practice was popularly

* Quoted by Lord Mahon from Note in "Bedford Correspondence."
† "Memoirs of George II.," vol. i. pp. 185 to 198.

regarded. The real cruelty to society consisted in causing dissection to be viewed as an infamy, when it was essentially necessary, for that instruction in anatomy which was to make skilful surgeons and competent physicians, that some of the dead should thus benefit the living. These views of a more enlightened age repealed the law which was so short-sighted in its aim. The enactments of 1752 appear to have in some degree been consequent upon the publication in 1750 of Henry Fielding's "Inquiry into the Causes of the late increase of Robbers." In that treatise the first section is devoted to a view of the consequences "of too frequent and extensive diversions among the lower kind of people." He proposes "to stop the progress of vice by removing the temptation. . . . Now what greater temptation can there be to voluptuousness than a place where every sense and appetite of which it is compounded are fed and delighted; where the eyes are feasted with show, and the ears with music, and where gluttony and drunkenness are allured by every kind of dainty; nay, where the finest women are exposed to view, and where the meanest person who can dress himself clean may in some degree mix with his betters." The places of entertainment, he says, are almost become numberless. There are not only places where the nobleman and his tailor, the lady of quality and her tire-woman, form one common assembly; but others, "where the master of the house, the wells, or gardens, catches only the thoughtless and tasteless rabble." When we see written up on a public-house or garden—"Licensed for music under the Act of 25th George II.," we see the relics of this somewhat inadequate provision for the morality of the people. Experience has shown how limited in their usefulness are such restraints upon vice; how, if they were strictly enforced, they would be positively injurious. If allowed to interfere with harmless recreations, such as the intellectual pleasure of cheap music in public places, the gross sensual gratifications, such as drunkenness, would have a stronger hold upon many who now turn aside from that temptation.

Fielding's second section treats of drunkenness. Against gin he directs his strongest reprobation. "The legislature must once more take the matter into their hands." Of the evils of gin, as the parent of crime, he adduces his experience as a magistrate. "Wretches are often brought before me, charged with theft and robbery, whom I am forced to confine before they are in a condition to be examined; and when they have afterwards become sober, I have plainly perceived, from the state of the case, that the gin alone was the cause of the transgression." The consumption of gin had increased to a frightful extent under the prohibitory Act of 1736, which was impossible to be enforced; and the statute of 1743, which reduced the excessive duty, was in operation when Fielding wrote. In 1751, Mr. Potter, a rising member of parliament, "produced several physicians and masters of workhouses, to prove the fatal consequences of spirituous liquors, which laid waste the meaner parts of the town, and were now spreading into the country." * He proposed an increase of the duty. Mr. Pelham believed no remedy could be found for the evil. Additional duties were imposed from time to time; and the consumption of the liquid fire became gradually diminished, not so much, perhaps, by the operation of the duties, as by the general improvement of all

* Walpole—"Memoirs of George II.," vol. i. p. 66.

classes of society. Drunkenness, in the time of GeorgeII., was the vice of the high as well as of the low. When it became a disgrace for a gentleman to be drunk, it might reasonably be expected that the artisan would see that his own character and his own happiness were compromised by drunkenness. It has been most wisely said, with reference to habits of intoxication, by a magistrate than whom no one has more nobly laboured for the repression of crime by prevention rather than by punishment, "From whatever point of view we regard the subject, we shall see that our hopes of improvement have no solid foundation except in the enlightened sentiment of the people." *

"Gaming amongst the vulgar" is placed by Fielding as one of the causes of robbery. He honestly touches upon the pestilent example of the great, and recommends a more laudable method of employing their time to "the nobility and gentry." He might well do so, when peers went out of town to Richmond, to play at whist on Saturday and Sunday; and lord Sandwich, a minister of state, when he hunted with the duke of Cumberland, carried dice in his pocket, to throw a main under a tree when the hounds were at fault.† Fielding held that the magistrate was armed with sufficient power to destroy all gaming "among the inferior people." This was the creed of that age with regard to every vice; and was one of the chief causes that the inferior people so stoutly rebelled against the Gin Act of 1736.

The Statutes for the farther prevention of thefts and robberies, and for putting a mark of infamy, in addition to the punishment of death, upon the crime of murder, were preceded in 1750 by a royal proclamation, offering a reward of a hundred pounds for the discovery of any offender who had committed a murder, or a robbery with violence, within London and Westminster, or five miles round. Fielding had said, "I make no doubt but that the streets of this town, and the roads leading to it, will shortly be impassable without the utmost hazard; nor are we threatened with seeing less dangerous gangs of rogues among us than those which the Italians call the banditti." But he in the same page declares, "that there are at this time a great gang of rogues, whose number falls little short of a hundred, who are incorporated in one body, have officers and a treasurer, and have reduced theft and robbery into a regular system." This testimony from a Police Magistrate, who made most unusual exertions for the discovery of offenders, shows how completely the metropolis was without a police; how, when the gallows was the only instrument of repression and the great teacher of honesty, crime flourished to an extent which makes us look back upon the polite days of lord Chesterfield, and the glorious days of the first Pitt, as a period not far removed, in some respects, from barbarism. The folly of the public was quite equal to the atrocity of the robbers. M'Lean, a highwayman, who mixed with genteel society, was sentenced to be hanged. "The first Sunday after his condemnation, three thousand people went to see him; he fainted away twice with the heat of his cell. You can't conceive the ridiculous rage there is of going to Newgate; and the prints that are published of the malefactors, and the memoirs of their lives and deaths set forth with as much parade as—as—Marshal Turenne's—we have no Generals worth making a parallel." ‡ What

* Charge to the Grand Jury of Birmingham, by the Recorder, Mr. M. D. Hill, Jan. 1855.
† Horace Walpole to Mann. ‡ *Ibid.* Oct. 18, 1750.

could legislation do in such an age for the better preventing thefts and robberies?

The opposition to the measure known as the Jew Bill, and the ultimate fate of this attempt to render some justice to an industrious and thriving portion of the community, is one of the many proofs of the difficulty which attends a government when it is more enlightened than the people it governs. A bill was introduced in the Commons, in the Session of 1753, "which enabled all Jews to prefer bills of naturalization in parliament, without receiving the sacrament, as ordained by statute 7 Jac. I." * It was not a sweeping bill for the naturalization of the whole body of Jews at once. The clamour which arose against this measure was not more illiberal than the arguments by which it was opposed in Parliament. "If the Jews should come," said the city member, sir John Barnard, "to be possessed of a great share of the land of the kingdom, how are we sure that Christianity will continue to be the fashionable religion?" But the worthy merchant delivered a sentiment which would come more home to his fellow-citizens: To put Jews, or any other foreigners, upon an equal footing with natives, would be only to take the bread out of the mouths of our own people, without adding anything to the national commerce. To naturalize Jews, said another member, was to rob Christians of their birthright. To allow Jews, said another, to purchase and hold land estates, was to give the lie to all the prophecies of the New Testament: they are to remain without any fixed habitation until they acknowledge Christ to be the Messiah. The Bill was passed in the Commons by a majority of forty-one. In the Lords it was also carried, and received the support of many bishops. The prelates who had thus the courage to advocate this truly Christian measure were libelled by pamphlets and hooted by mobs. The duke of Newcastle was so terrified by this outburst of popular ignorance, that on the opening of the next Session of Parliament he moved for the repeal of the obnoxious Statute. The cowardice of the government resulted from the dread of the effects of an honest perseverance, if the prevailing cry of "No Jews" should be raised against their candidates in the elections for a new Parliament that would take place in 1754.

The Marriage Act of 1753 was almost as unpopular as the Act for Jewish Naturalization. The bill introduced by the chancellor, lord Hardwicke, required that a marriage should be preceded by the publication of banns in a parish church, and that the marriage should be there celebrated; that a licence might be granted for a marriage to take place also in a parish church, but with the consent of parent or guardian if granted to a minor, or minors; that special licences might, as previously, be granted by the archbishop of a diocese. The proposed measure passed the Peers; but in the Commons it was resisted with a violence which is amusing to look back upon. Mr. Fox, who had clandestinely married the daughter of the duke of Richmond, was amongst the most strenuous of its opponents. It was carried, however, by a large majority. Goldsmith, who published his History of England in 1771, sums up, with much gravity, his belief in the injurious consequences to society which this measure had produced: "The poor, by being prevented from

* Blackstone—Kerr's edit., vol. i. p. 377.

making alliances with the rich, have left wealth to flow in its ancient channel, and thus to accumulate, contrary to the interests of the state. It has been found to impede marriage, by clogging it with unnecessary ceremonies. Some have affirmed that lewdness and debauchery have become more frequent since the enactment of this law; and it is believed that the numbers of the people are upon the decline." Goldsmith had no foundation for his assertion that the law had been found to impede marriage. "The number of marriages before the Act of 1753 is not known. Since the Act came into operation the registers of marriage have been preserved in England, and show an increase from 50,972 in the year 1756, to 63,310 in 1764."* One thriving occupation was seriously damaged by the new Marriage Act; and we do not find that any compensation was voted to the sufferers. Mr. Robert Nugent, one of the parliamentary orators against the Act, said, "How fond our people are of private marriages, and of saving a little money, we may be convinced of by the multitude of marriages at Keith's chapel, compared with the number at any parish church." The reverend Alexander Keith originally officiated in May Fair; but being excommunicated, and committed to the Fleet, he continued to carry on the old trade by the agency of curates. According to Mr. Nugent, "at Keith's chapel there have been six thousand married in a year." Keith published a pamphlet during the progress of the Bill, in which he said that the pure design of the measure was to suppress his chapel—a very worthy design, however Mr. Nugent might approve of, the celerity and cheapness of Keith's ceremonials. May Fair was the fashionable "marriage shop;" but the Fleet prison had the advantage of being open to the humblest seekers of conjugal happiness. Keith generously records of this rival establishment, "I have often heard a Fleet parson say, that many have come to be married when they have had but half-a-crown in their pockets, and sixpence to buy a pot of beer, and for which they have pawned some of their clothes." The motto which worthy Mr. Keith affixed to his pamphlet was "Happy is the wooing that is not long a-doing;" and he avers that of the many thousands he had married, the generality had been acquainted not more than a week, some only a day, or half a day.†

The Marriage Act of 1753 has been justly regarded as the great step in the improvement of the conjugal relations of the people of England, high and low. Marriage was to become a solemn contract, in every case; not to be rushed upon without deliberation; not to be ratified without witnesses and public record. Like every other improvement in manners, the social tendency had preceded the legislative action to some limited extent; and then the legal reform hastened on the social amelioration. To the great change in the family relations of this country, of which the Marriage Act was an exponent as well as a cause, has been attributed the wondrous growth of the population in the short space of one century. A minister of state, gifted with prophetic power, has been imagined thus to address the people of Great Britain, in 1751: "These islands, and Ireland, are occupied by the men of many separate states that are now happily united. After the settlement on the land of tribes, fleets, and armies of Celts, of Saxons, of Danes, and of

* "Census Report," 1851, p. lvii.

† Burn's "Fleet Registers," p. 99.

Normans, and after centuries of patient culture, its fertile soil sustains *seven millions* of people in its whole length from the Isle of Wight to the Shetland Islands. We cannot—for the mighty power is not given us—say, let there be on the European shores of the Atlantic Ocean *three* Great Britains. But the means exist for creating on this land, in less than a hundred years, two more nations, each in number equal to the existing population, and of distributing them over its fields, in cottages, farms, and towns, by the banks of its rivers, and around its immemorial hills: and they will thus be neither separated by larger roads, nor wider seas, but be neighbours, fellow-workers, and fellow-countrymen on the old territory; wielding by machines the forces of nature, that shall serve them with the strength of thousands of horses, on roads and seas,—in mines, manufactories, and ships. Subsistence shall be as abundant as it is now, and luxuries, which are confined to the few, shall be enjoyed by multitudes. The wealth of the country—its stock and its produce—shall increase in a faster ratio than the people. All this shall be accomplished without any miraculous agency, by the progress of society,—by the diffusion of knowledge and morals,—by improvements,—and improvements chiefly in the institution of marriage—'that true source of human offspring,' whence,

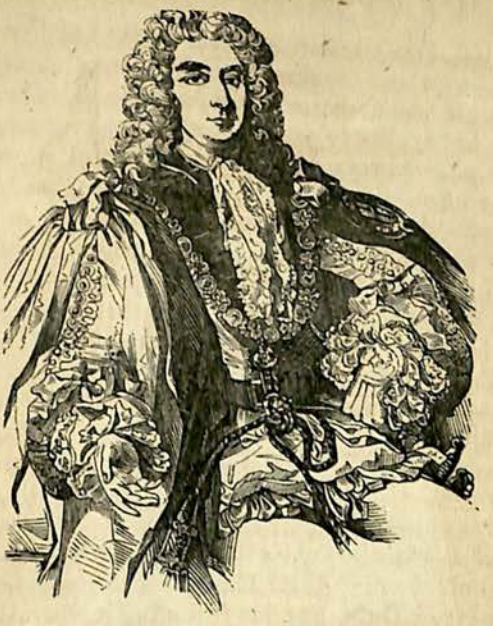
> 'Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure,
> Relations dear, and all the charities
> Of father, son, and brother, first were known.'"*

* "Census Report," 1851, p. lxiii.

Monument to the Stuarts, in St. Peter's, Rome; by Canova.

NOTE ON THE STUART FAMILY.

After Canova's return from England to Rome, in 1816, a monument was erected by him, of which the above is a representation. The three busts represent the three last members of the Stuart family. James Francis Edward, called the elder Pretender, died at Rome in 1765. Charles Edward, who in the latter years of his life took the title of Count of Albany, died on the 31st of January, 1788. His younger brother, Henry Benedict, who became Cardinal York, survived till 1807. He died at Rome, at the age of eighty-two. By his will he directed that the title of Henry IX. should be inscribed on his tomb.



Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle.

CHAPTER XIII.

Death of Mr. Pelham—Newcastle's Ministry—Negotiations with Fox—Pitt passed over—Parliament meets—Fox a Cabinet Minister—Retrospect of Indian Affairs—Clive—Capture and Defence of Arcot—North American Colonies—Contests on the Ohio—Naval Victories—Subsidies agreed upon by the king—Parliament—Great Debate—Single-Speech Hamilton—Pitt—Fox Secretary of State—Pitt dismissed from his office of Paymaster—Earthquake at Lisbon.

THE prime minister, Mr. Pelham, died on the sixth of March, 1754. Horace Walpole, who underrates the public services of this statesman, has this tribute to his moderation and disinterestedness: "Let it be remembered that, though he first taught or experienced universal servility in Englishmen, yet he lived without abusing his power, and died poor." * The king clearly saw what a hubbub of conflicting ambitions would result from the necessity of a new cast of characters for the political drama. "I shall now have no more peace," exclaimed the old man. The duke of Newcastle achieved the great object of his ambition, in succeeding his brother as the head of the Treasury. If experience could give a politician claims to be the ruler of a great nation, and moreover of a nation very difficult to manage, Newcastle had claims above most men. He had been Secretary of State in 1724, under sir Robert Walpole. Carteret had kept him in the same office, though he despised him. His thirst for power was insatiable. He impaired his estate to maintain and

* "Memoirs of Reign of George II." vol. i. p. 371.

extend his parliamentary influence; and thus, whoever was turned out, Newcastle always kept in. Jealous of every man of ability to whom it was necessary to entrust some share of authority, he was always in terror that his subalterns might be called to command, although ever professing his anxiety for their promotion. Always seeking the doubtful support of "troops of friends," he never offended any man by a plain "No," and was often "under the same engagements to at least ten competitors," as lord Waldegrave affirms. But he was in many respects incompetent to manage any public business that required resolution and steadiness; and his ignorance was so manifested in his flighty and inconsistent talk, that what looks like a joke in Smollett's novel has been received as a reliable fact. He had heard that thirty thousand French had marched to Cape Breton. Where did they get transports? was asked. "Transports," cried he, "I tell you they marched by land." "By land to the island of Cape Breton!"—"What! is Cape Breton an island?" It was pointed out in the map; and the delighted minister, hugging his informant, ejaculated, "Egad! I'll go directly, and tell the king that Cape Breton is an island." *

In the House of Lords, the duke's performances are thus described by a just and impartial observer: "Hear him speak in Parliament, his manner is ungraceful, his language barbarous, his reasoning inconclusive. At the same time, he labours through all the confusion of a debate without the least distrust of his own abilities; fights boldly in the dark; never gives up the cause; nor is he ever at a loss either for words or argument." † He has had many successors in this line; but at that period the House of Commons required to be managed by a different species of oratory. Three of the great masters of eloquence were in that House—Pitt, Fox, and Murray. Newcastle offered the seals of Secretary of State, with the lead of the Commons, to Mr. Fox. The offer was fully justified by the ability and the experience of this gentleman, who started in public life—"a needy political adventurer," as he has been called—"at a time when the standard of integrity amongst statesmen was low." ‡ This adherent of sir Robert Walpole would not shrink from any participation in the corruption which gave ascendancy to the duke of Newcastle. Fox desired to be actively engaged in working the parliamentary system. As secretary of war, he had no seat in the Cabinet; no responsibility beyond the routine duties of his office. The prospect of a place which would give him real power raised all the ambition of Fox; who, says lord Hardwicke, "within a few hours of Mr. Pelham's death, had made strong advances to the duke of Newcastle and myself." § But there was a hitch in the completion of the arrangement proposed by Newcastle, which is singularly indicative of the political degradation of those times. Fox agreed to accept the secretaryship and the management of the House of Commons. He very reluctantly gave up the disposal of the secret service money, but he stipulated that he was to know how the bribes were disposed of. The next day, Newcastle receded from this condition. How am I to understand, said Fox, how to talk to members of Parliament, when some have received "gratifications," and others

* "Humphrey Clinker."
† Lord Waldegrave—"Memoirs from 1754 to 1758," p. 12.
‡ "Edinburgh Review," vol. lxxiii. p. 562.
§ "Chatham Correspondence," vol. i. p. 91.

not? His brother, said Newcastle, had never disclosed these things, nor would he. How, asked Fox, are the ministerial boroughs to be filled up? That is all settled, said the duke. Fox rejected the secretaryship; and Newcastle had to look out for a more pliant tool.*

Henry Fox.

The prime minister and the lord-chancellor appear now to have turned their thoughts to Mr. Pitt. There are apologetical letters to him from these great personages, obscurely intimating the difficulties which they had encountered in their abortive endeavours to add his strength to their party. Sir Thomas Robinson, a dull diplomatist, was appointed to the office which Fox had rejected. Pitt was indignant. The humiliation of his proud spirit may be read in this passage of a letter to lord Hardwicke: "The weight of irremoveable royal displeasure is a load too great to move under; it must crush any man; it has sunk and broke me. I succumb; and wish for nothing but a decent and innocent retreat, wherein I may no longer, by continuing in the public stream of promotion, for ever stick fast aground, and afford to the world the ridiculous spectacle of being passed by every boat that navigates the same river." † Pitt found his consolations in a happy marriage with lady Hester Grenville, a sister of earl Temple. The calm of the domestic life of this eminent man presents a refreshing contrast to the agitations of his public career. Whenever we have glimpses of him in his country retreat at Hayes, we see him in the full enjoyment of as much tranquil pleasure as his infirm health would allow;—exercising his taste in improving his little property; reading; educating his children; an exemplary husband and father in a dissipated age. Of those wonderful powers which gave him, without vanity, the right to claim the highest position amongst public men, his contemporaries

* Walpole "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 382. † "Chatham Correspondence," vol i. p. 105.

were fully aware. We cannot judge, as they could, of that eloquence of which the admiration may appear to us overcharged, when we regard the fragmentary state in which it has come down to us. His faults were patent to all the world. They have been much paraded of late years—his haughtiness, his intractability, his self-assertion. But after a century has passed, and all the petty men and paltry interests of the first William Pitt's time are hastening to oblivion, his grand figure stands out,—a giant amongst pigmies. In the words of Frederick of Prussia, England had at length brought forth a man.*

The Newcastle ministry, formed out of very fragile materials, had some months of respite from parliamentary opposition. The septennial term of Parliament was nearly out when Mr. Pelham died. It was dissolved within a month of his decease. The new Parliament met on the 14th of November. Pitt and Fox continued in their subordinate offices—Pitt as Paymaster, Fox as Secretary of War. But they each writhed under the arrangements by which Robinson had taken the management of the House of Commons. "The duke might as well send his jack-boot to lead us," said Pitt to Fox. They could not decently obstruct public business, but they might attack persons. The feeble leader of the Commons had an uneasy time between these two malcontents. "They have already mumbled poor sir Thomas Robinson cruelly," writes Walpole on the 1st of December. But about this time a scene was acted, which startled the House of Commons out of its habitual slumber. An election petition is presented, which the younger Mr. Delaval ridicules; and the House is in fits of laughter about a complaint of bribery and corruption. Pitt is sitting in the gallery. He rushes down, and instantly rises to speak. "Do members laugh on such a subject as bribery? Do we try within the House to diminish our own dignity, when such attacks are made upon it from without?" "At his first two periods he brought the House to a silence and attention that you might have heard a pin drop." † He called upon the Speaker to extend a saving hand to raise the character of the House. "He called on all to assist, or else we should only sit to register the arbitrary edicts of one too powerful a subject." ‡ Newcastle was as much terrified by "this thunderbolt thrown in a sky so long serene," as the audience of Pitt were confounded. The minister contrived, by giving Fox a seat in the Cabinet, to detach him from his concert with Pitt. Pitt felt the desertion; and told Fox that "they were upon different lines." It appears that the devotion of Fox to the will of the duke of Cumberland, "whose soldier Mr. Pitt was not," was an additional cause for this separation of their political action.§ Newcastle had silenced one of his formidable opponents. The other gave him no trouble for the rest of the Session.

Events were maturing at this period which rendered it essentially important that England should have a firm and capable government. On the 25th of March, 1755, the king sent a message to both Houses, to acquaint

* "Il faut avouer que l'Angleterre été long-tems en travail; et qu'elle a beaucoup soufferte pour produire Monsieur Pitt; mais enfin elle est accouchée d'un homme."—"Chatham Correspondence," vol. i. p. 445.

† Fox to Hartington. Appendix to Waldegrave's "Memoirs," p. 54.

‡ Fox and Walpole agree in their account of this outburst.

§ "Grenville Papers," vol. i. p. 144.

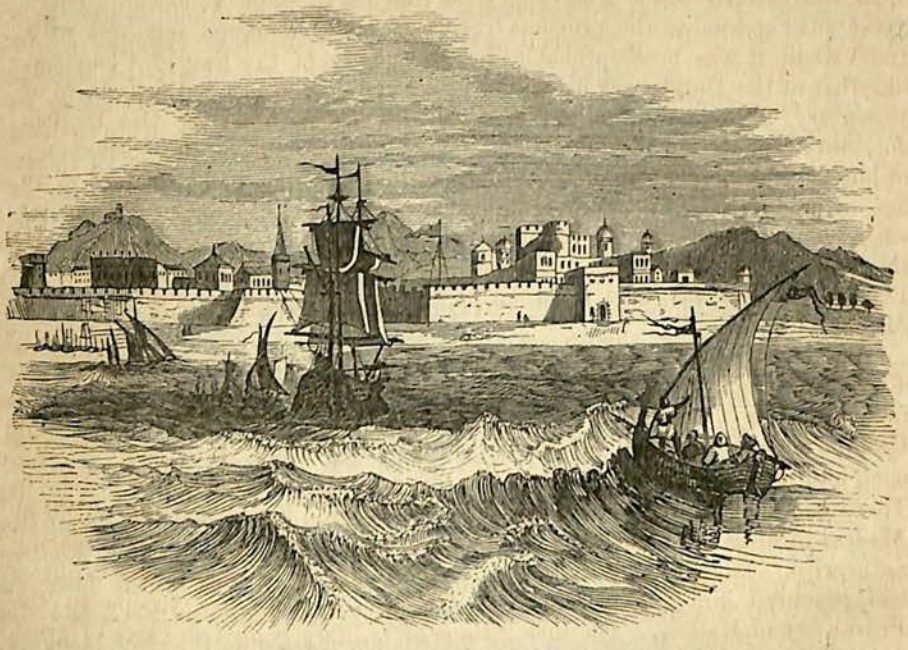
them that "the present situation of affairs makes it necessary to augment his forces by sea and land; and to take such other measures as may best tend to preserve the general peace of Europe, and to secure the just rights and possessions of his crown in America." The danger to America was from France, with whose colonists there had been perpetual disputes as to boundaries and alleged rights, from the period of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. In another part of the world there had been similar disputes, amounting to actual warfare. But the affairs of the East Indies were held to belong rather to a trading Company than to the government; and were therefore allowed to follow their own course, without being regarded as a matter of national policy. It may be useful if, in this place, we take a review of the affairs of India and of those of America, as they affected British interests. We begin with India.

We have incidentally traced, at various periods, the progress of the East India Company, from the first establishment of a factory in Surat, in 1612,* through the various contests between rival interests which ended in the union of two companies in 1702. The Company gradually acquired great wealth and influence; lent large sums of money to the government; and received corresponding charters and privileges. The Mogul power was hastening to decay, whilst its viceroys or subahdars had become independent, or yielded only a very limited submission to a phantom of sovereignty at the court of Delhi. A Settlement had been made at Madras, in 1640. Bombay had been ceded to Charles II. by the Portuguese, as a part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, and had been assigned by the king to the East India Company. Dutch, Portuguese, and English had settled on the river Hooghly, a branch of the Ganges; and after some imprudent contests in the time of Aurungzebe, the English finally obtained a grant of land in 1698, where they built Fort William, and laid the foundation of Calcutta. These were the three Presidencies, each having a President and Council, appointed by the Court of Directors. A formidable rivalry arose, in the time of Louis XIV., in a French East India Company. This Company had a station at Chandernagore on the Hooghly; and another station on the coast of the Carnatic, where their fort was called Pondicherry. The French possessed also the Isle de France (Mauritius), and the Isle de Bourbon.

From the period of the breaking out of the war between England and France, in 1744, to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, the English and French settlers had been in active hostility. The advantages in this warfare were decidedly on the side of the French. La Bourdonnais, the governor of the Presidency of the Isle de France, carried a force of three or four thousand Frenchmen, sepoys, and negro-slaves, in French vessels across the Indian Ocean, and suddenly attacked Madras, in September, 1746. He bombarded Fort St. George for five days, which then capitulated. La Bourdonnais stipulated to restore the settlement to the English Company upon the payment of a ransom. Dupleix, the Governor of the Presidency of Pondicherry, expressed great wrath at the terms of the capitulation. Madras was within his jurisdiction, and he would not ratify the treaty. He looked forward to the expulsion of the English from India; and desired to see their

* *Ante*, vol. iii. p. 346.

thriving settlement of Madras razed to the ground. Dupleix annulled the capitulation, and insolently carried the Governor of Fort St. George, and



Fort St. George, Madras.

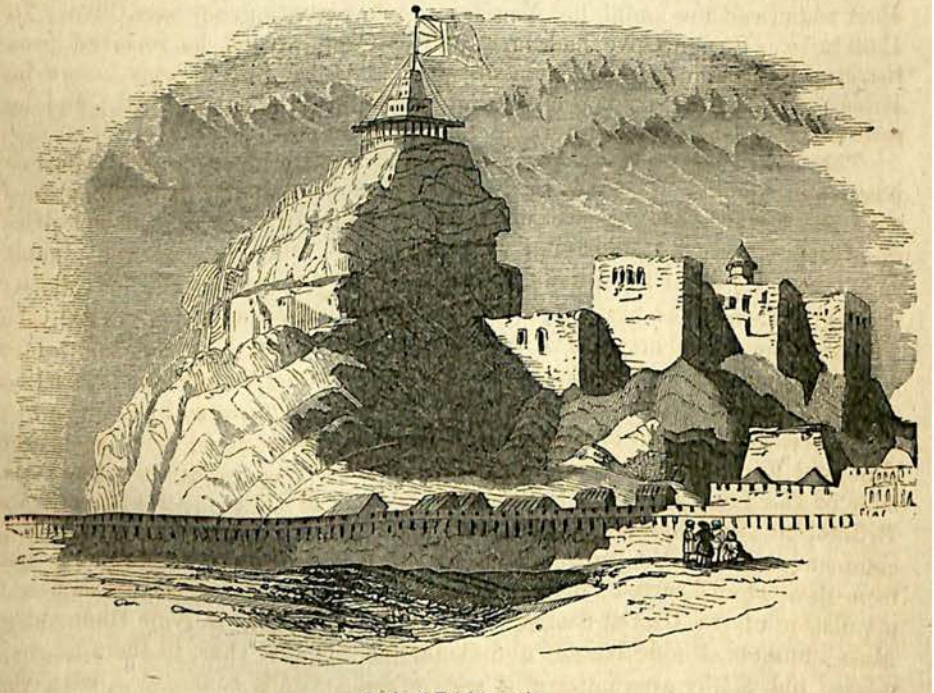
other officers, in triumph to Pondicherry. In the counting-house of a merchant at Madras was a young Englishman, Robert Clive, who at the time of the capitulation was in his twenty-first year. He fled to the settlement of Fort St. David, a dependency of Madras, and there obtained an ensign's commission in the Company's service. The war of the two Companies was becoming serious; and a considerable force was sent from England in 1748. With a larger European army than had appeared in India in modern times, the siege of Pondicherry was undertaken. After a great loss, the English raised the siege. The peace came, and under its conditions Madras was restored. But the English and French, although no longer able to fight as principals, could carry on their hostilities as supporters of rival native princes. Dupleix had more ambitious views than the heads of the English Presidencies, or than the Court of Directors in Leadenhall Street. They looked to the extension and security of trade. The bold Frenchman aimed at empire. The Nizam of the Decean died in 1748. The succession of his son, Nazir Jung, was disputed by a claimant to the throne. In the Carnatic, a province dependent upon the Deccan, the reigning prince was also assailed by a rival. Dupleix gave his well-timed assistance to the two pretenders. In a battle in August, 1749, the Nabob of the Carnatic was slain. His son, Mahomed Ali, fled to Trichinopoly; and Arcot fell into the hands of the Nabob set up by Dupleix. The same success attended the pretender to the throne of the Deccan. Nazir Jung was slain by treachery, as he sat upon his elephant at

the head of his army, looking with contempt upon the few French who were drawn up in battle to oppose him. Dupleix received the new Nizam at Pondicherry, and was declared Governor, under the Mogul, of the country upon the eastern coast, from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin. There never was a period in the previous history of our commercial relations with India when it was more probable that the power of the English Company, like that of the Dutch, was hastening to an end. And yet, within a third of a century, a great orator in the House of Commons took the English dominion over the vast peninsula as a theme for reflection on the inconstancy of human greatness, and the stupendous revolutions that had happened in an age of wonders. "Could it be believed, when I entered into existence, or when you, Mr. Speaker, a younger man, were born, that on this day, in this house, we should be employed in discussing the conduct of those British subjects who had disposed of the power and person of the Great Mogul?" *

The boy who fled from Madras, when Dupleix violated the capitulation of Fort St. George, was destined to lay the foundation of the British Empire in India. In Trichinopoly Mahomed Ali prolonged a feeble resistance to Chunda Sahib and his French allies, in their rapid steps towards the complete dominion of the Carnatic. The last stronghold was invested. There was no force to attempt raising the siege. There was no officer at Madras to head the handful of English and native troops to any such daring enterprise. Ensign Clive had now become Captain Clive, and his abilities had procured him the employment of commissary to the troops in the Presidency of Madras. The inspirations of military genius in cases of great emergency are bold even to rashness. The young captain of twenty-five, who had never seen a field of battle, but who rightly estimated what daring might effect, in the first place, and who knew the possibility of combinations with native powers to secure what daring might win, conceived the plan of attacking Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. A circumstance almost as extraordinary as Clive's bold project is, that the heads of the Presidency listened favourably to his plans, and gave him the command of an expedition consisting of three hundred Sepoys, and two hundred Europeans. He had eight officers under him, four of whom were factors of the Company. Clive and his little band marched up to the gates of Arcot, whilst a violent storm terrified the superstitious natives who composed the garrison. He entered the city of a hundred thousand people without striking a blow. His success induced the besiegers of Trichinopoly to detach a large force, which finally amounted to ten thousand men, to attack the ruinous fort at Arcot in which Clive had established his small garrison. The siege went on, week after week, with little hope of succour from the Company's settlements of Madras and St. David's, where scarcely troops enough were left for their own defence. But Clive thought of a wavering Mahratta chief, who might become his ally. He put himself in communication with Morari Row, who was encamped on the hills of Mysore. Their captain's courage and sagacity inspired all around him with confidence. The garrison began to feel the assaults of hunger. His sepoys begged, not for more food, but that they, who could subsist on

* Burke's Speech on Fox's India Bill, December 1, 1783.

scantier fare than the Europeans, might have the liquid in which the rice was boiled, whilst their fellow-sufferers ate the grain which they more needed. The Mahratta chief, the head of a tribe ever conspicuous for bravery, was touched with the resolution by which Arcot was defended. He never thought before, he said, that the English could fight, but now he would help them. Rajah Sahib, who commanded the besiegers, offered Clive a large bribe if he would surrender; but threatened inevitable death to the commander and his garrison, if they should compel him to take the fort by storm. Clive sent him a message of defiance. The 14th of November, the fifteenth day of the siege, was the great festival of Hossein, when all true believers are assured that they who died on this day, battling against the infidels, would be forgiven all the sins of their lives, and enter upon every joy of the Mohammedan paradise. Fired with superstition, and not less with stimulating drinks, crowds rushed to the assault of Arcot. Elephants with plates of iron on their foreheads were driven against the gates. Terrified by the musketry from the walls, they turned upon the multitudes that followed them, and trampled them down. Clive was the soul of the defence. He even took the management himself of a piece of artillery, and destroyed the assailants who were crossing the ditch on a raft. In an hour the attack was at an end. At two o'clock the next morning the besiegers were no more seen.



Rock of Trichinopoly.

The wonderful success of the inexperienced captain inspired a confidence in Madras that was justified by the result. Large reinforcements were sent to him; and he went forth to attack Rajah Sahib in the open field. The

victory of Arnee opened the way to more successes. The contest was prolonged by Rajah Sahib, who marched upon Madras in January, 1752, and committed some ravages. But Clive was at hand; and again he won a great victory. Trichinopoly was feebly defended, although the siege had now become a mere blockade. Clive was appointed to head a new expedition to raise the siege; but his senior officer, major Lawrence, having arrived from England, took the command. The two acted together without jealousy. The besiegers of Trichinopoly capitulated; and Chunda Sahib was put to death by the Mahrattas. But Dupleix continued to struggle against the powerful rivals whom he thought to have swept from the Indian territory. Clive, after less important successes, found his health fail. He returned to England, with the lady he had married, a sister of Maskelyne, the eminent astronomer. Honours awaited him; and he had acquired a large amount of prize money. His presence in India had become unnecessary; for in 1754, under the direction of English and French commissioners, hostilities had been suspended; and it was agreed that the rival companies, and the subjects of both nations, should in future abstain from interference in the affairs of the native princes. It was a vain stipulation; for it was perfectly clear that upon the renewal of a European war, hostilities, whether as principals or auxiliaries, would be renewed by the English and French in India. The man upon whom reliance could be placed in such a contingency was Clive. In 1755 he was appointed governor of Fort St. David; and he received from the king the commission of lieutenant-colonel in the British army before he sailed for India. Dupleix had been superseded by his government; and he returned to France, to be neglected, and to die in poverty.

The North American colonies of Great Britain were looked upon as possessions to be defended at all cost from foreign assault. Any invasion of their territorial limits was regarded as a just cause of hostility. Any settlement near their boundaries was viewed with intense jealousy. Their inhabitants were, for the most part, of the same race as the English nation; speaking the same language; governed by laws nearly identical; imbued with the same love of liberty. The original settlers of the New England States had left their own land, to found communities where freedom and toleration might flourish in a more congenial region than that governed by the Stuarts. An American historian has shown, by minute investigations, that twenty-one thousand Englishmen had settled in these New England States before the time of the Long Parliament; that the number of subsequent settlers from Britain, or any other part of Europe, after 1640, to some time beyond the commencement of the present century, was very inconsiderable; and that from these stout-hearted Puritans are descended one-third of the present vast population of the United States.* Many of the people of New Hampshire, Massachussets, Rhode Island, and Connecticut†, had thus, in their English origin, old family associations, if not existing family connexions, with the parent country. Their commercial intercourse kept up amongst all classes a mutual interest in a common prosperity. Of the Middle States, Pennsylvania‡ and Maryland had the same English origin, and were bound to England by

* Palfrey—"History of New England during the Stuart Dynasty."—Boston, 1858.

† Maine and Vermont were not then separate states.

‡ Delaware was originally part of Pennsylvania.

the same ties. New York had been settled by the Dutch, and New Jersey by Danes and Swedes; but each of these states had been ceded to England before the close of the seventeenth century. Of the Southern States, Virginia was the earliest English settlement, as Georgia was the latest. The two Carolinas were settled in the middle of the seventeenth century.* These were the Colonial possessions on the North American continent which the English government had to defend and protect at the period when the peace, or rather armistice, of Aix-la-Chapelle was likely to be broken. Though all the Colonists had occasional causes of complaint, they showed no doubtful allegiance to the British crown. Nova Scotia, or Acadia as it was called by the French, who had been several times its masters, was held by Britain after 1711. In 1749, a large grant was made by Parliament for the encouragement therein of a new settlement. Four thousand emigrants, with their families, established themselves in the province; and by them was Halifax founded. This settlement was made in the belief that France was again looking to the possession of Nova Scotia; and that those of the French race who occupied considerable portions of the territory, and took the name of Neutrals, would, with the aid of the Indians, overpower the small British garrison kept at the port of Annapolis-Royal. New Brunswick, ceded at the peace of Utrecht by France, was a mere fishing station. Newfoundland was colonized by England under a charter of 1610. Numerous British settlements were made on its east coast; and the French had their settlement of Placentia on the south. By the treaty of Utrecht the island was ceded to Great Britain, but a limited right of fishery was reserved to the French. Here, therefore, was a cause of perpetual dispute. Prince Edward Island received its present name in honour of the father of queen Victoria. Before 1799 it was called St. John's Island. We may here add that, at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, the West Indian possessions of Great Britain were the islands of Antigua, Barbadoes, Jamaica, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitt's, Tortola and Anguilla, Bahamas, Bermudas, Honduras. The East India Company possessed St. Helena at this period; and in Africa there was a settlement in Gambia, and there were some forts on the Gold Coast.

The possession of Canada by France was a perpetual source of disquiet to the British colonists of New England, and of Virginia and Pennsylvania. The French Canadian settlers had penetrated to the Ohio, and had there built a fort which they named Duquesne. On the Ohio, the Virginians had also a fort called Block's Town. The settlement of Virginia, at this period, extended about two hundred miles from the sea-coast, and spread over about one-third of the state, according to its present limits. Its population was about two hundred thousand, of whom more than a fourth were slaves. The territory then unoccupied by the descendants of the colonists of the reign of James I. was the hunting-ground of Indians; and the Virginians upon the Ohio were traders in skins. The French, also, were seeking a participation in that commerce which quickly perishes, as the extension of civilization creates more profitable industries. The old families of Virginia were engaged in far more lucrative and less adventurous occupations than in exchanges with the

* Florida was a Spanish possession till 1763. Of the Western States, Louisiana and Missouri were French The other Western States, now so populous, were deserts, where one Indian tribe would occup a hundred square miles.

Indians. They were cultivating tobacco upon every estate. Their tobacco fields were the Potosi of the first settlers of North America. Tobacco was their sole article of export. It brought them all the comforts and luxuries which England and Scotland could supply. It was the general measure of value, and the principal currency. Public officers, ministers of the church, had their salaries paid at so many annual pounds of tobacco. In 1758 the colony exported seventy thousand hogsheads of the precious weed, equivalent to seventy millions of pounds. The price was ten times higher than the present rate. Virginia was thriving. Her planters lived luxuriously on their estates, surrounded by their slaves, and affecting the aristocratic habits of grand old English families, from which many of them claimed to have sprung. Hospitable they were to profusion.* In such a state of society was George Washington born; who, in 1754, then a young man of twenty-two, was fighting for the integrity of the colonial territory against the aggressions of the French. At the age of nineteen, he became an adjutant-general, having the rank of major, and taking the direction of one of the military districts into which the province of Virginia was divided, for the purpose of resisting the encroachments of the French and the depredations of the Indians. These divisions were reduced to four, in 1752, and the young major had the command of the northern division. In the capacity of commissioner in 1753, he went into the territory occupied by the French, to negociate with their commander. He had no success in his diplomacy; but he brought back with him a plan of the fort which the French had constructed in the neighbourhood of Lake Erie. He had been employed, when at the age of sixteen, as a public surveyor, and in the wild district of the Alleghanies had acquired that practical mode of viewing large tracts of country which was of essential importance to him in his future great career. In 1754, under the command of an English officer, colonel Fry, he was sent to occupy the British posts of the Ohio, in the presence of a French force. He defeated a detachment of the enemy, but was finally compelled to capitulate to superior numbers, who surrounded his entrenched fort. He was allowed to retreat with his men, with what are termed military honours. The feuds of the two nations were the subject of official discussions in Paris; but it was clear that this sort of half-warfare in America could not long endure.

In January, 1755, although no formal declarations of hostilities had taken place, general Braddock, with a body of English troops, was sent to the succour of the colonists in Virginia. His campaign was a most unfortunate one. Braddock was a commander of the old routine cast, who fancied that well-dressed and well-equipped soldiers, who could go through all the manœuvres of the Prussian drill, were sure to be victorious over any number of irregular troops. He marched against the French fort on the Ohio, taking Washington with him, although he despised the American militia and their officers. What the Highlanders were to Cope and Hawley, the Indians were to Braddock. In a valley between two woods, within ten miles of Fort Duquesne—utterly neglecting all precautions against surprise—the English general fell into an ambuscade of Indians. A few French only encountered him; but the unerring marksmen of the woods picked off his officers; and

* See Tucker's "Life of Jefferson," chapter i.

Braddock himself, fighting with desperate courage, was mortally wounded. Half his troops fled in confusion, abandoning their artillery. The other half were killed or wounded; and the terrible Indian scalping-knife left few to tell the tale of this fatal reverse.*

Whilst British and French were fighting in the waste regions of North America, their ships were engaged in the Atlantic. Admiral Boscawen, with eleven ships of the line, had been sent to watch a French expedition that had sailed from Brest. Off Newfoundland the squadrons met in a fog. Captain Howe, having received a signal to engage, took two of the French vessels. The others got into Louisbourg, the fortified harbour of Cape Breton. In the autumn of 1755, sir Edward Hawke, upon a sudden resolve of the government, made some captures of French merchantmen in the Channel. Of the Regency,—for the king had gone to Hanover,—some were inclined for immediate hostilities, and some for delaying them. The time had passed for any sudden and decisive blow; whilst the ministers were trembling at their own responsibility, afraid to declare war, and not taking sincere and active measures to preserve peace.

After the Session had been terminated in April, 1755, the king, in opposition to a strong parliamentary feeling, had set out for Germany. He had left the Regency to take care of the great national interests of Britain, whilst he looked after the usual means of fencing round his own Hanover by subsidizing auxiliary powers. He was now in dread of Prussia; and to counteract the growing strength of Frederick II., Russia was to receive a subsidy as well as the elector of Hesse, and smaller potentates. "A factory was opened at Herrenhausen, where every prince that could muster and clothe a regiment might traffic with it to advantage."† With the elector of Hesse, the king, without the approval of his ministers at home, signed a contract for a large annual payment by England, with an additional stipulation for paying levy money for every Hessian soldier. Fox expressed himself in private against all subsidies. Legge, the chancellor of the Exchequer, took a bolder step. The king had sent home the treaty with Hesse. The members of the Council of Regency had signed it, as a matter of course. Legge refused his signature to the Treasury warrants which were to open the public purse. Newcastle was terrified, and applied to Pitt to throw his shield over him, offering him a seat in the Cabinet if he would support the subsidies. Doddington relates what Pitt told him of his interview with the duke. He implored his grace not to complete the ruin which the king had nearly brought upon himself by his journey to Hanover. "A king abroad at this time, without one man about him that has one English sentiment, and to bring home a whole set of subsidies!" The duke hinted that Pitt's support might be rewarded with the seals of Secretary of State. He replied that he did not want the office. The duke's system of carrying on business in the House of Commons would not do. "There must be men of efficiency and authority in the House; a Secretary, and a Chancellor of the Exchequer at least, who should have access to the Crown; habitual, frequent, familiar access, he meant, that they might

* The incidents of this little war on the Ohio have been told by Mr. Thackeray, in his "Virginians," with a spirit and fidelity which show how Fiction may borrow interest from History without compromising her truth.

† Walpole—"Memoirs of George II." vol. ii. p. 35.

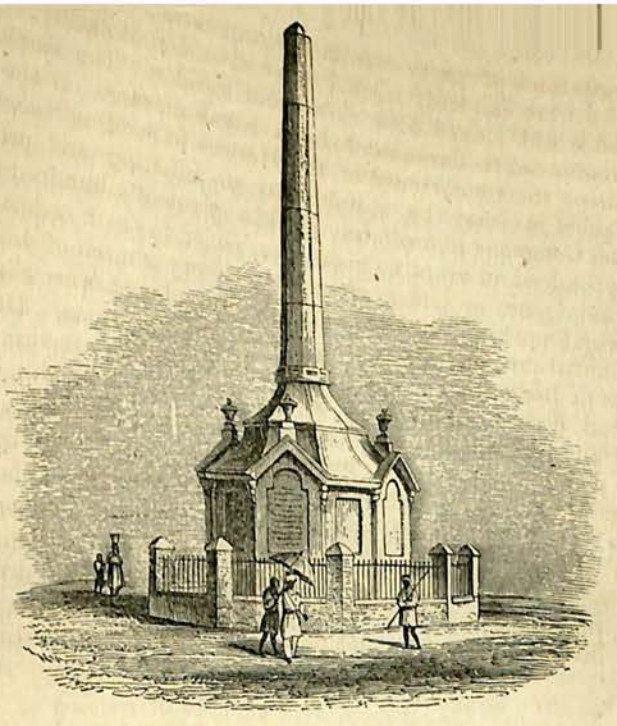
tell their own story, to do themselves and their friends justice, and not be the victims of a whisper." Pitt stoutly argued against the system of subsidies. Newcastle talked of the king's honour being engaged to Hesse and to Russia. Let his majesty give, said Pitt, a hundred thousand to one, and a hundred and fifty thousand to the other, out of the fifteen millions he had saved, to be let off these bad bargains.* Fox was more tractable than his rival. He saw promotion at hand, whatever might be his abstract dislike to subsidies, if he would be prudent.

The Parliament met on the 13th of November. The king announced the increase of the naval and land forces, and mentioned the treaties he had concluded with Russia and Hesse. In the Address of each House especial reference was made to Hanover. The Address of the Commons said, "We think ourselves bound in justice and gratitude to assist his majesty against insults and attacks that may be made upon any of his majesty's dominions, though not belonging to the Crown of Great Britain." An amendment to omit such a pledge was moved in the Lords by earl Temple, Pitt's brother-in-law. A similar amendment was proposed in the Commons. These were of course rejected; but they gave occasion to two remarkable orations. William Gerard Hamilton, a young member, made his maiden speech in favour of the original Address—that one harangue, antithetical and familiar, argumentative and declamatory, which handed him down to after times as "Single-speech Hamilton." Pitt made a speech on that famous battle night, of which no fragment remains to us but one which has been preserved by Walpole. The younger Pitt said he would prefer the recovery of a speech of lord Bolingbroke to the restoration of the lost books of Livy or Tacitus. The contemporary accounts of his father's speeches would almost induce a similar wish, even if the recovery were confined to this effort of the 13th of November. Walpole in a letter of the 15th of November to Conway, after rapturously noticing Hamilton's success, says, "You will ask what could be beyond this? Nothing, but what was beyond what ever was, and that was Pitt. He spoke at past one, for an hour and thirty-five minutes. 'There was more humour, wit, vivacity, finer language, more boldness, in short more astonishing perfections, than even you, who are used to him, can conceive." In a letter of the following day to Bentley, Walpole gives the fragment which, with similar detached passages of various other speeches, enable us to form some idea of the lustre which a rich imagination gave to Pitt's eloquence. "The most admired passage was a comparison he drew of the two parts of the new administration." By the new administration Walpole means the coalition between Fox and Newcastle. "It is," said Pitt, "as the conflux of the Rhone and the Saone, which I remember to have seen at Lyons; the latter a gentle, feeble, languid stream, languid but not deep; the other a boisterous and overbearing torrent. But they join at last, and long may they continue united, to the comfort of each other, and to the glory, honour, and happiness of this nation." The next morning Fox received the seals of Secretary of State, as the reward for his support of the ministerial Address. Pitt, on the 20th of November, was dismissed from his office of Paymaster; and Legge and George Grenville were also superseded.

* Doddington's "Diary," Sept. 3.

From the agitations of party,—from the impending calamities of war,—the minds of men were suddenly turned to a convulsion of nature, upon which all the civilized world looked with dread and wonder. The earthquake at Lisbon was announced to Parliament by a royal message on the 28th of November, desiring the concurrence of the Houses in sending "such speedy and effectual relief as may be suitable to so afflicting and pressing an exigency." The Commons immediately voted a grant of a hundred thousand pounds. It was indeed an event to make men pause in their ordinary career of thoughtless indulgence or selfish ambition. Every church of Lisbon was crowded with worshippers on All Saints Day; and almost every church was shaken to its foundations, and thousands perished in the ruins. One fourth of all the houses in Lisbon fell. The pier of the Tagus was overthrown, with hundreds who had fled to the banks of the river to avoid the falling houses. Fires broke out all over the devoted town. The great granaries were consumed, and the people were without bread. Robbers came forth from their dens, and murdered those who clung to their moveable property. The English people met this terrible infliction with the generous relief and sympathy that they have always extended to the sorrows of other nations. They bethought themselves, for a while, of their own sins, which might draw down the vengeance of Heaven. The fashionable world took the necessity of repentance into its earnest consideration, and resolved—to abolish Masquerades.

Earthquake at Lisbon.—Ruins of St. Paul's. From a print of 1757.



Monument on the Site of the Black Hole, Calcutta.

CHAPTER XIV.

Dread of invasion—Defence of the country by foreign troops—French fleet at Minorca—Admiral Byng—Surrender of St. Philip, in Minorca—Popular rage against Byng—Commencement of the Seven Years' War—Successes of Frederick of Prussia—Household of George, prince of Wales—Changes of Ministry—Newcastle retires—Administration of the duke of Devonshire and Mr. Pitt—Altered tone of the king's speech—Militia Bill—Foreign troops sent home—Subsidy to the king of Prussia—Trial of Byng—His execution—Pitt and Legge dismissed from their employments—National feeling—Coalition of Newcastle and Pitt—Affairs of India—Black Hole at Calcutta—Surajah Dowlah occupies Calcutta—It is retaken by Clive and Watson—The battle of Plassey—Surajah Dowlah deposed and killed—Meer Jaffier Subahdar of Bengal—Establishment of the British ascendancy in India.

In a fortnight after his dismissal from office, Pitt, from his place in parliament, sent forth a voice whose echoes would be heard throughout the land. The nation was dreading a French invasion—sullenly trembling at the possible consequences of an assault upon the capital, and without confidence in the government to which the public defence was entrusted. Pitt seconded the motion of the Secretary of War, for an army of thirty-four thousand men being an increase of fifteen thousand. He had wanted even a larger increase in the previous year. The king's speech of the preceding Session had lulled the nation into a fallacious dream of repose. "He wanted to call this country out of that enervate state, that twenty thousand men from France could shake it. The maxims of our government were degenerated, not our natives."

An opinion had gone forth, which in 1757 was embodied in a book of extraordinary popularity, alluded to by Cowper:—

"The inestimable Estimate of Brown
Rose like a paper-kite, and charm'd the town." *

The nation was told, "We are rolling to the brink of a precipice that must destroy us." † Effeminacy, Vanity, Luxury, Rapacity, universally prevailed. Religion was despised. The principle of honour was lost or totally corrupted. The national capacity was lowered. The national spirit of defence was impaired. There were no better fighting men upon earth than the common people of England; but in the better sort there was "such a general defect in the spirit of defence as would alarm any people who were not lost to all sense of danger." ‡ The danger was from an outward enemy. "The French, in land armies, are far our superiors. They are making large and dreadful strides towards us in naval power. . . . . Should the French possess themselves of North America, what eye can be so weak as not to see the consequence? Must not a naval power come down upon us, equal, if not superior, to our own?" § A diminished population had accompanied increasing commerce. Excess of trade and overflow of wealth had impaired our bodily strength. || It is easy to detect the fallacies of this course of reasoning; but there can be little doubt that the nation required to be roused from its lethargy. Happily there was a man capable of rousing it. Pitt, in his speech of the 5th of December, had expressed his earnest wish to "see that breed restored, which under our old principles had carried our glory so high." The king, on the 23rd of March, announced the probability of an invasion, and informed the Houses that he had made a requisition for a body of Hessian troops, in pursuance of the treaty recently concluded. Both Houses acknowledged with gratitude his majesty's care for the national defence. On the 29th of March, Mr. Fox moved, "that an humble Address be presented to his majesty, that, for the more effectual defence of this island, and for the better security of the religion and liberties of his subjects, against the threatened attacks by a foreign enemy, he would be graciously pleased to order twelve battalions of his electoral troops, together with the usual detachment of artillery, to be forthwith brought into this kingdom." The Address was voted by the large ministerial majority; but not without strong dissatisfaction. That State alone, exclaimed Pitt, is a sovereign State, "quis suis stat viribus, non alieno pendet arbitrio"—which stands by its own strength, not by the help of another country.

The Willing Recruit of 1756. (Hogarth.)

* "Table Talk."
† "Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times," ed. 1758, p. 15.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 89. § *Ibid.*, p. 144. || *Ibid*, p. 189.

The Hanoverians and Hessians came, and were encamped in various parts of the kingdom. Yet the common people of England were ready to deserve the eulogium of Brown as to their capacity for fighting. They enlisted freely, when called upon. Hogarth's print of the recruit who wanted to add "a cubit to his stature" is an evidence of this disposition.

For half a century Great Britain had held possession of the island of Minorca, which general Stanhope and admiral Leake had conquered during the palmy time of the War of the Succession. Port-Mahon, the best harbour of the Mediterranean, was thought a more important British possession even than Gibraltar. The English ministers had received intimation very early in the spring of 1756, that a formidable expedition was in preparation at Toulon, not provisioned for a long voyage. They shut their eyes to the exposed state of the island that lay within a few days' sail from the shores of Provence. The defence of Port-Mahon was entrusted to a small garrison, commanded by an aged and infirm general. The government was at last alarmed. They dispatched admiral Byng (son of lord Torrington, the admiral Byng of queen Anne's time,) with ten ships, from Spithead, on the 7th of April. On the 10th of April, the French fleet, of twelve ships of the line, sailed from Toulon, with transports, having sixteen thousand troops on board. They were off the coast of Minorca on the 18th, and began to disembark at the port of Ciudadella. The only chance of defence against such an armament was in the strong castle of St. Philip. General Blakeney got together between two and three thousand troops, the officers of the English regiments being, for the most part, absent; and he prepared for resistance. The natural and artificial strength of the fortress prevented the French from proceeding in the siege without much cautious delay. On the 19th of May admiral Byng's fleet, having been joined by two more men-of-war, arrived within view of St. Philip, whilst the batteries of the French were carrying on their fire against the fort, where the flag of England was still flying. Byng, who had touched at Gibraltar, had written home to explain that he could obtain no necessaries at that station; that the place was so neglected that he was unable to clean the foul ships with which he had sailed from England; and that if he had been sent earlier he might have been able to have prevented the landing of the French in Minorca, whereas it was now very doubtful whether any good could arise from an attempt to reinforce the garrison. This was something like an anticipation of failure, with an indication of the neglect which made success difficult. On the 21st of May, De la Galissonnière, the French admiral, bore down upon the British fleet. Byng did not engage with that alacrity which the naval traditions of our country point out as the first duty of an admiral, even with a doubtful advantage. Rear-admiral West, on the contrary, with his portion of the squadron, had attacked with impetuosity, and had driven some of the French vessels out of their line of battle. Byng was scarcely engaged, except at the beginning of the action, when his own ship, being damaged in the rigging, became for a short time unmanageable. He hesitated about advancing, for fear of breaking his line. De la Galissonnière leisurely retired. Byng called a council of war; represented that he was inferior to the enemy in number of men and weight of metal, and proposed to return to Gibraltar. The council agreed to the proposal. The admiral sent home his dispatches; and on the 16th of June, sir Edward Hawke and admiral Saunders were ordered to supersede

Byng and his second in command. The unfortunate admiral was taken home under arrest; and was committed as a prisoner to an apartment in Greenwich Hospital. Admiral West was received with favour at St. James's. After a defence as resolute as it was possible to make against an overwhelming force, St. Philip was surrendered, after an assault on the 27th of June headed by the duke de Richelieu. The garrison marched out with the honours of war, and were conveyed to Gibraltar. A tempest of popular fury had arisen, such as had rarely been witnessed in England. The news of Byng's return to Gibraltar, without having attempted to relieve the garrison in St. Philip, first came to London through the French admiral's dispatch to his government. "It is necessary," says Walpole, "to be well acquainted with the disposition of a free, proud, fickle, and violent people, before one can conceive the indignation occasioned by this intelligence."* But when Byng's own dispatch came, in which he assumed the triumphant tone of a man who had done his duty, his effigy was burnt in all the great towns. Every ballad-singer had a ditty in which he was execrated. When he arrived at Portsmouth he was saved with difficulty from being torn in pieces by the mob. A chap-book related "A Rueful Story, by a broken-hearted sailor." A coarse print exhibited Byng hanging in chains. A medal was struck, having a figure of the admiral, with the inscription, "Was Minorca sold for French gold?" Addresses went up to the throne from London, and from almost every county and city, calling for inquiry and signal punishment. To the Address of the City, the king was made to pledge his royal word that he would save no delinquent from justice. Newcastle, "with a volubility of timorous folly, when a deputation from the City had made representations to him against the admiral, blurted out, 'Oh! indeed he shall be tried immediately—he shall be hanged directly.'"† The fate of the unhappy man was not determined until the spring of the following year.

In closing the Session of Parliament on the 27th of May, the king announced that the injuries his subjects had sustained from the French having been followed by the invasion of Minorca, which had been guaranteed to the British crown by all the great powers of Europe, he had formally declared war against France. Important changes had taken place since, in the previous summer, the king had negotiated for a subsidy to Russia, to protect his Hanoverian possessions against the probable attacks of Prussia. George II. and Frederick II. were not exactly fitted for any cordial friendship. They had been fighting on opposite sides for eight years in the war of the Austrian Succession. George took the side of Maria Theresa, and—to use the words of Mr. Carlyle—"needed to begin by assuring his parliament and newspapers, profoundly dark on the matter, that Frederick was a robber and villain for taking the other side."‡ Frederick cared little for what parliaments or newspapers might say of him. Perhaps to those who have followed his last historian in tracing the origin of the claims upon Silesia, he may be thought to have had justice upon his side—that sort of justice which encourages sovereigns to imperil the happiness of millions for the assertion of personal rights. The war of the Succession came to an end, and Frederick got Silesia

* "Memoirs of the Reign of George II.," vol. ii. p. 215. † *Ibid.*, p. 230.
‡ "Friedrich II.," vol. i. p. 15.

guaranteed to him. Beyond the public differences of George and Frederick, the Prussian king had indulged his unhappy talent of sarcasm; and his sharp sayings about his Britannic majesty were not easily to be forgiven. But the time was come when they became politically necessary to each other. A treaty was concluded at Westminster, on the 16th January, 1756, by which the king of Great Britain and the king of Prussia, fearing that the peace of Europe might be disturbed in consequence of the disputes in America, entered upon a convention of neutrality, by which they were each bound not to suffer any foreign troops to enter Germany, and their several dominions were reciprocally guaranteed. The scheme of subsidising Russia was thus renounced. Some old money differences were at the same time adjusted. This treaty was not submitted to Parliament till the close of 1756. In the meantime the terrible contest known as the Seven Years' War had commenced. The loss of Silesia was the one great grief of Maria Theresa. From the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle her dominant thought, which almost became a ruling passion, was the hope of its recovery. If France could be induced to take part with Austria,—if each could forget the hatreds of two centuries,—Prussia would return to her old insignificance in the affairs of Europe. The ridicule which king George felt it politic to overlook in his satirical nephew, rankled in the heart of the real ruler of France, Madame de Pompadour. Louis XV. had himself writhed under this hornet's sting. The profligate Bourbon resolved to make common cause with Maria Theresa. The Czarina Elizabeth of Russia joined the coalition, with a similar sense of personal affronts. Augustus, king of Poland and elector of Saxony, and the king of Sweden, entered into the same concert. The king of Prussia saw that his enemies were gathering on every side, and that his sole friend was England.

Frederick, at the commencement of the Seven Years' War, was in his forty-fourth year. He had enjoyed ten years of repose since the peace of Dresden in 1746, during which period, by his wisdom as a financier, and his strictness as a military disciplinarian, he was prepared to go to war with a full treasury and a well trained army. His will was law amongst his five millions of subjects; and, except in his military code, he was a merciful and just despot. Arbitrary sovereigns, with eager troops waiting upon their nod, are not retarded in their movements by the hesitations of counsellors, or the scruples of parliaments. Sir Andrew Mitchell, the English envoy at Berlin, was endeavouring to dissuade Frederick from immediate hostilities. "What, sir!" exclaimed the king. "What do you see in my face? Was my nose made, do you think, to receive fillips?" * Frederick had demanded an explanation of her views from the empress of Austria, and had received no specific answer. He would not receive an answer, he had said, "in the style of an oracle." He was perfectly informed of the confederacy against himself, and he resolved to anticipate its hostile movements. Towards the end of August, he whispered Mitchell, who was at a court supper, to come to him at three o'clock the next morning. Frederick carried the envoy to his camp, and told him, "there were a hundred thousand men setting out that instant, they knew not whither; and bade him write to his master, that he was going to defend his majesty's dominions and his own." † To the most

* "Frederick the Great and his Times," edited by Thomas Campbell, vol. ii. p. 426.

† Walpole—"Memoirs of George II.," vol. ii. p. 240

feeble of his antagonists, the elector of Saxony and king of Poland, Frederick allowed no breathing time. He was in possession of Dresden on the 10th of September. The Saxon army was in the fortified camp of Pirna,—a position which Frederick deemed impregnable, and therefore was contented to blockade it. He called himself Protector of Saxony, but in truth was its conqueror. Yet, although helping himself to the military stores of the arsenals, and dealing with public money as if it were his own, he exhibited one species of moderation which the conqueror of the next great period of European warfare had the self-denial to imitate at Dresden, whatever was his plunder of other cities. Frederick visited the famous picture-gallery. The director of the gallery trembled, as he saw the master of the capital, and of all its treasures, pause before some of the great works of art which were the pride of the electorate. In his imagination, the Madonna di San Sisto of Raffaelle, the Notte of Correggio, were destined to be packed off to Berlin. "Sir," said Frederick to the director, "I suppose I may be permitted to have copies." The king of Prussia was not so moderate or courteous when his greater interests were concerned. It was important that he should obtain possession of the State Papers which would prove the designs of the confederacy against him. Augustus was at the camp of Pirna. Maria Josepha of Austria, his consort, was at Dresden. The spirited lady refused to give them up, except by force; and, according to some accounts, sat upon the trunk in which they were contained, which had been carried to her bed-chamber;—according to other accounts, placed her back against the door of the muniment-room in which they were. The Prussian commandant of Dresden did obtain them by force. The discourtesy was long remembered to Frederick's disadvantage; but, by the publication of these papers, he showed to Europe that in striking the first blow against the coalesced powers he was justified by the necessity of self-preservation. The military operations which followed secured to him Saxony. An Austrian army, commanded by marshal Browne, was advancing from Bohemia. Frederick left the camp of Pirna to be dealt with by prince Ferdinand; and, with a force of twenty-five thousand men, defeated the Austrian army of forty thousand, in the plain of Losowitz. This battle, which was most severely contested, took place on the 1st of October. Frederick returned to Dresden. The Saxon army in Pirna, strictly blockaded, had only the prospect of famine or of surrender. They surrendered unconditionally. Some of these seventeen thousand men were compelled, and some were persuaded, to enter into the Prussian service. The elector retired to Warsaw; and Frederick went into winter quarters in the capital of the country that had, in a few months, been reduced to the condition of an enslaved province.

On the 4th of June, 1756, George, prince of Wales, completed his eighteenth year,—the period determined by the Regency Act as that of his majority in case his grandfather had been dead. The king wished to give the prince a separate establishment, with an allowance of 40,000*l.* a year, thus removing him from the control of the Princess Dowager. The young prince entreated the king not to separate him from his mother, although he was deeply grateful for the proposed royal bounty. They were both anxious that lord Bute should be Groom of the Stole in the new Household. Lord Waldegrave relates that he was present at a Cabinet Council, for the con-

sideration of this appointment; when the Chancellor, lord Hardwicke, said "he would not give credit to some very extraordinary reports; but that many sober and respectable persons would think it indecent." * The court scandal, which Walpole dwells upon with peculiar gusto, continued some time after prince George came to the throne, and was one of the misfortunes of the early part of his reign. Bute, in spite of the "extraordinary reports"—which are now held by most unprejudiced inquirers to have had their origin in party virulence and vulgar credulity—was appointed to the office in the Household, very reluctantly on the part of the king. In this influential position, the favourite of the heir apparent, he had considerable participation in the politics of the time. One curious example of the mode in which lord Bute kept the future before the view of great parliamentary leaders, may be seen in a passage of a letter to Mr. Pitt, during that first short time of his power, which we shall have presently to notice: "I am certain the firm support and countenance of *him* who is some day to reap the fruits of my friend's unwearied endeavours for the public safety, would make him perfectly easy under the frowns of prejudiced, deluded, fluctuating men." †

Mr. Fox had held the seals of Secretary of State about ten months, during which period a heavy burden of obloquy had to be borne by the ministry. In October, 1756, he resigned his office. He probably was justified in abandoning his colleagues to the approaching censures of parliament in regard to measures of which he had been allowed no direction. The popular indignation about the loss of Minorca was taking a new direction. In September, "the whole city of Westminster was disturbed by the song of a hundred ballad-singers, the burthen of which was, 'to the block with Newcastle, and the yard-arm with Byng.'" ‡ In October, "Poor Byng is the phrase in every mouth, and then comes the hackneyed simile of the Scapegoat." § The resignation of the Secretary of State was a sudden blow to Newcastle, "who meant that Fox should have continued in a responsible office; with a double portion of dangers and abuse, but without any share of power." ‖ The prime minister was left without any support in the House of Commons. Murray, the Attorney-General, insisted upon being appointed Lord Chief Justice, a vacancy having occurred by the death of Sir Dudley Ryder. Newcastle offered the great lawyer the choice of sinecures of fabulous amount—a pension—any terms, if he would remain in the House of Commons. Murray was immoveable, and, to the enduring advantage of the nation, became Chief Justice, and lord Mansfield. Pitt stood alone, without a rival,—"no orator to oppose him, who had courage even to look him in the face." ¶ Newcastle, in his extremity, induced the king to consent that an overture should be made to the awful Commoner. Pitt refused to treat, saying that "a plain man, unpractised in the policy of a court, could never be the associate of so experienced a minister." ** The unhappy duke went about imploring this nobleman and that commoner to take the seals. "No man would stand in the gap," says Waldegrave. At last Newcastle

* "Memoirs," p. 67.
† "Chatham Correspondence," March 2, 1757, vol. i. p. 223.
‡ Potter to Grenville—"Grenville Papers," vol. i. p. 172.
§ Wilkes to Grenville, *Ibid.*, p. 176.
‖ Waldegrave, "Memoirs," p. 82. ¶ *Ibid.* ** *Ibid.*, p. 83.

himself resigned. "Perfidy, after thirty years, had an intermission," writes Walpole. Lord Hardwicke, the learned and able Chancellor, who desired retirement, followed his old friend. A coalition was proposed between Fox and Pitt, which Pitt refused to agree to. At last, in November, the duke of Devonshire was appointed First Commissioner of the Treasury; Pitt, Secretary of State; his brother-in-law, Temple, at the head of the Admiralty; Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

On the 2nd of December, the Parliament was opened with a Speech from the Throne, "which," says lord Waldegrave, "by its style and substance, appeared to be the work of a new speech-maker." Never was a vital change of policy more boldly indicated. It declared that the succour and preservation of America "demand resolutions of vigour and dispatch." That, for a firm defence at home, "a national militia may in time become one good resource." "Relying with pleasure on the spirit and zeal of my people," said the king, "the body of my electoral troops, which I ordered hither at the desire of my Parliament, I have directed to return to my dominions in Germany." Finally, his majesty said, "Unprosperous events of war in the Mediterranean have drawn from my subjects signal proofs how dearly they tender my honour and that of my crown." To recommend a militia, which his majesty had always ridiculed; to trust to the British people for the defence of their country, instead of trusting to the Hessians and Hanoverians; to call uncourtly addresses and popular clamour signal proofs of affection—these were indeed evidences of a new speech-maker. The king, says Waldegrave, "in common conversation made a frank declaration of his real sentiments." A spurious Speech had been circulated in town and country. This production was burnt by the common hangman, and the printer was ordered to be prosecuted. George, who sometimes displayed a quaint sarcastic humour, "hoped the man's punishment would be of the mildest sort, because he had read both speeches, and, as far as he understood either of them, he liked the spurious speech better than his own." *

The electoral troops were sent home. A Militia Bill was now passed, although a similar Bill had been rejected in the previous Session. Under this Act thirty-two thousand men were to be called out in England and Wales. The measure was received with popular approbation, until it began to interfere with individual ease and freedom. The Protestant dissenters in London and the provinces remonstrated against the possible insertion of a clause in the Bill that the militia might be exercised on Sundays; but the notion, although it did not appear to excite any displeasure amongst the clergy of the established church, was very wisely given up. Reinforcements were sent to the earl of Loudoun, who now commanded in America. The regular army had been increased to 45,000 men; and Pitt, at this time, adopted the politic suggestion made by Duncan Forbes in 1738, that the Highlanders should be enlisted in the service of the State, instead of being prompted to disaffection by needy chiefs. Two Highland regiments were raised, the command of one being given to Simon Fraser, son of lord Lovat; of the other to Archibald Montgomery, brother of lord Eglington. Twenty years afterwards, in one of his great speeches, in which Chatham urged conciliation towards "our

* Waldegrave, "Memoirs," p. 89

brethren in America," he looked back upon the success of this first measure of his bold statesmanship: "I remember, after an unnatural rebellion had been extinguished in the northern parts of this island, that I employed these very rebels in the service and defence of their country. They were reclaimed by this means; they fought our battles; they cheerfully bled in defence of those liberties which they attempted to overthrow but a few years before." * As the war minister of George II., Mr. Pitt had to modify some of his former opinions with regard to continental alliances. He brought down a message from the king on the 17th of February, to ask from his faithful Commons that they would assist his majesty in maintaining an army of observation to protect his electoral dominions, and to fulfil his engagements with his good ally the king of Prussia. This was the first day that Pitt had entered the House of Commons since his accession to office. His appearance there had been delayed by continued illness. He followed this demonstration of his individual opinions, by moving a grant of 200,000*l.* in compliance with the message. Fox twitted his rival with a saying of the previous year, that "German measures would be a mill-stone about the neck of the minister." Yet Pitt was not inconsistent in proposing this measure. He had told lord Hardwicke, in September, 1755, that "he thought that regard ought to be had to Hanover, if it should be attacked on our account." † Lord Mahon has very justly defended Pitt against the sneer of Fox. "The French were preparing to invade the Electorate, not from any injury, real or pretended, which the Electorate had done them, but notoriously and avowedly as a side-blow against George II.,—as a retaliation for the measures which his majesty had adopted in British America." ‡ Hanover was about to be attacked on our account. Walpole, with reference to the Prussian subsidy, bitterly remarks, "One cannot say which was most ridiculous,—the richest prince in Europe [Frederick] begging alms for his own country, or the great foe of that country [George] becoming its mendicant almoner." § Frederick of Prussia commissioned the British envoy to express his thanks to Mr. Pitt for his speech of the 18th of February; and to inform him that he regarded the resolutions of Parliament as the strongest assurances that can be given of the favourable and friendly disposition of the British nation towards him. Pitt, in his reply, expressed his "sentiments of veneration and zeal for a prince, who stands the unshaken bulwark of Europe, against the most powerful and malignant confederacy that ever yet has threatened the independence of mankind." ‖

Amongst the difficult questions which the recently formed Administration had to deal with, was that of the fate of admiral Byng. A Court-Martial upon the unfortunate officer commenced at Portsmouth on the 28th of December. In every town and village through which the admiral was conveyed from Greenwich, escorted by horse-guards, he was insulted by the populace. The trial lasted till nearly the end of January. Before the close of the proceedings, the Court-Martial had submitted a question to the Admiralty—whether they were at liberty to mitigate the 12th Article of War,

* Thackeray—"History of William Pitt," jun., vol. ii. p. 339.
† Doddington—"Diary," Sept. 2, 1755.
‡ History, vol. iv. p. 196.
§ "Memoirs of George II.," vol. ii. p. 314.
‖ "Chatham Correspondence," vol. i. p. 224 and p. 226.

which was in these words: "Every person in the fleet, who through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, shall, in time of action, withdraw or keep back, or not come into the fight or engagement, or shall not do his utmost to take or destroy every ship which it shall be his duty to engage, and to assist and relieve all and every of his majesty's ships, or those of his allies, which it shall be his duty to assist and relieve, every such person so offending, and being convicted thereof by the sentence of a court-martial, shall suffer death." The Admiralty returned for answer that the Court could not modify the Article of War. The unanimous verdict was, that admiral Byng had not come under that Article by treachery or disaffection; but that he had not done his utmost to relieve the castle of St. Philip, or to defeat the French fleet; and he was therefore adjudged to be shot to death. But the Court also agreed to recommend the admiral to the mercy of the Crown. Byng, rejoiced at being acquitted of cowardice, heard his sentence with composure. It was perhaps difficult for the Crown to exercise its prerogative of mercy, amidst the popular clamour for the execution of the sentence. "Pitt and lord Temple," says Waldegrave, were desirous to save Byng; "but to avoid the odium of protecting a man who had been hanged in effigy in every town in England, they wanted the king to pardon him without their seeming to interfere." The king, he adds, "not choosing to be their dupe, obliged them to pull off the mask, and the sentence against the admiral was not carried into execution till, by their behaviour in Parliament, they had given public proof of their partiality." It is a singular commendation of the king, that he wished to damage his ministers by exhibiting them opposed to a popular cry. They had the House of Commons with them, in their desire for mercy. Pitt told this to his sovereign. "Sir," said George, "you have taught me to look for the sense of my subjects in another place than the House of Commons." Every effort to save Byng was made in vain. His execution was delayed, whilst a Bill passed the Commons to absolve the members of the Court-Martial from their oath of secresy, as it was alleged that they had something of importance to say with regard to their sentence. The Bill was sent to the Upper House. But the law lords, Hardwicke and Mansfield, having examined all the members of the Court-Martial upon oath, and finding that they could not declare their knowledge of anything which had passed previous to the sentence which would show it to be unjust, or of any undue practice or motive to influence the sentence, the Bill was rejected. The 14th of March was fixed for the execution of admiral Byng. He was shot on the quarter-deck of the Monarque, in which he had been confined; and to the last he displayed a calmness and resolution which were sufficient of themselves to exonerate him from the charge that, in his neglect of his duty, he had acted from a want of that courage which is the most essential, as it is the commonest, attribute of every sailor and every soldier, whatever rank he may hold in the service of his country.

At the beginning of April, 1757, Pitt, Temple, and Legge, were suddenly dismissed from their high offices. The nation could not understand this. One feeling, however, prevailed—that these ministers had laboured to benefit the nation, and that pitiful court intrigues had been too powerful for them. Smollett, whose "Continuation" of his History was nearly contemporaneous, speaks very vaguely of "the old junto," who had "found the new associates

very unfit for their purposes." The Memoirs of the earl of Waldegrave, which were not published till 1821, throw light upon the proceedings of the royal closet. In February this nobleman saw the king; who expressed his dislike to Pitt and Temple in very strong terms. The Secretary, his majesty said, made him long speeches, which might be very fine, but were above his comprehension. Temple was pert, sometimes insolent, and when he meant to be civil was troublesome. "Go to Newcastle," said George; "tell him I do not look upon myself as a king whilst I am in the hands of these scoundrels; that I am determined to get rid of them at any rate; that I expect his assistance, and that he may depend on my favour and protection." Newcastle was quite ready to second the king's wishes; but he thought it more prudent to get the supplies first, and obtain an acquittal of himself and his colleagues of 1756, under the Inquiry pending in Parliament.* The duke of Cumberland, Waldegrave says, pressed the king very strongly that Pitt and Temple should be turned out without further deliberation; and that a new Administration should be formed, before he went to Hanover to take the command of the electoral forces. To depend on Pitt for supplies; to have the popularity of Pitt ravish half his laurels, if fortune should once smile upon him,—were apprehensions, as Walpole alleges, which made the duke urge his royal father to take such a perilous step. When the dismissal of the ministers was known, without any official delinquency or public misfortune being made a charge against them, the voice of the nation was expressed in the most unequivocal manner. Pitt and Legge received the freedom of London from the Common Council, presented in gold boxes. A dozen corporations of great cities followed the example. "It rained gold boxes," says Walpole. Pitt kept very quiet. He took no decided part in the Inquiry about Minorca, which resulted, not in a vote of approbation or a vote of censure, but in a long recapitulation of the circumstances, ending in declaring that no more ships and no more troops could have been sent on that service. Twelve weeks were now spent in negotiations for the formation of a government. Newcastle was sent for. The duke, dreading Pitt's popularity, wished to coalesce with him. Pitt would not accept office, without the entire direction of the war. Newcastle then told the king, under a solemn promise, that he would have nothing to do with so intractable a man. The old scheme of Newcastle and "his footmen," as the king termed the duke's ministerial dependents, was then resorted to. That would not answer; and Newcastle and Pitt were brought together again, by the mediation of lord Chesterfield and lord Bute. The king was enraged that Pitt had once more been applied to, under the violation of Newcastle's pledge. George then tried his own hand at making a ministry; and proposed to associate his personal friend, lord Waldegrave, with Mr. Fox. Lord Holderness, one of the Secretaries of State, and the remaining powerful body of the Newcastle "footmen,"—powerful in their votes, if not in their abilities,—threatened to resign. There was no resource. Pitt saw that if his magnificent boast, "I am sure that I can save this country, and that nobody else can,"—if that grand ambition was to be realized,—he must not trust alone to oratory or popularity; he must command parliamentary support. Newcastle

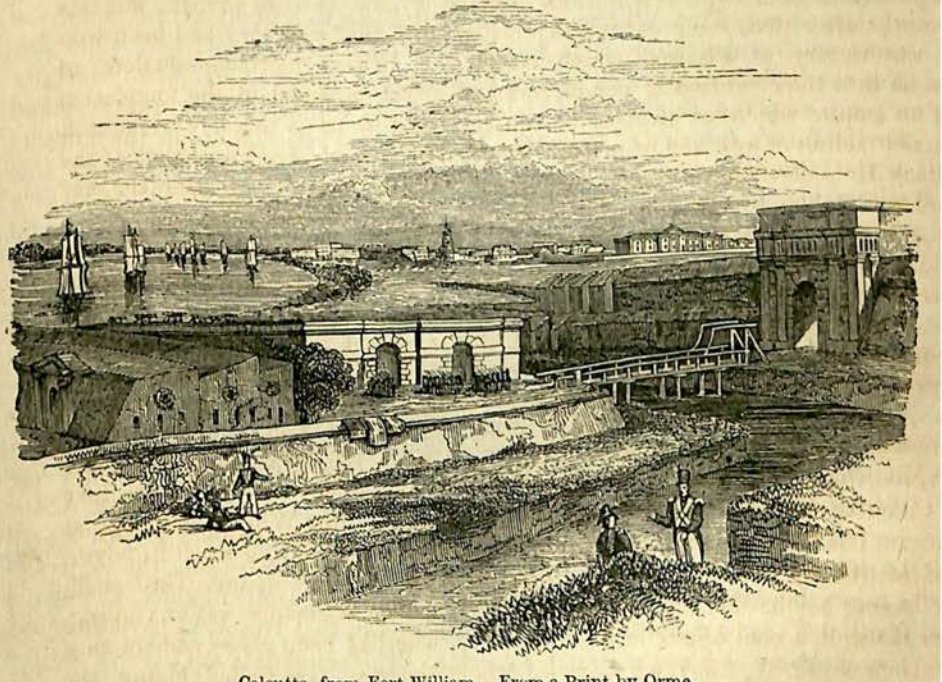
* Waldegrave, "Memoirs," p. 96.

could bring that capital into a political partnership. The king had no choice. He empowered lord Hardwicke to negotiate with Newcastle and Pitt. The eloquent Commoner again became Secretary of State upon his own terms. The influential duke returned to the head of the Treasury, without any real power in the direction of the great affairs of the nation, at a memorable crisis in its fate. On the 29th of June, commenced what is emphatically termed "Mr. Pitt's Administration." It mattered not to contemporaries or to posterity, who was First Lord of the Treasury, or who presided over the Admiralty, or who was Commander-in-chief. It was "Mr. Pitt's Administration."

From the Midsummer of 1756 to the Midsummer of 1757, whilst England was lying under the dread of foreign invasion; calling for vengeance on those who had lost Minorca; distracted by political rivalries,—events were taking place in the most distant settlement of the East India Company, of which the nation had no instant cognizance, but which were as important to its future destiny as the changes to be produced by the altered character of its government. There first came, slowly travelling for months from the Ganges to the Thames, the news of a terrible atrocity of oriental despotism, which filled every heart with grief and indignation. Six months later the report came of a swift retribution, inflicted by the hero of Arcot; and six months after that, the great intelligence arrived, that a victory had been won —the victory of Plassey, which raised the British merchant-settlers of India into the condition of conquerors and dictators, and laid the foundation of an empire which can scarcely be contemplated by us at this day without a mixed feeling of awe and of pride. The fearful tragedy known as that of the Black Hole of Calcutta took place on the 20th of June, 1756, after the city had been taken by the Subahdar of Bengal. Calcutta was retaken by Clive on the 2nd of January, 1757. The battle of Plassey was won by Clive on the 23rd of June of the same year. We must briefly relate these consecutive events.

The rulers of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar, called Subahdars, or Nabobs, professed to hold allegiance to the Great Mogul, but really exercised all the powers of sovereignty. They dwelt at their capital city of Moorshedabad. In April, 1756, Surajah Dowlah, a cruel, debauched, and ignorant boy of nineteen, succeeded his grandfather as the lord of these vast provinces. He coveted the wealth which he imagined was accumulated in the British factory of Calcutta; and he marched from Moorshedabad to Fort William with a great army. The governor, and the English captain in command, escaped in terror, and left the defence of the factory to the servants of the Company. The Subahdar having bombarded the fort for two days, further resistance was unavailing. Mr. Holwell, a civil officer of the Company, who had been chosen to act as a commander during the two days of their defence, was called before the despot. He was dissatisfied to have found only fifty thousand rupees as his prize; but he assured Mr. Holwell that the lives of himself and of his fellow-prisoners should be spared. There were a hundred and forty-five men, and one woman, of this devoted company. They were to be secured for the night in the dungeon of the fort. Into that den, eighteen feet by fourteen, with two small windows, were these hundred and forty-six adults forced by the ferocious guard that the tyrant had set over them; and the door was

closed. Mr. Holwell spoke from the window to an old officer, who appeared to have some human pity, promising a reward of a thousand rupees if a portion of the prisoners by his influence could be removed to another room. The officer went to make his humane attempt. He returned to say that the Nabob was asleep, and could not be disturbed. Of that night of horror, the relation given by Mr. Holwell is one of the most powerful narratives of the extremity of suffering which was ever penned.* The expedient of the prisoners to obtain more room and air, some sitting down, never to rise again, through their companions falling upon them; the calling out to the guard to fire and relieve them from their misery; the raging thirst; the delirium; the stupefaction; the many dead trampled upon by the few living,—these are horrors without a parallel in history or fiction. An order for the release of the prisoners came from the Subahdar at six o'clock in the morning. One hundred and twenty-three had been released by death. The English lady survived, to endure the harder fate of being consigned to the haram of the Subahdar. Surajah Dowlah called for Mr. Holwell. Unable to stand, he was borne before the despot, who exhibited no remorse for the acts of his murderous guards. All he talked of was buried treasure. He sent Mr. Holwell and two of the chiefs of the factory to his capital as prisoners; the



Calcutta, from Fort William. From a Print by Orme.

others were set at liberty. Fort William was occupied by a Mohammedan garrison of three thousand men; and the victor returned to Moorshedabad, and decreed that, in honour of his triumph, Calcutta should be called by the name which signified the Port of God.

Colonel Clive, upon his return to India, had co-operated with admiral

* Printed first in the "Annual Register" for 1758.

Watson, who was in command of a British squadron off Bombay, to effect the destruction of a formidable body of pirates, who issued from their fortified headland of Gheriah, to the terror of every merchant vessel on the Indian Ocean. This stronghold was taken without much effort. Clive returned to his command as governor of Fort St. David, in June. It was not till August that the news of the terrible occurrences at Calcutta reached Madras. Admiral Watson was at anchor in the roads. Clive was sent for by the Presidency, and the command of an expedition was offered to him. There was a struggle about the claims of a senior officer, who thought that his rank, whatever was his inexperience of Indian warfare, ought to outweigh the deference paid to a young man who had captured and defended Arcot, and won the great victory of Arnee. The Presidency were firm; and so was the jealous colonel Adlercron. The Council at Madras gave the command to Clive. The colonel, who had the control of the king's stores, refused him the royal artillery. With nine hundred Europeans—which number included the 39th regiment,—that regiment which, after many glorious campaigns, proudly bears on its colours the suggestive inscription, "Primus in Indis,"—the armament set sail. The winds were contrary. Two months elapsed before they entered the Hooghly. Calcutta was taken on the 2nd of January, with little trouble. At the head of forty thousand men, Surajah Dowlah marched from Moorshedabad, and encamped near Fort William. Clive went forth to a night attack upon the camp, but retired, after some loss, having been embarrassed by a thick fog. Yet the Subahdar, terrified by this exhibition of prowess, sought to conclude a peace with the English, and yielded to every condition that was proposed for the future security of Calcutta. There was no satisfaction for the murders of the 20th of June. Clive even consented to a treaty of alliance with this miscreant. The honest admiral refused to sign this agreement. The Calcutta merchants had pressed it upon Clive, as they thought the alliance would enable them to get rid of the rival French station at Chandernagore. The Subahdar gave a doubtful answer to their proposal to attack this settlement, which Clive interpreted as an assent. The French were overpowered, and surrendered their fort. Surajah Dowlah was now indignant against his recent allies; and sought the friendship of the French officers. Clive, called by the natives "the daring in war," was also the most adroit, and,—for the truth cannot be disguised,—the most unscrupulous in policy. The English resident at the Court of Moorshedabad, under Clive's instructions, encouraged a conspiracy to depose the Subahdar, and to raise his general, Meer Jaffier, to the supreme power. A Hindoo of great wealth and influence, Omichund, engaged in this conspiracy. After it had proceeded so far as to become the subject of a treaty between a select Committee at Calcutta and Meer Jaffier, Omichund demanded that a condition should be inserted in that treaty, to pay him thirty lacs of rupees as a reward for his service. The merchants at Calcutta desired the largest share of any donation from Meer Jaffier, as a consideration for themselves, and were by no means willing that three hundred thousand pounds should go to a crafty Hindoo. Clive suggested an expedient to secure Omichund's fidelity, and yet not to comply with his demands—to have two treaties drawn; a real one on red paper, a fictitious one on white. The white treaty was to be shown to Omichund, and he was to see with his own eyes that he had been properly cared for. Clive and the Committee signed this;

as well as the red treaty which was to go to Meer Jaffier. Admiral Watson refused to sign the treacherous document. On the 19th of May, 1773, Clive stood up in his place in the House of Commons, to defend himself upon this charge against him, amongst other accusations. He boldly acknowledged that the stratagem of the two treaties was his invention;—that admiral Watson did not sign it; but that he should have thought himself authorised to sign for him in consequence of a conversation; that the person who did sign thought he had sufficient authority for so doing. "He [Clive] forged admiral Watson's name," says lord Macaulay. Clive thus defended his conduct: "The treaty was immediately sent to Omichund, who did not suspect the stratagem. The event took place, and success attended it. The House, I am fully persuaded, will agree with me, that when the very existence of the Company was at stake, and the lives of these people [the conspirators] so precariously situated, and so certain to be destroyed, it was a matter of true policy and justice to deceive such a villain." * The courage, the perseverance, the unconquerable energy of Clive have furnished examples to many in India who have emulated his true glory. Thank God, the innate integrity of the British character has, for the most part, preserved us from such exhibitions of "true policy and justice."

The English resident, Mr. Watts, left Moorshedabad. Clive wrote a letter of defiance to Surajah Dowlah, and marched towards his capital. The Subahdar had come forth from his city, as populous as the London of a century ago, to annihilate the paltry army of a thousand English, and their two thousand Sepoys disciplined by English officers, who dared to encounter his sixty thousand. He reached the village of Plassey with all the panoply of oriental warfare. His artillery alone appeared sufficient to sweep away those who brought only eight field pieces and two howitzers to meet his fifty heavy guns. Each gun was drawn by forty yoke of oxen; and a trained elephant was behind each gun to urge it over rough ground or up steep ascents. Meer Jaffier had not performed his promise to join the English with a division of the Subahdar's army. It was a time of terrible anxiety with the English commander. Should he venture to give battle without the aid of a native force? He submitted his doubt to a Council of War. Twelve officers, himself amongst the number, voted for delay. Seven voted for instant action. Clive reviewed the arguments on each side, and finally cast away his doubts. He determined to fight, without which departure from the opinion of the majority, he afterwards said, the English would never have been masters of Bengal. On the 22nd of June, his little army marched fifteen miles, passed the Hooghly, and at one o'clock of the morning of the 23rd rested under the mangoe-trees of Plassey. As the day broke, the vast legions of the Subahdar,—fifteen thousand cavalry, forty-five thousand infantry,—some armed with muskets, some with bows and arrows, began to surround the mangoe-grove and the hunting-lodge where Clive had watched through the night. There was a cannonade for several hours. The great guns of Surajah Dowlah did little execution. The small field-pieces of Clive were well served. One of the chief Mohammedan leaders having fallen, disorder ensued, and the Subahdar was advised to retreat. He

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xvii. col. 876.

himself fled upon a swift camel to Moorshedabad. When the British forces began to pursue, the victory became complete. Meer Jaffier joined the conquerors the next day. Surajah Dowlah did not consider himself safe in his capital; and he preferred to seek the protection of a French detachment at Patna. He escaped from his palace disguised; ascended the Ganges in a small boat; and fancied himself secure. A peasant whose ears he had cut off recognised his oppressor, and with some soldiers brought him back to Moorshedabad. In his presence-chamber now sat Meer Jaffier, to whose knees the wretched youth crawled for mercy. That night Surajah Dowlah was murdered in his prison, by the orders of Meer Jaffier's son, a boy as blood-thirsty as himself. At the installation of Meer Jaffier, as Subahdar of Bengal, Clive conducted him to the seat of honour. His gratitude was not withheld from those who had raised him to his power. Under the treaty made before the battle of Plassey, large concessions were to be made to the Presidency of Calcutta; and money amounting to two millions and three-quarters sterling was now granted as a payment to the fleet, the troops, and the Committee, by whose agency this revolution was effected. Clive was content with something under three hundred thousand pounds. He subsequently declared in the House of Commons, that when he walked through the Treasury at Moorshedabad, and saw gold and silver and jewels piled up to the right and the left, he might have helped himself to what he pleased. He added, with an oath, "at this moment do I stand astonished at my own moderation." When Omichund was denied his expected gratuity, and was told of the disgraceful fraud that had been practised upon him, he fainted, and was carried home, to exhibit during the small remainder of his days, an impaired intellect, and to die a broken-hearted idiot.

A statue of Clive has recently been erected in Whitehall. It is highly characteristic of a man of strong will and undaunted courage—"not a man to do anything by halves." Macaulay uses this phrase in speaking of Clive's participation in the fraud and forgery by which Omichund was deceived. But this determination to do nothing by halves, though it betrayed Clive into a dishonourable action, made him a "heaven-born general," as Pitt called him. His wondrous energy led him, after he had placed Meer Jaffier on the throne of Bengal, never to rest until the ascendancy of the English Company in that province was supreme, undisturbed by French or Dutch rivalry. Exactly a year after the battle of Plassey, a Commission arrived at Bengal from London, remodelling the Presidency, and not including Clive in the nomination of officers. The news of the great victory had not reached the India House when the Court of Directors thus threw a slight upon the only man who could preserve their ascendancy. But the members of the Presidency at Bengal had the good sense to request Clive to take the government upon himself. By his exertions, and through his example, the French were gradually driven from every stronghold; and in six months after the accession of George III. not a vestige of the supremacy which Dupleix and Bussy and Lally had won for them, remained in the peninsula.

Lord Temple.

CHAPTER XV.

The Administration—Pitt's sole conduct of the war and of foreign affairs—Frederick's second campaign—Victory of Prague—Defeat at Kolin—Failure at Rochefort—Convention of Closter-Seven —Failure of expedition against Louisbourg—Riots about the Militia Act—Frederick's victory of Rosbach—Subsidy to Prussia—Cherbourg taken, and its works demolished—St. Maloes—Operations on the African coast—Successful expedition against Louisbourg—The turning point in Pitt's Administration—Frederick's third campaign—Zorndorf—Hochkirchen—Wolfe appointed to command an expedition to Quebec—The battle of Minden—Canada—Operations in North America—Wolfe in the St. Lawrence—His desponding letter—Heights of Abraham—Death of Wolfe—Quebec surrendered—Hawke's victory in Quiberon Bay—Death of George the Second.

The appointments of several of Mr. Pitt's political friends to high offices, in the final arrangement of the Administration, excited no surprise. Earl Temple became Lord Privy Seal, and Mr. Legge, Chancellor of the Exchequer. But the re-appointment of lord Anson to the Admiralty—unpopular as he was, abused as he had been by those who were now to be his associates—was regarded as "a most surprising phenomenon." * He had been himself a wretched administrator—"an incapable object," as Walpole terms him. It is stated that Pitt took effectual means to neutralize Anson's incapacity. He stipulated with the king that the correspondence with naval commanders should be in his own hands, and that the Board of Admiralty should sign the dispatches without reading them † Doubtful as this statement may appear, it is unquestionable that Pitt, from the hour of his triumphant return to that post which involved the whole conduct of foreign affairs and of the war, determined that no coadjutator should interfere with his plans. The prospect

* Waldegrave—"Memoirs," p. 155.
† Thackeray—"Life of Chatham," vol i. p. 293.

before him was not very brilliant. The nation was committed to its alliance with Frederick II.; and at the very moment when the new ministry had entered upon their duties, came the news of a great disaster—"the reversal of all the king of Prussia's triumphs." * Frederick had commenced his second campaign at the end of April. Even in the days of Marlborough, Europe had not seen such a vast array of mighty armies moving in every direction—Austrians, troops of the Empire, French, Swedes—four hundred and thirty thousand men gathering together to crush the prince of a small German state, who had only a hundred and fifty thousand men in the field to encounter this overwhelming allied force. The Russians in the campaign of 1757 were merely committing ravages in the provinces beyond the Vistula. The English and Hanoverian army, commanded by the duke of Cumberland, was relied upon to prevent the French attacking Prussia. There were vast odds against the success of Frederick, according to ordinary calculations. The great writer and statesman, Edmund Burke, who at this time influenced public opinion, not from his place in Parliament but from Messrs. Dodsley's shop in Pall-Mall, thus describes the one resource that enabled Frederick "to sustain the violence of so many shocks"—his vast powers of mind: "His astonishing economy, the incomparable order of his finances, the discipline of his armies beyond all praise, a sagacity that foresaw everything, a constancy that no labour could subdue, a courage that no danger could dismay, an intuitive glance that catches the decisive moment—all these seemed to form a sort of balance to the vast weight against him, turned the wishes of his friends into hopes, and made them depend upon resources that are not within the power of calculation." † At the opening of this campaign Frederick saw that he should first have to encounter Austria. He marched from Saxony into Bohemia by four different mountain passes; purposing to unite his detachments in the environs of Prague. Before this city the Austrian marshal, Browne, was encamped, in a position almost impregnable. Frederick waited for his gallant companion-in-arms, marshal Schwerin, to join him; and then, on the 6th of May, he fought one of the most sanguinary battles on record. The conflict lasted eleven hours; the Prussians losing eighteen thousand men, and the Austrians twenty-four thousand. The brave old marshal fell, leading his regiment, which had given way, to the thick of the battle, waving the national standard of the black eagle which he had snatched from an ensign. The Austrian commander, marshal Browne, was also mortally wounded. The king displayed that personal intrepidity which never failed him after his first battle of Molwitz. His victory was complete. Prague was then bombarded, and for three weeks did its unfortunate inhabitants endure the horrors of war, with more than its usual calamities. Twelve thousand famished victims, whose houses had been destroyed, were turned out of the gates of Prague, that more food might be left to its defenders. They were driven back again by the unpitying Prussians. The city resolutely held out. A great division of the Austrian army under marshal Daun was advancing for its relief. On the 17th of June, Frederick fought the battle of

* Walpole to Mann, July 3.

† "Annual Register" for 1758—the first of the series. There is no more spirited, or, in the main, more correct narrative of this eventful period, than in the annual miscellany which the genius of Burke at once raised to a high reputation.

Kolin, with an inadequate force; and he was defeated with the loss of thirteen thousand men. Six times did he lead his cavalry to the charge against the Austrian position. He was advancing the seventh time, with only forty men, when an English officer said to him, "Is your majesty going to storm the battery by yourself?" He at last ordered the retreat; and riding off alone, he was found seated by the side of a well, drawing figures in the sand with his stick. The siege of Prague was raised; and the Prussians hastily marched out of Bohemia.

Under this great reverse of their one ally, the English government turned its attention to naval enterprises. Something, indeed, might be expected from the army under the duke of Cumberland; and a great success on the coast of France would raise the spirits of the people, who were lamenting over the fatal day of Kolin. Such an enterprise would operate as an important diversion of the French from the war in Germany. An expedition was sent out, in September, under the command of sir Edward Hawke and sir John Mordaunt. Sixteen ships of the line and ten regiments of foot were destined for an attack on the great arsenal of Rochefort. The French coast was without many troops for its defence. Louis XV., when he heard of the arrival of an English armament at the mouth of the Charente, was fully convinced that Rochefort would fall. The fortified island of Aix was attacked by captain Howe, who anchored his ship within fifty yards of the fort, and after an hour silenced the French batteries. General Conway took possession of the citadel.* After a week spent in councils of war, it was agreed that the expedition should return home. Mordaunt and Hawke were at issue. The general required to be assured by the admiral, that if any mishap occurred in the attack upon Rochefort, such arrangements could be made as would allow the troops to re-embark. Hawke said, that must depend upon wind and weather. We have a letter of general Conway, in which he writes to his brother about "resolutions and irresolutions." . . . . "I am sorry to say that I think, on the whole, we make a pitiful figure in not attempting anything. . . . For the only time of my life I dread to come back to England." † Colonel Wolfe, when these miserable discussions were going on between the commanders, said, that if they would give him three ships and five hundred men he would take Rochefort. Pitt, when he wanted such a soldier, did not forget Wolfe. Mordaunt was acquitted by a court-martial. Other evil tidings had travelled to England, thick and fast. The news had come that the duke de Richelieu had compelled the duke of Cumberland, after a series of retreats, to leave Hanover to the mercy of the French; and being pursued to Stade, he had agreed to a capitulation, known as the Convention of Closter-Seven; under which all his Hessians and Brunswickers were to be disbanded, and all his Hanoverians were to be sent into various cantonments. The duke was insulted by his father when he came home, and resigned his post as commander-in-chief. George had turned his back upon his favourite son when they first met, and said aloud, "He has ruined me and disgraced himself." The indignation of the English people was extreme. They associated in their minds the retreat from Rochefort,

* Captain Rodney's Letter of Sept. 23, in "Grenville Papers."
† MS. collection of "Conway's Letters."

and the surrender at Stade, as the result of some treachery or court intrigue. "The people will not be persuaded that this pacific disposition [at Rochefort] was not a preliminary for the convention of Stade." * The public discontent was at its height when the intelligence arrived that lord Loudoun, having the command of a force of twelve thousand men, furnished by large reinforcements from home, had shrunk from attacking Louisbourg; and that admiral Holbourne, the naval commander, hesitated about imperilling his squadron of eighteen ships of the line in an attack upon the French squadron of nineteen ships of the line. When this account came, Horace Walpole might well write, "It is time for England to slip her cables, and float away into some unknown ocean." † To crown the misfortunes of the first three months of Pitt's administration, there were serious disturbances in various parts of the country about the Militia Act, which came into operation at that time. The people were persuaded that, when enrolled, they were liable to be draughted into the king's forces and be sent abroad. It was in vain to urge the precise words of the Statute. Yeomen, farmers, and labourers were obstinately incredulous; and in some places the timid magistrates were obliged to postpone their meetings for enrolling men, to prevent the violence which the ignorant multitudes threatened. Such were the blessings produced by the want of publicity for parliamentary proceedings; and by the utter deficiency of ability in the conductors of provincial newspapers to treat any social question as a matter for elucidation.‡ Their local "Accidents and Offences," the appointment of the parish beadle, or the marriage of the squire's daughter, constituted their notion of public instruction.

At the end of October, Pitt wrote to Grenville, "The king of Prussia keeps the field, and his cause is still alive. An event or two may yet change the gloomy prospect. Immense expense I see is unavoidable, and the heavier load of national dishonour threatens to sink us with double weight of misfortune." § An event did come, which did change the gloomy prospect. On the 15th of November Pitt wrote to Grenville, "The king of Prussia has gained a complete victory over the prince de Soubise, near Weisenfels in Saxony." ‖ Wondrous change of fortune, produced by the unshaken constancy of one man surrounded by dangers on every side. The Russians were desolating Frederick's eastern provinces. Silesia was filled with Austrians. He was under the ban of the Empire, every German State being forbidden to give him aid. A letter published in the English papers at the end of August, says, "many persons who saw the king of Prussia, when he passed lately through Leipsic, cannot express how much he is altered. They say he is so much worn away that they scarce knew him." ¶ The final catastrophe—a ruin as complete as that of Charles the Twelfth at Pultowa—seemed fast approaching. The prince de Soubise, with an army of forty thousand French, and twenty thousand troops of the Empire, was encamped near Mucheln. Frederick, with twenty-two thousand of his Prussians, had

* Potter to Pitt—"Chatham Correspondence," vol. i. p. 277.

† Letter to Mann, Sept. 3.

‡ Mr. Edward Baines, in the Life of his father, says—speaking of the Leeds paper which for half a century has held so distinguished a place amongst Journals—"Up to the year 1801, the 'Mercury,' like almost every other provincial paper, had no editorial comments whatever."

§ "Grenville Papers," vol. i. p. 227. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

¶ "Annual Register," 1758, p. 20.

marched to encounter this unequal force. After some changes of position on either side, on the 5th of November, Soubise was suddenly attacked, when he thought that the king was retreating. Never was victory more complete than in this short battle of Rosbach. It was one universal rout. The French and the Imperial troops vied with each other in the swiftness of their flight. They left seven thousand prisoners, guns, colours, baggage—all that could manifest the extent of their humiliation. Before the battle, Soubise had sent a dispatch to Louis to announce that he might be expected soon to arrive in Paris with the king of Prussia as his captive. The French officers looked upon the little Prussian army, and laughed at the presumption of Monsieur le Marquis de Brandenbourg. Frederick indulged himself, as was his custom whether victorious or defeated, by writing some very indifferent occasional verses to bid farewell to the runaway French. He then turned to real business. He would recover Silesia before the approaching winter should prevent any military operations. By forced marches he reached the neighbourhood of Breslau. Here prince Charles of Lorraine was at the head of an army of Austrians, exceeding sixty thousand men. They met at the village of Leuthen, near the woods of Lissa, on the 5th of December; and thus this greatest of Frederick's battles is known by either name. This was no sudden rout like that of Rosbach. The Austrians fought bravely; but the genius of the Prussian leader gave him a mighty victory, which Napoleon said was of itself sufficient to place Frederick in the rank of the greatest generals. When this wonderful campaign shall come to be described by a historian equal to the theme, we may perhaps understand the meaning of the words, "there were great kings before Napoleon." The writer to whom this task is allotted, has briefly told us what he thinks of Rosbach and Leuthen: "Austerlitz and Wagram shot away more gunpowder—gunpowder probably in the proportion of ten to one, or a hundred to one; but neither of them was tenth-part such a beating to your enemy as that of Rosbach, brought about by strategic art, human ingenuity, and intrepidity, and the loss of four hundred and seventy-eight men. Leuthen too, the battle of Leuthen (though so few English readers ever heard of it) may very well hold up its head beside any victory gained by Napoleon or another. For the odds were not far from three to one; the soldiers were of not far from equal quality; and only the General was consummately superior, and the defeat a destruction."* The English people of 1757 did know something of Rosbach and of Leuthen. They forgot their own national misfortunes and disgraces in the triumphs of their great ally, the king of Prussia. "All England has kept his birth-day," writes Walpole. "The people, I believe, begin to think that Prussia is some part of Old England."

The defeat of the French at Rosbach led the king of England to refuse to ratify the Convention of Closter-Seven. "Some trifling infractions of the neutrality on the part of the French," according to Walpole, "were pretended to cover this notorious breach of faith."† Others hold that these "trifling infractions of the neutrality" consisted in the grossest cruelties and extortions exercised by the French on the Electorate. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick,

* Carlyle—"Friedrich II.," vol. i. p. 10.
† "Memoirs of George II.," vol. iii. p. 81.

a distinguished officer in the Prussian army, was recommended by Frederick to assume the command of the Hanoverian troops, who were thus freed to take part in the campaign of 1758. The Session of the English Parliament was opened on the 1st of December. The king recommended that his "good brother and ally," the king of Prussia, "should receive all the support which his magnanimity deserved." A subsidy of £670,000 was voted, with only one dissentient voice. His majesty by a message announced that the army formed in his electoral dominions was "to be put again into motion" to act in concert with the king of Prussia; and a present supply for the payment of that army was asked, in consideration of "the exhausted and ruined state of the Electorate." £100,000 was immediately voted. The votes for supplies amounted to ten millions. Pitt rarely went to the House of Commons, being laid up with the gout; but, whether confined to his chair or his bed, he issued his orders for the manning of fleets or the movement of armies, in every quarter of the globe. Some of his plans were successful; others were failures. He had not yet trodden down the system under which family connections and parliamentary influences were the paramount considerations in the choice of generals and admirals to command expeditions. Early in the Session Pitt had hurled his thunderbolts against lord Loudoun, who, he said, might have recovered affairs in America if he had not loitered from the 9th of July to the 5th of August, inquiring whether or no the French force was superior. "Our ill success has hurt my quiet and tainted my health." He had again to bear a repetition of ineffectual proceedings on the French coast, imputed by some to his want of knowledge of the defences of the place to be attacked—St. Maloes. An armament sailed on the 1st of June. The fleet was commanded by lord Anson; the troops by the duke of Marlborough. At St. Maloes a landing was effected without opposition. A number of small vessels were burnt, and then the soldiers re-embarked. "The French learned," writes Walpole, "that they were not to be conquered by every duke of Marlborough."* The success, such as it was, was called by Mr. Fox "breaking windows with guineas." On the 8th of August, Cherbourg was taken without opposition; its forts and basin were destroyed, with its hundred and seventy iron guns. Its brass guns were brought to the Tower of London. From Cherbourg, the same expedition proceeded to make another attempt upon St. Maloes. The place was found too strong for assault; and the English troops, who were in a wretched state of discipline, disgraced themselves by their excesses as they wandered about in the district. A large French force was coming down upon them. All was hurry to rejoin the ships in the bay of St. Cas; but the rear-guard of fifteen hundred men was cut off, and a thousand were killed or made prisoners. There needed some decided success to counteract the influence of these misfortunes. The French were dispossessed of their settlements on the African coast. An expedition sent against Fort Louis, on the Senegal river—a project suggested to Pitt by Thomas Camming, a commercial Quaker, who hoped that the French might be deprived of their monopoly of the gum trade without shedding a drop of blood. He went with the expedition, and Fort Louis was taken without slaughter. Goree surrendered to a stronger armament, but not without

* "Memoirs of George II.," vol. iii. p. 185.

many broadsides from our ships, which showed Pitt's "good and worthy Friend," as the minister addressed him, that gentle warfare was not a possible thing. There were greater conquests in America. Pitt had not only publicly censured the earl of Loudoun; he did what was more effectual—he recalled him. He now chose his commanders, not by seniority, but by their reputation for ability. General Amherst was dispatched to take the command of the troops, with Wolfe as his second in seniority, with the rank of brigadier-general. Admiral Boscawen was to command the fleet. There were now an admiral and a general who would co-operate. On the 2nd of June, a fleet of a hundred and fifty ships, bearing twelve thousand troops, appeared off Louisbourg. The soldiers were conveyed to the shore in boats; and Wolfe was the first to jump into the surf, and lead his men to the attack of the French who were drawn up to oppose their landing. The defences were very strong; and it was nearly the end of July before Louisbourg capitulated, with nearly six thousand prisoners of war. Cape Breton once more formed a part of our dominions. The French fleet in the harbour was utterly destroyed. Throughout England there was universal exultation. This great success was regarded as a proof that the nation was beginning to reap the fruit of vigorous councils. This was the turning point in Mr. Pitt's administration. There came disasters. This boldest of war ministers had a vast scheme of operations, each portion of which had reference to some ultimate object. He was already looking to the conquest of Quebec, and proposed to general Abercrombie to reduce the French forts on the borders of Lake George and Lake Champlain. An attack upon Ticonderago, a strong fort, was repulsed by the marquis de Montcalm, an experienced French general, with a loss to the British regiments and the American militia of two thousand killed and wounded. In a previous skirmish, lord Howe, who appears to have been "what every man in arms should wish to be," fell at the head of his regiment. The American campaign was concluded by the surrender to the British of fort Duquesne, the original cause of the war. Its name was changed to Pittsburg.

In this year, whilst prince Ferdinand kept the French in check, Frederick, on the 25th of August, fought the great battle of Zorndorf, near Frankfort-on-the-Oder, in which he defeated the Russians with a fearful slaughter. To show the short step from the sublime to the ridiculous, Walpole writes:—"Well! the king of Prussia is found again—where do you think? only in Poland, up to the chin in Russians. Was ever such a man! He was riding home from Olmütz; they ran and told him of an army of Muscovites, as you would of a covey of partridges; he galloped thither and shot them."* The smart letter-writer then speaks of the extreme popularity in England of the great Fritz: "The lowest of the people are perfectly acquainted with him; as I was walking by the river the other night, a bargeman asked me for something to drink the king of Prussia's health." A large portion of the English public,—a portion somewhat above the bargemen on the Thames and the alehouse keepers who set up the head of "the Protestant hero" as their sign—looked with intense interest upon the man who had fought six pitched battles

* Letter to Mann, Sept. 9.

in one year, and, undepressed by failure as he was calm under success, was still fighting for his little kingdom against a host of enemies. They looked with wonder upon the versatility and unconquerable gaiety of this most extraordinary of kings, who gave Europe a poem when he had no materials for a gazette. His poems, translated well or indifferently, unequal as their originals, found their way into popular Miscellanies. When he, in his Epistle to Voltaire, talked of "the insipid farce of tedious state"—"the fickle multitude's caress"—"the thorny pomp of scepter'd care"—critics might believe that there was the affectation of philosophy in all this; but the general sympathy would acknowledge that Frederick did not claim more for himself than he was entitled to, when he said that he must be,—

"to face the tempest's rage,
In thought, in life, and death, a King." *

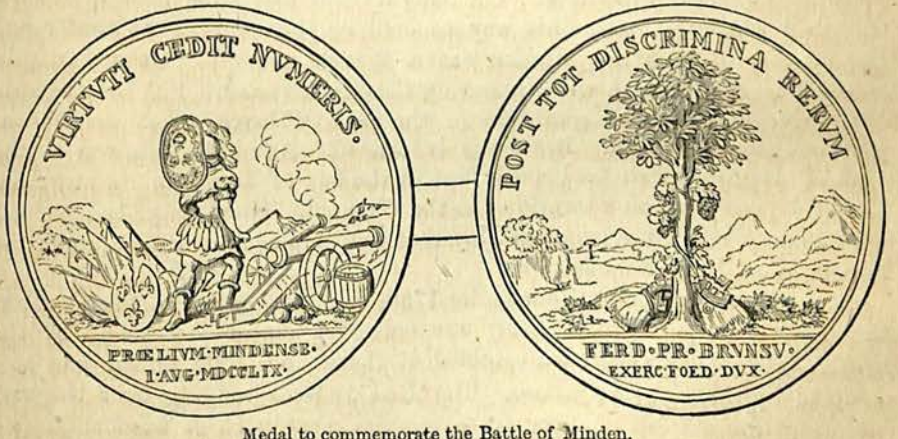
He had need of fortitude. He was triumphant over the Russians in August. In October he was surprised by the Austrians in his camp, in a combined operation of general Daun and general Laudohn. As the church clock of Hochkirchen struck five, on a cold and foggy morning of October, Frederick was awakened with the news that his batteries were stormed; and that a hostile army was in the centre of his camp. His presence of mind saved his troops from complete destruction; but after fighting five hours he was obliged to abandon his tents, his baggage, and his artillery. He halted about half a league from the field of battle; but he had brought off his men in such good order that the Austrians did not dare again to attack him. The great loss on that day was marshal Keith.

The Parliament met on the 23rd of November. "It is all harmony," says Walpole, "and thinks of nothing but giving away twelve more millions." The lavishness of Pitt has been objected against him; but it must be borne in mind that there can be no greater waste than results from the false economy of what Wellington called "a little war." The official mode of looking at a war-expenditure is thus described, with reference to the period when Pitt entered upon his ministerial career. "The heavy debt of the nation served as an excuse to those who understood nothing but little temporary expedients to preach up our impossibility of making an effectual stand. They were willing to trust that France would be so good as to ruin us by inches." † But Pitt took other means to rescue the nation from its ignoble lethargy and its slow decay, than the common lavishness even of weak ministers. He infused his own energetic spirit into every one whom he entrusted with the execution of his plans. In choosing men for military command, he passed over the ancient formalists "who had grown old on a very small portion of experience." He wanted men who would not shrink from difficulties. On the 22nd of September, 1758, a letter was addressed to the minister by the youthful general who had first leapt into the surf at Louisbourg. Wolfe had returned home in ill health. He was then in his thirty-third year. He informed Mr. Pitt that he had no objection to serve in America, and particularly in the river St. Lawrence, if any operations were to

* This translation is in the "Annual Register," for 1758.
† Walpole—"Memoirs of George II.," vol. iii. p. 173.

be carried on there. He asked only a little time to recover the injury done to his constitution, that he might be "the better able to go through the business of the next summer." * Pitt at once promoted Wolfe to the rank of major-general, and gave him the command of the projected expedition to Quebec. Lord Mahon has related, upon private authority, a most interesting anecdote of circumstances attending the last interview between the minister and the young soldier to whom he had entrusted so heavy a responsibility. Pitt invited Wolfe to dinner, lord Temple being the only other guest. "As the evening advanced, Wolfe—heated, perhaps, by his own aspiring thoughts, and the unwonted society of statesmen—broke forth into a strain of gasconade and bravado. He drew his sword, he rapped the table with it, he flourished it round the room, he talked of the mighty things which that sword was to achieve. The two ministers sat aghast at an exhibition so unusual from any man of real sense and real spirit." † Was there not some other exciting cause than Wolfe's own aspiring thoughts?—some inspiration beyond the ordinary sober talk in the society of statesmen? It is well known that Pitt would harangue in other places than in parliament. He harangued George II. He harangued every one to whom he gave important instructions. It has been said that no officer went into his presence to receive his commands without coming out a bolder man. According to a joke at the court of Louis XV., he so frightened Bussy, the French envoy, by his declamation, that the terrified negotiator jumped out of the window. The bravado of Wolfe might be the almost unconscious tribute of an impulsive nature to the warlike eloquence of Pitt.

The year 1759 is one of the most memorable years in the annals of Britain. On the colours of our 12th, 20th, 23rd, 25th, 37th, and 51st regiments are inscribed the name of "Minden." At the great battle of Minden, on the



Medal to commemorate the Battle of Minden.

1st of August, prince Ferdinand defeated the French generals the duke de Broglie, and the mareschal de Contades, who commanded a force very superior to that of the Hanoverians and English. In the preceding April, Ferdinand had been compelled to retreat before these generals, after having been

* "Chatham Correspondence," vol. i. p. 370.
† "History," vol. iv. p. 228.

defeated at Bergen. The electorate of Hanover seemed again ready to be a prey to the rapacity of the French, when another like the duke de Richelieu might build a palace out of its spoils. But the skilful tactics of Ferdinand stood between the French and their expected conquest. Cassel, Munster, and Minden were in their possession. A small detachment of the Hanoverians and English appeared before Minden, exposed, as it appeared to the French officers, to inevitable destruction. De Broglie marched out from his strong position to surround them; when the whole allied army was seen, drawn up in order of battle. De Contades then joined him; and the two, with their cavalry, made repeated attacks upon the solid English and Hanoverian infantry. Again and again they were driven back; and at length the French generals commanded a retreat. The cavalry, under lord George Sackville, had not been engaged. Ferdinand sent him orders to charge the French before they could rally. Sackville would not understand the messages brought to him by three aides-de-camp, two of whom were English. The opportunity was lost for the entire rout of the enemy; although the victory was complete, as far as it went. That evening, the Englishman whom his countrymen were to brand as a coward, appeared at Ferdinand's table. Surprise was expressed at the marvellous audacity. In the General Orders issued the next morning, in which the troops and some distinguished officers received the thanks of their commander, the name of Sackville was not mentioned; and the marquis of Granby, the second in command, was referred to as one who, if he had been at the head of the cavalry, would have made the decision of that day more complete and brilliant. Lord George begged to return home and to resign his command. He came to England; was deprived of all his offices; and being tried by court-martial in the following year, was found guilty of disobeying prince Ferdinand's orders, and was declared unfit to serve in any military capacity. The haughty and ambitious man, in despite of public contempt, made his way to civil employment in the next reign. But in spite of Sackville, Minden was a British triumph. Other triumphs succeeded. The French were preparing for our invasion. Pitt sent admiral Rodney to destroy their gunboats in the port of Havre, which service was effectually accomplished. Brest was blockaded. Admiral Boscawen on the 17th of August defeated a French fleet in the bay of Lagos on its way from Toulon to assist in the operations in the Channel. Guadaloupe had capitulated to an English armament in May that was employed in attacks upon the French West India Islands.

The French colony of Canada, in 1759, contained forty thousand souls. Lower Canada, or Canada East, was occupied almost exclusively by the French settlers, who had been established there since 1608, on the spot now occupied by the city of Quebec. The Red Indians ranging over the vast surface of unoccupied country were, for the most part, in friendship with the French, and assisted them, as we have seen, in their inroads upon the British North American colonists. Two millions of civilized men, whether of French or of British descent, incorporated into a great people, now inhabit that fine country of Canada; and, through the sure effect of the wise measures of the imperial government, however tardy, are amongst the most attached of British colonists, sending their surplus population to add to the home defence of the State which they honour. The marquis de Montcalm, in 1759, com-

manded the French troops in Canada—a brave and honourable man, untainted with the profligacy of the court of Louis XV. The plans of Mr. Pitt for the campaign in America were of a wide but comprehensive character. There were three armaments. Two of these had a field of operations calculated to attain partial advantages in themselves, but intended to combine in one great undertaking. In the middle of July, a body of the American militia, and of Indians in amity with them, commenced the siege of Niagara, a strong fort on that river, near the Falls. Six hundred men defended the place. A large force, chiefly of Indians, approached to the relief of the garrison; and during the battle which ensued, the Indian war-whoop was heard above the cataract's roar,—a singular contrast to many European battles in which the thunder-clap has mingled with the boom of the gun. The garrison capitulated; and the fall of Niagara was numbered amongst the triumphs of that year. General Amherst had succeeded to the command held by general Abercrombie, who had failed, not without incurring blame, in his attack upon the fortress of Ticonderago in 1758. In July, Amherst reduced this stronghold, the French retreating to another fort on Lake Champlain, called Crown Point. This place was also secured. But at the upper end of the lake the French had taken up a strong position. The English general had to build boats before he could attempt to dislodge them. He had been instructed, after securing the navigation on Lake Champlain, to march along the river Richelieu, and combine his operations with those of Wolfe on the St. Lawrence. Amherst embarked on Lake Champlain. He was driven back by storms; and then came the winter. Wolfe, with eight thousand men, had sailed in a fleet commanded by admiral Saunders; and by the aid of some charts of the river which had been taken on board a French vessel, the difficult passage of the St. Lawrence was accomplished. On the 27th of July, the small British army landed on the Isle of Orleans, opposite Quebec, where they found abundance to recruit them after their long voyage.

The highest hopes of the English people attended the progress of these operations in North America. The force sent out was large. There was confidence in the skill and bravery of the commanders. On the 14th of October there arrived in London a letter addressed by Wolfe to the earl of Holderness, one of the Secretaries of State, which appeared to annihilate every hope; as did a letter addressed to Mr. Pitt. On the 16th Walpole writes: "Two days ago came letters from Wolfe, despairing, as much as heroes can despair." The letter to Holderness, dated on the 9th of September, "On board the Sutherland, at anchor off Cape Rouge," is singularly interesting; written with great care, and with the solemnity of a brave man who feels that he is likely to fail in doing the State service. Quebec, he says, he could have taken, if Montcalm had shut himself up in the town; "but he has a numerous body of armed men, and the strongest country, perhaps, in the world to rest the defence of the town and colony upon." He had attacked their entrenchments on the 31st of July; but accidents prevented the success of the attempt; and the post had been so strengthened that another attempt would be too hazardous. The English fleet blocks up the river, but can give no assistance in an attack upon the Canadian army. The heat of the weather, and great fatigue, had thrown him into a fever, and

he had begged the generals to consider what was best to be done. They recommended that a considerable corps should be conveyed into the upper river, to draw the enemy from their inaccessible situation, and bring them to an action. "I agreed," he says, "to the proposal; and we are now here with about three thousand six hundred men, waiting an opportunity to attack them, when and wherever they can best be got at." The fleet of transports had carried the army, reduced to this small number, up the St. Lawrence, several miles above Quebec, where they disembarked. "So far recovered as to do business," he waited "an opportunity to attack." Genius makes its own opportunities. The Heights of Abraham form a continuation of the steep ridge of rocks on which Quebec is built—an almost natural barrier against any assaults from troops landing near the city. It was one o'clock in the morning of the 13th of September when the little band were crowded into boats, to float down the broad river with the flowing tide. In darkness and in silence they embarked. Wolfe, who had the poetical element in his composition, repeated in a low voice to his brother officers as they sat in the boat the famous poem which he had retained in his memory—Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard." * They reached a little inlet about two miles above Quebec, now called "Wolfe's Cove." They landed at the foot of a cliff, with one narrow path which led up to a wide table-land. The men struggled up with the aid of boughs and stumps of trees, or clinging to projections in the rock. Foremost amongst those who scaled the cliff was one of the new Highland regiments. A French picquet fired and fled. The height was gained. The troops formed in line; and anxiously waited for another detachment which the boats had gone back to bring. When the day broke a compact army stood, as if brought thither by magic, on the high-ground at the back of Quebec. Montcalm would not believe the intelligence. He saw with his own eyes; and then led his troops forth from their entrenchments. "If I must fight, I will crush them," he said; and prepared for battle.

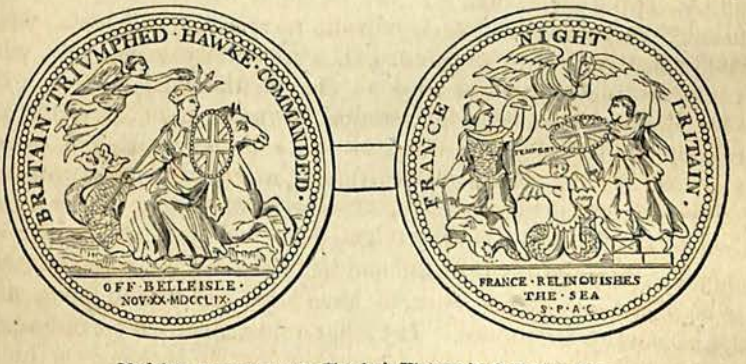
Wolfe had disposed his little force with admirable judgment. Montcalm was advancing with French and Canadian regiments intermingled, whilst his Indian allies were detached to outflank the British on their left. This left wing was commanded by brigadier-general Townshend, whilst Wolfe was with the right wing, where the hottest work was expected. He had ordered his men not to fire till the enemy came within forty yards. Montcalm's troops had fired as they advanced, and Wolfe had received a shot in his wrist. He bound the wound with his handkerchief. The volley of the British stopped the advance. Wolfe headed his grenadiers to the charge, when another shot struck him in a vital part. Still he issued his orders and pressed on. A third ball hit him in the breast. He fell, and was carried to the rear. His eyes were growing dim as he looked upon the battle. He sank on the ground, when an officer near him exclaimed "They run." The dying man raised himself on his elbow, and asked "Who run?" "The enemy, the enemy." "I am satisfied," said Wolfe. The second in command, general Monkton, had

* Strange as this may seem in such a moment of anxiety, it was the relief from the weight of an overwhelming thought; such as Shakspere has exhibited when he makes Cinna and Casca discuss where the coming day was to break, in the interval that preceded the resolve that Cæsar should die.

also fallen. General Townshend completed the victory. The brave Montcalm was mortally wounded, and being carried into the city died the next day. Quebec capitulated on the 18th of September.* The hearts of the people were probably never more stirred than by Wolfe's gloomy dispatch of the 9th of September, followed by the intelligence of the capture of Quebec, and of the death of Wolfe, which arrived three days later. "They despaired, they triumphed, and they wept." † The popular admiration of Wolfe was not a passing sentiment. A quarter of a century afterwards, when Cowper published his "Task," it was

> "praise enough
> To fill the ambition of a private man,
> That Chatham's language was his mother tongue,
> And Wolfe's great name compatriot with his own."

Parliament was opened by commission on the 13th of November. Peace was talked of; but it was urged that such supplies should be given, as would enable his majesty "to sustain and press, with effect, all our extensive operations against the enemy." In the course of the Session fifteen millions and a half was voted for Supplies—an enormous sum by comparison with the estimates of previous years of war. Pitt on the 20th moved that a public monument should be erected to the memory of general Wolfe. He moved also the thanks of the House to the generals and admirals, "whose merit," he said, "had equalled those who have beaten Armadas—'May I anticipate?' cried he, 'those who *will* beat Armadas.'" ‡ At the hour at which Pitt used this remarkable expression, a naval battle was being fought, which made his anticipation look like some mysterious sympathy which outran the ordinary means of intelligence — the "shadows before" which a sanguine mind sees in "coming events." Admiral Hawke was driven by the equinoctial gales from his blockade of Brest. Conflans, the French admiral, came out with twenty-one ships of the line and four frigates. Admiral Duff was off Quiberon Bay



Medal to commemorate Hawke's Victory in Quiberon Bay.

with his squadron; and Conflans hoped to attack him before Hawke could come to the rescue. But Hawke did return; and then Conflans hurried to the mouth of the Vilaine—fancying himself secure amidst the rocks and

* An obelisk erected in the gardens attached to the Government House bears on one side the name of "Wolfe," on the other that of "Montcalm."

† Walpole—"Memoirs," vol. iii. p. 219. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 230.

shoals on that shore to which the Britons sailed to the aid of the Veneti. The danger of a sea-fight in such a perilous navigation had no terrors for Hawke. The pilot pointed out the danger. "Lay me alongside the French admiral," was Hawke's reply to the pilot's remonstrance. "You have done your duty, but now obey my orders." The fight went on till night whilst a tempest was raging. Signal guns of vessels in distress were heard on every side. When the morning came, two British ships were found to be stranded, but their crews were saved. Four of the French fleet had been sunk, amongst which was the admiral's ship. Two had struck. The rest had fled up the Vilaine. This final victory put an end to all those apprehensions of a descent upon England, which prevailed before Pitt had infused his spirit into commanders by land and sea. The French admiral, Thurot, was to have co-operated with Conflans in an attempt at invasion. He landed in the north of Ireland; attacked Carrickfergus, which was bravely defended by seventy-two men; and then went again to sea, having plundered the town, and carried off the mayor and three other inhabitants as his prisoners.

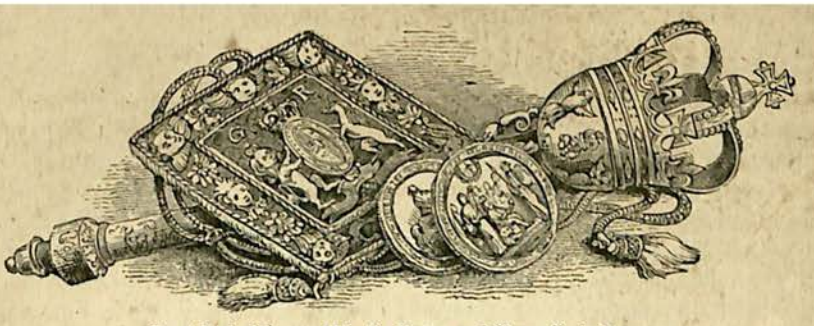
It was the determination to believe nothing impossible to a strong will, and to think no loss irretrievable, which sustained Frederick of Prussia through the reverses of 1759 — the most disastrous of all his campaigns. The defeat by the Russians at Kunersdorf would have annihilated a less resolute man. But he rallied; and he fought through another year of chequered fortune, during which his own territories suffered the extremities of misery, to win the two victories of Legnitz and of Torgau.

The year 1760 was not a year of excitement to the English people. The war went on; but even the defence of the conquests of 1759 required no great exertions. Quebec was besieged; but the besiegers were compelled to retire, when an English fleet appeared in the St. Lawrence. There was little domestic agitation, except a ministerial difference with the court, which somewhat detracts from the dignity of Pitt, in his exhibition of contempt for that influence which prevented his brother-in-law, earl Temple, from obtaining the Garter. Parliament had little more to do than vote supplies. "Success," said Pitt, "had produced unanimity, not unanimity success." A sudden event came, destined in a short time to change the whole aspect of affairs—to involve England once again in political contests more to be dreaded than the ordinary course of party warfare—more to be dreaded, because other leaders appeared than those of Parliament, and the representatives of the people were not on the popular side. The reign of George II. came suddenly to a close on the 25th of October. The king had risen at his usual hour of six; had taken his cup of chocolate; and had been left alone by his attendants. A noise as of a heavy fall was heard; then a groan. The old man lay on the ground, and never spoke more. The right ventricle of his heart had burst.

ADAM SMITH.

DAVID HUME.

EDWARD GIBBON.



Great Seal of George III., the Purse, and Chancellor's Mace.

CHAPTER XVI.

Accession of George III.—His education and character—Lord Bute—The king's first speech—Policy of the new reign—Independence of the Judges—The new Parliament—The king's marriage—Coronation—Negotiations for peace—Warlike operations—Affairs of the Continent—Frederick of Prussia—Negotiations broken off—The Family Compact—Resignation of Mr. Pitt—His pension—Debates in Parliament—War declared against Spain—Conquest of the Havannah, and other successes—Preliminaries of peace signed—The Peace of Paris—Conclusion of the Seven Years' War—The cost of the war, and its uses.

It is related that, on the morning of the 25th of October, George, prince of Wales, taking an early ride in the neighbourhood of Kew, where he was residing, a messenger came to him, bearing a note from a German valet-de-chambre who was about the person of George II., which note bore a private mark, as previously agreed, that declared the king was dead. The prince, suddenly become George III., showed no surprise or emotion; dropped no word to indicate what had happened; but, saying his horse was lame, turned back to Kew; and, dismounting, thus addressed his groom:—"I have said this horse is lame; I forbid you to say to the contrary." This is Walpole's relation, and this his comment:—"The first moment of the new reign afforded a symptom of the prince's character; of that cool dissimulation in which he had been so well initiated by his mother, and which comprehended almost the whole of what she had taught him."* We place this gossip of the servants' hall at the commencement of our narrative. It is quoted by lord John Russell as a trifling incident which showed the power which the young king had acquired over his countenance and manner.† It is referred to by Mr. Massey, to show that George III. "was not always scrupulous on the point of veracity."‡ Our readers will form their own opinion of this symptom of the royal character. Princes, as well as others of the higher orders of society, have been immemorially trained not to exhibit emotion; and the artifice by which the pupil of an adroit mother desired to conceal his irregular knowledge of a great fact may be paltry enough, but yet not a manifestation of habitual unveracity. Lord Waldegrave, who had unusual opportunities

* "Memoirs of the Reign of King George III. Now first published from the original MSS. Edited by Sir Denis Le Marchant, Bart." 1815. Vol. i. p. 6.

† "Bedford Correspondence."

‡ "History of England during the reign of George III." vol. i. p. 59.

for studying the character of the prince, assigns to him, in his twenty-first year, qualities which may certainly be traced in his maturer life: "His parts, though not excellent, will be found very tolerable, if ever they are properly exercised. . . . . He is strictly honest, but wants that frank and open behaviour which makes honesty appear amiable . . . . His religion is free from hypocrisy, but is not of the most charitable sort . . . . He has spirit, but not of the active kind; and does not want resolution, but it is mixed with too much obstinacy . . . . He has great command of his passions, and will seldom do wrong, except when he mistakes wrong for right: but as often as this shall happen, it will be difficult to undeceive him, because he is unusually indolent, and has strong prejudices . . . . Whenever he is displeased his anger does not break out with heat and violence, but he becomes sullen and silent, and retires to his closet; not to compose his mind by study or contemplation, but merely to indulge the melancholy enjoyment of his own ill-humour. Even when the fit is ended, unfavourable symptoms very frequently return, which indicate that on certain occasions his royal highness has too correct a memory . . . . Though I have mentioned his good and bad qualities, without flattery, and without aggravation, allowances should still be made, on account of his youth, and his bad education."* With regard to the education of the prince, his mother told Doddington that it "had given her much pain. His book-learning she was no judge of, though she supposed it small or useless; but she hoped he might have been instructed in the general understanding of things." Speaking of Mr. Stone, the sub-governor, the princess-dowager said, "she once desired him to inform the prince about the constitution; but he declined it, to avoid giving jealousy to the bishop of Norwich."† The bishop had the title of Preceptor. These instructors, according to lord Waldegrave, though men of sense, men of learning, and worthy good men, "had but little weight and influence. The mother and the nursery always prevailed." The partizans of lord Bute, Walpole says, "affected to celebrate the care he had taken of the king's education . . . . His majesty had learned nothing but what a man who knew nothing could teach him."‡ It has been, we think, hastily assumed, that this king, in his maturer life, added nothing to his scanty stores of knowledge.

Burke has described, in emphatic words, the state of the country at the period of the death of George II. "He carried the glory, the power, the commerce of England, to a height unknown even to this renowned nation in the times of its greatest prosperity; and he left his succession resting on the true and only true foundations of all national and all regal greatness; affection at home, reputation abroad, trust in allies, terror in rival nations."§ These triumphs of the last four years of George II.'s reign are thus pointed out, to contrast with the change that had taken place in ten years after the accession of George III. Junius, in the first of his celebrated Letters, holding that "to be acquainted with the merit of a ministry we need only observe the condition of the people," proceeds to say that, if "we see an universal spirit of distrust and dissatisfaction, a rapid decay of trade,

* "Memoirs," p. 8.
† "Diary," August 6, 1755.
‡ "Memoirs of George III." vol. i. p. 55.
§ "Thoughts the cause of the present discontents." 1770.

dissensions in all parts of the empire, and a total loss of respect in the eyes of foreign powers, we may pronounce, without hesitation, that the government of the country is weak, distracted, and corrupt." * Making every abatement for the party griefs of Burke, and the virulent hostility of Junius, we cannot doubt that during the first decade of the reign of George III. the times were "out of joint;" that a great change in the relations of the Crown to the Aristocracy had been effected; that a change of equal importance in the exercise of the power of the Sovereign, as distinguished from the power of a Ministry, had also been partially accomplished; and that the popular element in the House of Commons had been greatly diluted by the preponderance of the courtly element. Without entering minutely into the vast details which time has accumulated for the history of this period, we shall endeavour to present an impartial view of the events which indicate the policy systematically acted upon from the day of George III.'s accession—not passionately or inconsistently, but with a calm determination which showed that if Mr. Stone had neglected to teach the prince of Wales something about the Constitution, lord Bute had laboured to supply the deficiency. That policy, as set forth by Doddington, was "to recover monarchy from the inveterate usurpation of oligarchy;" and, further, to get rid of the necessary result of that domination, which was expressed in the lamentation of George II. to his Chancellor, "Ministers are the king in this country." These conceptions could not be realised without difficulty and danger. Perhaps the greatest danger was in that partial success which made the House of Commons more odious to the people in its subserviency to the Crown, than was the Crown itself at any past period of its conflicts with the House of Commons. In these early struggles of his reign, the character of the young prince, as indicated by lord Waldegrave, comes out with tolerable clearness:—an intellect not deficient, but not highly cultivated—honesty without frankness—resolution, approaching to obstinacy—indolence, soon overcome by a strong will—violent prejudices, liable to mistake wrong for right—sullen anger—enduring animosity. But we must not on the other hand forget that the party hostility, and even national dissatisfaction, which George III. provoked in many circumstances of his long reign, did not alienate from him the personal loyalty and even love of his people. They respected the example of his private life—his strong domestic affections; his simple tastes and unostentatious habits; his manly piety, of which no one doubted that it was "free from hypocrisy." We respect these qualities now; and knowing how much good was effected by the influence of his example, we may speak of his political errors with compassion rather than with virulence. Those errors, as far as the king's personal character was concerned, were more the subject of animadversion in the first twenty years of his reign, than in the subsequent period in which he exercised the regal authority. That he might possess the power as he advanced in life of correcting some of the original defects of his character, was anticipated by lord Waldegrave, in a passage which is omitted in the printed edition of the "Memoirs," and which neutralises in some degree the generally unfavourable opinion which the governor had formed of the pupil. "When the prince shall succeed to his grandfather, there may

* January 21, 1769.

possibly be changes of greater consequence." Lord Waldegrave refers to the confidence in lord Bute which had succeeded the authority of the nursery. "He will soon be sensible that a prince who suffers himself to be led, is not to be allowed the choice of a conductor. His pride will then give battle to his indolence; and having made this first effort, a moderate share of obstinacy will make him persevere." The pride and resolution of George III. subdued his indolence in a remarkable degree. Never did any ruler work harder, certainly too hard, in the endeavour to understand and influence public affairs. He did his best, within the limits of his ability. Lord Waldegrave adds, "His honesty will incline to do what is right; and the means cannot be wanting, where a good disposition of mind is joined with a tolerable capacity; for a superior genius does not seem to be a *sine quâ non* in the composition of a good king."*

The Earl of Bute.

The king for some time did "suffer himself to be led," and was not "allowed the choice of a conductor." The earl of Bute prepared his Majesty's first Address to the Privy Council. The earl of Bute, the Groom of the Stole, was not only named by the king as a member of the Privy Council, but also of the Cabinet.† To Mr. Pitt this nomination must have been especially offensive; for in the king's speech to the Council he alluded to "a bloody and expensive war." The great minister, who had conducted that war to an issue which redeemed even its cost of blood and treasure, by raising England out of her abject prostration to a height which was her safety as well as her glory, was indignant at this tone; and insisted that the passage should go forth to the world as "an expensive but just and necessary war." But the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt continued their alliance as ministers under the new sovereign. They were not very cordial. The influence of Bute was recognized in the smothered cry of "No Scotch favourite;" and the uncertainty of the final preponderance of the rivals for power was expressed in the joking question, whether the king would burn in his chamber, Scotch-coal, Newcastle-coal, or Pit-coal.

On the 18th of November, the king opened the parliament. Lord Hardwicke prepared the Speech, of which he sent the draught to Mr. Pitt. When it was to be settled in the Cabinet, the words were inserted in the king's own writing which were long treasured up in loyal memories: "Born and educated

* First given in the "Edinburgh Review," vol. xxxvii. p. 17.

† Sir Denis Le Marchant has pointed out that this nomination to the Cabinet, and not that to the Privy Council, was the subject of animadversion at the time.—Note to Walpole's "George III."

in this country, I glory in the name of Briton; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people whose loyalty and warm affection to me I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne." The House of Commons voted a Civil List of 800,000*l.*, upon the king surrendering the hereditary revenue. The annual subsidy to the king of Prussia was renewed. Supplies were given to the extent of twenty millions. The enthusiasm with which the king was greeted by his subjects was in striking contrast with the coldness that had attended the appearance in public of George II. At the play, the whole audience sang "God save the king" in chorus. The few remaining Jacobites gave up their hatred to the House of Hanover, and flocked to St. James's.

How short a time this happy calm was to last may be inferred from the revelations in Bubb Doddington's Diary. This ancient intriguer was now intriguing with Bute against the king's ministers. On the 20th of November they had "much serious and confidential talk." On the 29th Doddington pressed Bute to take the Secretary's office, and get rid of lord Holderness, On the 20th of December, "we had much talk about setting up a paper." Their great object appears to be embodied in the following passage regarding the ministry, which has especial reference to Pitt: "I think," writes Doddington, on the 2nd of January, 1761, "they will continue the war as long as they can; and keep in, when it is over, as long as they can; and that will be as long as they please, if they are suffered to make peace, which will soon be so necessary to all orders and conditions of men, that all will be glad of it, be it what it will, especially if it comes from those who have all the offices and the powers of office. All which can never end well for the king and lord Bute." How it would end for the nation was not a matter to be considered. Amongst the weapons which this pair devised to damage Pitt in popular estimation, they "agreed upon getting runners," hawkers of pamphlets and bills. Their desire also to return to one of the practices of the good old times is thus indicated: "We wished to have some coffee-house spies, but I do not know how to contrive it." * The habit in which Bute already indulged of using the name of the king as an authoritative recommendation of any political action—even of the nomination of a member for a borough under government influence—must have excited strong doubts of the wisdom of his majesty's constitutional training. Bute informed Doddington, on the 2nd February, "that he had told Anson that room must be made for lord Parker; who replied, that all was engaged; and that he (Bute) said, 'What, my lord! the king's Admiralty boroughs full, and the king not acquainted with it'—that Anson seemed quite disconcerted, and knew not what to say." Within a week after the accession, Walpole wrote, "The favorite took it up in high style." Three months later, the favorite could even venture to proclaim the policy of the new reign, in an insolent message to Pitt. "Mr. Beckford, dropping in conversation that he wished to see the king his own minister, he (lord Bute) replied, that his great friend Mr. Pitt did not desire to see the king his own minister, and he might tell him so, if he pleased, for that it was very indifferent to him (Bute) if every word he said was carried to Mr. Pitt." † One of the consequences of Mr. Beckford's wish was manifest

* "Diary," January 9, 1761. † *Ibid.*, February 21.

when, in 1770, he, being lord-mayor, harangued the king on the throne in words which assumed that, although the constitutional principle holds that the sovereign can do no wrong, no ministerial responsibility was recognized to shield that sovereign from the reproof of a subject. The lord-mayor had a constitutional right, which he had exercised, to present the Address of the City to the Sovereign. To that Address the king had read a reply, which reply was the act of his ministers. When Beckford added his personal remarks upon what the king had replied, he forgot that the king could not answer him, according to the theory and practice of the Constitution.

When the king went to Parliament on the 3rd of March, to recommend an alteration in the tenure of office by the judges, he did not assume that the measure then proposed was more than supplementary to a far greater measure of the period of the Revolution. His majesty said: "In consequence of the Act passed in the reign of my late glorious predecessor king William III., for settling the succession to the Crown in my family, their commissions have been made during their good behaviour; but notwithstanding that wise provision, their offices have determined upon the demise of the Crown or at the expiration of six months afterwards, in every instance of that nature which has happened." The king recommended that "further provision may be made for securing the judges in the enjoyment of their offices, during their good behaviour, notwithstanding any such demise;" and that their salaries "should be absolutely secured to them during the continuance of their commissions." Lord Hardwicke, on moving the Address of the Peers in reply to the king's Speech, gave that tone of somewhat extravagant eulogy in which it has been customary to speak of this measure. But the great lawyer treated the proposed change, not as the remedy of a crying evil, though admirable as the assertion of a principle—"The judges were sworn to one king, and depended upon a future king in expectancy;—his majesty demonstrated his wisdom in choosing to shut this door." In reviewing historically the operation of the laws affecting the judicial independence, he dwelt upon the evils of the three reigns before the Revolution, when the judges held their office *durante bene placito*. Compared with these times, his majesty found the law in a happy state. Upon the accession of queen Anne, "three judges were left out, and all the rest had new commissions. Upon the demise of George I., the like happened, but only one left out." "A cloud," lord Hardwicke truly said, "might arise *in futuro*." *

On the 21st of March, the Parliament was dissolved by proclamation. Previous to the close of the Session, the Speaker Onslow, who had filled the chair for thirty-three years, announced his intention of retiring. The Commons united in a vote, asking the Crown to bestow upon Onslow some signal mark of its favour. He received a pension of 3000*l*. There were changes in the ministry. Legge ceased to be Chancellor of the Exchequer. Holderness was removed from his office of one of the Secretaries of State. The earl of Bute was appointed in his place. That change was made without the knowledge of Pitt, the other Secretary. He bore the neglect patiently. He still directed the conduct of foreign affairs, and of the war. He was listening to overtures made by France to negotiate for peace. But he was also meditating

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xv. col. 1008. Notes of Lord Hardwicke's Speech.

some further enterprises that might result in a success that would give greater weight to the terms upon which he desired to insist. The General Election took place. Venality was never carried further. Mr. Hallam says, "the sale of seats in Parliament, like any other transferable property, is never mentioned in any book that I remember to have seen of an earlier date than 1760." * Bribery, in the approved form of selling a pair of jack-boots for thirty guineas, and a pair of wash-leather breeches for fifty pounds, was notorious enough to be laughed at by Foote. Dr. Johnson maintained that "the statutes against bribery were intended to prevent upstarts with money from getting into parliament." He held that "if he were a gentleman of landed property, he would turn out all his tenants who did not vote for the candidate whom he supported." † The struggle between the "upstarts with money"—the commercial interest—against what Johnson called "the old family interest," was fast becoming a formidable one. Bribery was the readiest weapon in the hands of the weaker of the political combatants of a hundred years ago. The weapon was too powerful to continue in the exclusive hands of one party. It was more efficient even than the intimidation of the owner of "permanent property," which Johnson thought was a proper restraint upon "the privilege of voting." A century of legislation has done little beyond exhibiting the character of the evil. It has probably only lost its shamelessness to become more dangerous.

The intended marriage of the king to the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz was announced in an Extraordinary Gazette of the 8th of July, detailing the communication to the Privy Council of his Majesty's choice of a consort. In the "Annual Register" this document is given; and it is observed, that although the people were desirous of seeing their young sovereign united to a princess worthy of his affection, "a few thought he might find in a subject one every way qualified to wear a crown, and made no difficulty of pointing her out." Lady Sarah Lennox, the sister of the duke of Richmond, was the lady thus glanced at. The king's passion for her was notorious. The mother of the king, and lord Bute, are held to have turned him aside from this beautiful object of his love, to accept a bride chosen from some petty German court. Colonel Græme, a Jacobite, was employed by the princess dowager "to visit various little Protestant courts, and make report of the qualifications of the several unmarried princesses." ‡ On his representation, the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg was chosen. There was a testimony of more importance to the character of the princess than that of this ambassador, who was congratulated by David Hume "in having exchanged the dangerous employment of making kings for the more lucrative province of making queens." ‖ Frederick of Prussia had sent a letter to George II., which the princess Charlotte, then a girl of sixteen, had addressed to him, when his troops were over-running the territory of her cousin, the duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. The letter is bold and eloquent. Even conquerors, she says, would weep at the hideous prospect before her. The husbandman and the shepherd have forsaken their occupation; the towns are inhabited only by old men, women, and children. The rival armies insult

* "Constitutional History," chap. xvi.
† Boswell, under date of April 5, 1775.
‡ Walpole—"George III.," vol. i. p. 65.
‖ *Ibid.*

and oppress the people, even those to whom they might look for redress. She can scarcely congratulate the king of Prussia on his victory, when it has covered her country with desolation. On the 8th of September, the princess arrived at St. James's, and the marriage was celebrated that afternoon. She, who for fifty-seven years was Queen-Consort, and, in many important matters, influenced the destinies of the country, was not to be compared in personal appearance with lady Sarah Lennox, or with another object of early passion, whose name lingered on the lips of the blind and aged king, when his distempered brain called up the ghosts of buried fantasies.* Of the queen, as she appeared on her bridal night, Walpole says, "she looks very sensible, cheerful, and is

Coronation of George III.

remarkably genteel." Her good sense and cheerfulness appear to have been the characteristics of queen Charlotte through her long and anxious life. We greatly doubt whether she can fairly be described as "of narrow and uncultivated understanding."† In the experiences of Fanny Burney we

* See Note in "Quarterly Review," vol. cv. p. 477.

† Massey, vol. i. p 118.

may trace many evidences of her quick capacity and her shrewd judgment; with a kindly nature, often breaking through the restraints of courtly etiquette, to be considerate and unaffected. In our own early days at Windsor we heard many anecdotes of queen Charlotte to confirm this view of her character; with not a few stories of her majesty's economical habits, not altogether of a royal complexion.

The Coronation of the king and queen took place on the 22nd of September. More serious considerations were coming upon the government than the omissions in the ceremonial of the banquet—omissions of which the king complained to the Deputy Earl Marshal, and the provident functionary replied, that he had now given such directions that the next coronation would be perfectly well regulated. The negotiations for peace with France were at an end. A more extended war was imminent.

At the beginning of 1761 the foreign affairs of France were under the direction of the duke de Choiseul, who had been first elevated to power by the influence of madame de Pompadour. Louis XV. at that time was still disturbed by those apprehensions of personal danger which had preyed upon him since the attempt of Damiens upon his life in 1757. The country was in a state of great misery, which presented a striking contrast to the extravagance of the Court. France, upon the verge of a general national bankruptcy, was humiliated by the extraordinary successes which had accompanied the administration of Pitt. The duke de Choiseul had proposed a general negotiation for peace, and plenipotentiaries had been named by England and Prussia to treat at a congress at Augsburg. But he also suggested a previous negotiation between France and England. M. de Bussy arrived at London as the French minister; and Mr. Hans Stanley was sent to Paris as the English negotiator. The despatches of Stanley to Pitt detail the progress of these conferences at Paris. The basis of pacification proposed was the *uti possidetis*—the continued possession of whatever territory each of the contracting powers might hold upon a day named;—in Europe, for example, on the 1st of May ensuing,—or an equivalent to such possession. The instructions which Mr. Stanley received were, that he should contend that the *uti possidetis* should date from the day when the treaty was signed. Pitt, as we have said, was looking to further conquests, which would give England a claim for larger equivalents. On the 9th of June, Choiseul told the English minister that Belle-Ile was taken; and "he did not express much concern or any resentment." The capture of Belle-Ile, an island near the mouth of the Loire, on the west coast of France, could not be regarded by the English government as a conquest of any permanent value. But Pitt, never relaxing from a vigorous conduct of the war until peace was absolutely secured, did not hesitate to send an expedition of nine thousand men to attack the fortresses of these rugged shores, where a few thousand fishermen obtained a precarious livelihood. There was a great sacrifice of life; and it was two months before the garrison of Palais capitulated. About the same period, the West Indian island of Dominica had been captured; and the French dominion in the East Indies had been finally destroyed by the surrender of Pondicherry. These successes gave some additional force to Pitt's demands. He required that Minorca should be restored in exchange for Belle-Ile. He demanded other concessions, which France was unwilling to yield. With a consistency and

firmness highly honourable, he insisted that in making a separate peace with France, England should not be restrained from lending her aid to the king of Prussia. Frederick was truly in a condition to require her aid. The Austrians were in possession of the most important posts in Silesia. In Pomerania the Russians had overpowered his commanders. All his resources were fast failing, except his own indomitable energy. In a remarkable letter which Frederick wrote to Pitt about this time, he declares his resolution to take for his examples, Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ; Elizabeth, at the time of the Spanish Armada; Gustavus Vasa, when he drove Christian from Sweden; the prince of Orange, who founded the republic of the United Provinces. The king of England, said Frederick, has to choose one of two courses; to think only of the interests of England, and forget those of his allies; or to unite the interests of his own nation with theirs, and thus uphold his good faith and his glory. "I am persuaded," he added to Pitt personally, "that you think like me. All the course of your ministry has been one series of noble and generous actions, and the minds that heaven has made of this temper never belie themselves." * Pitt gave Frederick the assurance of "the constancy of the king my master." Pitt was compelled to leave to others the interpretation of that assurance. The British, the Hanoverians, and the Prussians had been fighting together as allies, in the campaign of 1761. The results of that campaign left the war without any decisive results; but the skill of prince Ferdinand, and the valour of the British under the Marquis of Granby and General Conway, were signally displayed

John, Marquis of Granby. (From a Painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.)

through a series of difficult operations, and especially in the battle of Kirch-Denkern, on the 15th of July.

* "Chatham Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 107.

As the negotiations advanced between Great Britain and France, the demands of the duke de Choiseul were enlarged and his attitude became more firm. M. de Bussy delivered the *ultimatum* of his court on the 5th of August; in answer to which Pitt complained that France had not scrupled to interpose new perplexities in opposition to the blessing of peace, "by intermixing, too late, matters so foreign to the present negotiation between the two crowns, as are the discussions between Great Britain and Spain." He had previously written to Bussy in a tone of high indignation that France should "presume a right of intermeddling in any differences between the two crowns." The motive for this intermeddling was soon apparent. On the 15th of August, the duke de Choiseul and the marquis of Grimaldi, the Spanish ambassador at the court of France, signed the treaty known as "The Family Compact"; by which the two branches of the House of Bourbon agreed to consider the enemy of either as the enemy of both; to guarantee each other's territories; to give each other mutual succours by sea and land. Pitt obtained early and precise information upon the subject of this ominous alliance. He broke off the negotiations with France, recalling Mr. Stanley and dismissing M. de Bussy. He contemplated a bolder measure. He could scarcely hope for the cordial approbation of his colleagues when he proposed an immediate declaration of war against Spain; for a considerable number of the Cabinet had been adverse to the strong language he had held to M. de Bussy. But he trusted to the possibility of infusing his own spirit into the temporizing policy which Bute and others advocated. In a debate in the House of Lords in 1770, on the seizure of the Falkland Islands, Lord Chatham alluded to his conduct towards the Spanish ministers in 1761: "After a long experience of their want of candour and good faith, I found myself compelled to talk to them in a peremptory, decisive language. On this principle I submitted my advice to a trembling council for an immediate declaration of a war with Spain."* The scene before that "trembling council" has been recorded by Burke, who had especial means of accurate information. Pitt called upon his colleagues to strike the first blow against Spain, instead of waiting for a joint attack upon Great Britain by Spain and France; he maintained that no new armament was necessary; that the time was propitious for seizing the Spanish treasure-ships, before their arrival in port. Temple was the only minister who stood by Pitt. His proposal, Bute contended, was rash and unadvisable. Newcastle saw that his great coadjutor would be in a minority, and he supported the favorite. Pitt had to succumb, or to quit office. He thus declared himself: "This was the time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon; if this opportunity were let slip, it might never be recovered; and if he could not prevail in this instance, he was resolved that this was the last time he should sit in that council. He thanked the ministers of the late king for their support; said he was himself called to the ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he considered himself as accountable for his conduct; and that he would no longer remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide." Lord Granville (Carteret), the President of the Council, thus replied: "I find the gentleman is determined to leave us, nor can I say

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xvi. col. 1094.

I am sorry for it, since he would otherwise have certainly compelled us to leave him; but, if he be resolved to assume the right of advising his majesty, and directing the operations of the war, to what purpose are we called to this council? When he talks of being responsible to the people, he talks the language of the House of Commons, and forgets, that at this board, he is only responsible to the king. However, though he may possibly have convinced himself of his infallibility, still it remains that we should be equally convinced before we can resign our understandings to his direction, or join with him in the measure he proposes." * On the 5th of October, Pitt resigned the seals of Secretary of State; and Temple followed him in his retirement. When Pitt waited on the king to give up the seals, his majesty testified his regret at losing so able a servant; offered him any reward in the power of the crown to bestow; but expressed his concurrence in the decision of the Cabinet. The reply of Pitt was marked by that reverential demeanour with which he always approached the royal person: "I confess, Sir, I had but too much reason to expect your majesty's displeasure. I did not come prepared for this exceeding goodness. Pardon me, Sir,—it overpowers, it oppresses me." He burst into tears.† The immediate popularity of the great minister was seriously damaged by his acceptance of a pension of 3000*l.* a year, and of a peerage for his wife, who was created Baroness Chatham. Burke says that a torrent of low and illiberal abuse was poured out on this occasion. Pitt, for a little while, became the object of lampoons and caricatures, ascribed to persons "in the interest or pay of Bute."‡ Great was the rejoicing at the fall of the man who had rescued his country out of the hands of venal and incapable tricksters, to replace her in the position which had been lost by their imbecility and corruption. "The Court," says Walpole, "impatient to notify their triumph, and to blast his popularity at once, could not resist the impulse of publishing, in the very next night's Gazette, Mr. Pitt's acceptance of their boons—the first instance, I believe, of a pension ever specified in that paper." § Bubb Doddington wrote to congratulate Bute "of being delivered of a most impracticable colleague, his majesty of a most imperious servant, and the country of a most dangerous minister." If Bute, in addition to the announcement in the Gazette of the pension and the peerage, had published the letter in which Pitt acknowledged the court boons, would the public of that day have seen in the "imperious servant" what in our times has been with some slight injustice regarded as an imitation of "the fulsome prostration of queen Elizabeth's courtiers?" ‖ The time was not yet come when even those who rejected and despised the doctrine of the Crown being held by divine right, thought themselves free to regard the constitutional wearer of the crown as only the first civil servant of the state—as any other than as "our sovereign lord the king." What may appear sycophancy to us was the decorum of a century ago. We are inclined to believe that Pitt—who is said to have knelt when he was with George II. in his closet, and to have bowed so low at the *levée* that his hooked nose was seen between his legs—adopted

* "Annual Register," 1761, pp. 43, 44. † *Ibid.*, p. 45.
‡ Wright—"House of Hanover," vol. i. p. 395.
§ Walpole—"George III.," vol. i. p. 83.
‖ "Quarterly Review," vol. cv. p. 469.

this style systematically and upon principle, to mark the compatibility of his strongest objections to the measures of the Crown, with the profoundest reverence for the wearer of the Crown. He might be "prostrated with the bounteous favour of a most benign sovereign and master"* without surrendering the opinions which had compelled him to leave the service of that master. Earl Temple, who carried his political independence to greater extremes than Pitt, said that his brother-in-law would have been the most factious and insolent man living had he waived the offer of his sovereign's favours; that their acceptance bound him to nothing "but to love and honour his majesty . . . . He is as much a free man as myself."†

The popularity of Pitt did not sustain any lasting damage by his acceptance of the king's favours. Gray might exclaim, "Oh! that foolishest of great men, that sold his inestimable diamond for a peerage and pension!"‡ Walpole might talk of the giant who "stalking to seize the Tower of London, stumbled over a silver penny, picked it up, and carried it home to Lady Hester."§ But the multitude saw more clearly than the secluded poet or the fashionable satirist. Alderman Beckford wrote to Pitt to entreat him to come to the lord mayor's dinner at the Mansion House, on the 9th of November, where the king and queen were to go in state. He went with lord Temple; and he has been blamed for going. His reception by the people is thus recorded: "At every step the mob clung about every part of the vehicle, hung upon the wheels, hugged his footmen, and even kissed his horses. There was an universal huzza; and the gentlemen at the windows and in the balconies waved their hats, and the ladies their handkerchiefs."‖ Lady Chatham recorded in a note upon Beckford's letter, that her husband in this display acted against his better judgment. The hour was fast approaching when the national approbation of the great war-minister would rest upon a more solid foundation than the shouts of the multitude.

The new Parliament met on the 3rd of November. The king's speech promised a vigorous prosecution of the war. Lord Egremont had been appointed Secretary of State in the place of Pitt. George Grenville became leader of the House of Commons, holding the office of Treasurer of the Navy. The chief point of interest was the conduct and demeanour of the minister who had abdicated. Walpole has recorded the debates of this interesting period, and has thus supplied the *hiatus* in our Parliamentary History.¶ "He had resigned the seals," Pitt said, "in order not to be responsible for measures he was no longer suffered to guide, and from seeing the question of Spain in the light he saw it. He had acted from conviction, as he supposed the great lords who had opposed him had done likewise." He boldly maintained the necessity of continuing the German war. "America had been conquered in Germany." In another debate George Grenville, who had supported Pitt's German policy during his tenure of power, now openly opposed it. A ruder assailant than Grenville was now loosened upon Pitt. Colonel Barré, a new member, denounced him as a profligate minister, who

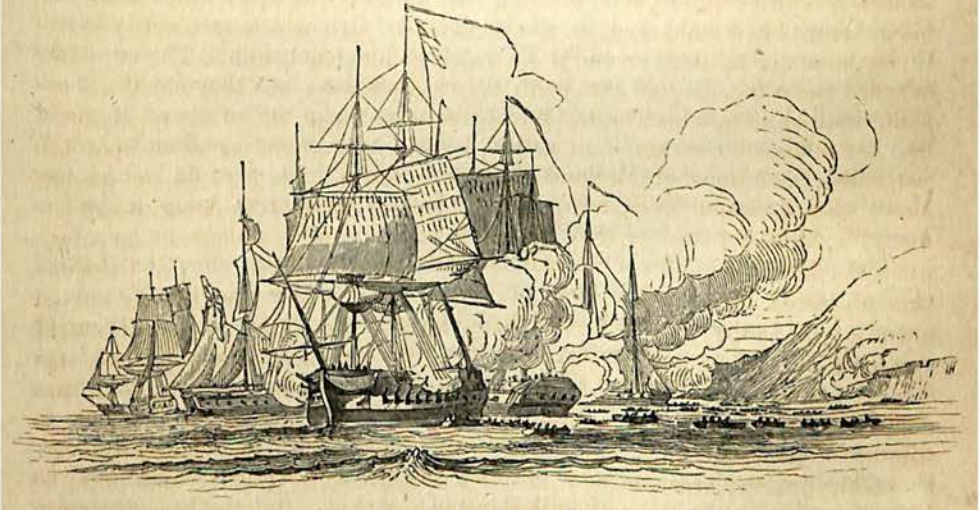
* "Chatham Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 149.
† "Grenville Papers," vol. i. p. 404.
‡ Letter to Wharton.
§ Letter to Countess of Ailesbury.
‖ "Annual Register," 1761, p. 237.
¶ "Memoirs of the Reign of George III." vol. i. pp. 99 to 120.

had thrust himself into power on the shoulders of the mob. Attack upon attack was made upon the ex-minister; but he preserved a wonderful calmness. To the rude assaults of Barré he deigned no reply, but turning round to Beckford, asked, pretty loud, "How far the scalping Indians cast their tomahawks?" Walpole regrets that Pitt did not utter a few words, "stating to Barré the indecence of treating an infirm and much older man with such licence; showing him that insult could not be resented when offered in a public assembly, who always interpose; and putting both him and the audience in mind that a man who had gained the hearts of his countrymen by his services, could only forfeit them by his own conduct, and not by the railing of a private individual." The attacks which had been prompted by those who had rejoiced in forcing Pitt from the power which he had wielded so well, contributed to their own confusion; when events which they could not controul soon manifested the wisdom of the policy which he had advocated. What he knew, and what in a written paper he had told the Cabinet he knew, of the alliance of Spain and France, became manifest when the opportunity had passed away of striking a great blow at the power of one party to the Family Compact. On the 2nd of January, 1762, the king declared in Council his resolution of making war on Spain. "The ministers, who had driven out Mr. Pitt rather than embrace this necessary measure, were reduced to adopt it at the expense of vindicating him and condemning themselves." * The count de Fuentes, upon being ordered to leave London, attributed the approaching rupture between Great Britain and Spain, "to the pride and to the unmeasurable ambition of him who has held the reins of the government, and who appears still to hold them, although by another hand." There was no other hand to take the helm which Pitt had resigned. But the chart which he had laid down for the course of the state-vessel was found to be the only possible guide, through that perilous sea upon which Bute and his adherents had embarked, in the confidence with which mediocrity sometimes presumes to carry on the work which genius has begun. The ministers adopted the war-policy of Pitt with regard to Spain; but they could not see the principle upon which he had endeavoured to make the efforts of England and her allies, in one scene of action, have a corresponding effect upon the particular operations of England in another scene. They could not understand what he meant in declaring that "he had conquered America in Germany." Whilst therefore they prepared to carry out his plans in an attack upon the Havannah, and upon islands in the West Indies, they at the same time alienated for ever the king of Prussia, by meanly evading the annual grant of the subsidy which Pitt had engaged to obtain from Parliament during the continuance of the war. In the king's speech Frederick was "our magnanimous ally;" but Bute took every means to withhold that support which the English nation were eager to recognize as the just tribute to a brave man struggling with misfortune. The king of Prussia finally overcame his host of enemies, and built up the great kingdom which now so largely influences the policy of all European states. But the base desertion of the Cabinet of George III. in the hour of his need was never forgotten.

With disjointed plans, the government of lord Bute—for he became

* Walpole—"George III.," vol. i. p. 128.

really supreme long before the retirement of the duke of Newcastle in June 1762—set about the conduct of hostilites. The Parliament met on the 19th of January. The king in his speech announced the war with Spain, resting its cause upon the Family Compact. What the ministry put into the mouth of the king was of less importance than the sentiments uttered by Pitt. He did not shrink from vindicating, but with modesty, his own claims to the honour due to his intelligence and foresight. But the real patriotism of the statesman burst forth when he exclaimed, "What imported it what one man or another had thought three months before? The moment was come when every man ought to show himself for the whole. I do, cruelly as I have been treated in pamphlets and libels. Arm the whole! Be one people! This war, though it has cut deep into our pecuniary means, has augmented our military faculties. Set that against the debt—that spirit which has made us what we are. Forget everything but the public! For the public I forget both my wrongs and my infirmities." * The man who was thus rousing the spirit of England, was the author of projects that were to give new confidence to the heart of the nation by success. Pitt had arranged an expedition against the French island of Martinique, before he quitted office; and he had intended that the same expedition should proceed against the Havannah, in the event of a rupture with Spain. Admiral Rodney commanded a fleet, carrying twelve thousand men, under the command of general Moncton. They disembarked at a creek in Martinique on the 7th of January; reduced several strong posts; and the island was speedily surrendered, although some of its works had been deemed impregnable. Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent were as quickly taken. All men gave Pitt the credit of this triumph. On the 5th of March, an expedition sailed from Portsmouth; under admiral sir George Pocock, with land forces commanded by the earl



Storming of Havannah.

of Albemarle. At Martinique they were joined by a portion of the forces that had effected the conquest of that island. The British naval force con-

* Walpole—"George III.," p. 134.

sisted of nineteen ships of the line, with smaller vessels; the transports carried ten thousand troops. The Havannah was finally taken; but with a tremendous sacrifice of life. The city had been strongly fortified. The entrance to the harbour, within which were twelve Spanish ships of the line, was defended by two forts, the Pantal, and the Moro. From the 12th of June to the 30th of July, the soldiers and sailors vigorously pursued the siege of the Moro, suffering greatly from the climate. On that day the Moro was taken by assault. The Havannah was then besieged; and was finally surrendered on the 12th of August, with all the ships in the harbour. To complete the triumphant operations which Pitt had devised, the Philippine islands were captured by an expedition sent out from Madras.

On the 25th of November, the Session of Parliament was opened with an elaborate speech from the throne. The king reviewed the circumstances in which he found the country upon his accession, "engaged in a bloody and expensive war." He resolved to prosecute it with the utmost vigour; "determined, however, to consent to peace upon just and honourable terms, whenever the events of the war should incline the enemy to the same pacific disposition." His majesty then noticed the failure of negotiations; and the subsequent exertions of national strength. "History cannot furnish examples of greater glory, a greater advantage acquired by the arms of this or any other nation, in so short a period of time." The king then announced, that through these exertions his enemies had been brought to consent to terms of peace, and that the preliminary articles had been signed. "The conditions of these are such that there is not only an immense territory added to the empire of Great Britain, but a solid foundation laid for the increase of trade and commerce." The interests of his majesty's allies had not been forgotten. "I have made peace for the king of Portugal, securing to him all his dominions;* and all the territories of the king of Prussia, as well as of any other allies in Germany and elsewhere, occupied by the armies of France, are to be immediately evacuated." The speech thus concluded: "We could never have carried on this extensive war without the greatest union at home. You will find the same union peculiarly necessary, in order to make use of the great advantages acquired by the peace; and to lay the foundations of that economy which we owe to ourselves and to our posterity; and which can alone relieve this nation from the heavy burthens brought upon it by the necessities of this long and expensive war."

The preliminaries of this peace were signed at Fontainebleau on the 3rd of November. In the previous negotiations lord Bute had manifested an anxiety for an immediate pacification, which exhibited more of the character of a humiliated than a triumphant nation. Whilst the results of the expeditions against the Havannah and the Philippine islands were as yet unknown, he was willing to consent that they should be restored to Spain without conditions, if the British arms had been successful. The Spanish minister thought the expeditions would fail; and therefore delayed signing the preliminaries, that he might take advantage of a defeat. When the success was known, Bute would have given up Havannah and Manilla, without any equi-

* Upon the English rupture with Spain, war had been declared by France and Spain against Portugal, to compel her to depart from her neutrality.

valent. His colleagues differed from him; and Florida, then a very useless possession, was at length accepted, and the great Indian colonies of Spain were restored. The other acquisitions of Great Britain were,—the whole of the French provinces in North America; the West India islands of Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Granada; Minorca restored in exchange for Belle-Ile. Spain gave up the points in dispute between her and Great Britain, upon which she had ventured to risk a war. As to the contest still continuing in Germany, it was agreed that France and England should withdraw altogether from interference. The definitive treaty of Peace was signed at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763. On the 15th of the same month, peace was concluded between the empress Maria Theresa, the elector of Saxony, and the king of Prussia. The Seven Years' War ended by replacing the parties to this great quarrel in the exact position in regard to territory in which they stood before its commencement.

It is scarcely necessary, now, to enter upon an examination of the question, whether England could have obtained better terms in the final pacification, had Pitt been permitted to carry his great plans onward to their maturity. His complaints against the conditions of the peace were vehemently urged in Parliament. He thought that the House of Bourbon had not been sufficiently humbled. "He prayed for the House of Brunswick; stood on revolution principles alone against France; had a deep-rooted alienation from France; acted on the spirit of king William, on whose maxims, and on the maxims in which they came hither, the House of Brunswick must rest, or could never be secure." * The great Commoner had truly stated the debtor and creditor account of this war, when he proposed to set against its cost "that spirit which has made us what we are." In 1755, the unredeemed capital of the national debt of Great Britain and Ireland was 72,505,572*l.* In 1763 it amounted to 132,716,049*l.* A burden upon posterity had been created by this war of sixty millions. The interest upon the debt in 1755 was 2,650,041*l.* In 1763 it had increased to 5,032,733*l.* Looking to the mere question of figures, we may assume that we are paying at the present hour very nearly two millions and a half annually for the glories of Mr. Pitt's administration. The nation at that day scarcely felt the pressure of increased taxation occasioned by the war; for it was the constant boast of Pitt—a boast which is inscribed upon his monument in Guildhall—that under his administration commerce had flourished in company with war. This is an anomalous prosperity, which may partially stimulate the enterprise of a maritime nation, and irregularly add to its powers of production. But the waste of capital, the necessary imposition of high prices upon the labouring classes, and the heaping up of burdens for a coming generation, are evils which can never be compensated by military glory or territorial acquisitions. But they are compensated when a nation is awakened by war out of a degraded condition; when the principle of an exalted patriotism and a generous loyalty takes the place of a venal self-seeking and a miserable abnegation of public duty. England was in this apathetic state when Pitt took the direction of her affairs. When he

> "Consulting England's happiness at home,
> Secured it by an unforgiving frown
> If any wrong'd her." †

* Walpole—"George III.," vol. i. p. 229. † Cowper—"Task," b. 2.

He raised the people to a just appreciation of the spirit in which he had laboured for the elevation of his country. That some of that spirit has been transmitted to us during the lapse of a century may be, even now, a compensation for the two shillings a head that every one of the twenty-five millions of the existing population has annually to pay towards the perpetual burden of taxation created by the war that was terminated by the peace of Paris.

Garden Front of Old Kew Palace. From a Print by Woollett.

George Grenville.

CHAPTER XVII.

Lord Bute Prime Minister—Policy of the Favourite—John Wilkes—Lord Bute resigns—George Grenville's Ministry—"North Briton," No. 45—Arrest of Wilkes—Negotiation for Mr. Pitt's return to power—The king's desire to govern—The Wilkite agitation—Hogarth, Wilkes, and Churchill—Wilkes ordered to be prosecuted—Expelled the House of Commons—Great Debates on General Warrants—Officers dismissed for votes in Parliament—Restrictions on the American Colonies—Grenville's Resolutions on American Taxation—The Stamp Act passed—Resistance in America—Motives for passing the Stamp Act.

The influence of Pitt upon the action of the government was at an end, when the war which he had directed, and to which he continued to lend his spirit, came to an end. The policy in the conduct of the internal affairs of Great Britain, which now commenced its development, provoked an opposition, resulting in a conflict, in some respects the most lamentable, if not the most disgraceful, which had been witnessed in any previous antagonism of the authority of government and the popular sentiment. The earl of Bute became ostensibly, as he had been for some time in reality, the prime minister, when the duke of Newcastle resigned his office of first lord of the Treasury. There might have been surprise that a Scottish peer, of no marked ability, known only as the favourite of the king's mother, and the chief officer of the household of the young sovereign when he was prince of Wales, should become the supreme director of affairs, and receive the highest honours, such as that of the Garter. But the temper of the nation would not have been blown into a flame, had not the constitutional guardians of public opinion shut up the safety valves which allow that mighty power of a free state harm-

lessly to exert its irresistible influence. The House of Commons quickly became unpopular; and that unpopularity left the throne open to the rude assaults of a headlong force, which threatened to destroy its claims to respect and obedience. In attempting to restore the influence of prerogative by weakening the power of the oligarchical dispensers of patronage, Bute endangered the success of a scheme in some respects desirable, by failing to cultivate the support of the people. Party contests had been utterly suspended during the triumphant administration of Pitt. When his power was at an end they were renewed with a virulence which it would be difficult perfectly to understand, if we did not see in this change a natural result of a more deep-seated change in the social organization. From the Revolution of 1688 to the Rebellion of 1745, the contest was between the adherents to the Bill of Rights and to the Act of Settlement, and the gradually decreasing partizans of the Stuarts; and, coincident with the existence of these factions, a perpetual struggle between High Church and Low Church, between Orthodoxy and Dissent. The Crown, during the whole period from the Revolution to the death of George II., had, with the exception of the short ministry of Harley and Bolingbroke, chiefly looked for its support to the great Whig party, and in their successive phases of administration the popular element necessarily preponderated. There had been at many seasons a fierce struggle for supremacy; but at no period were the notions of prerogative advanced as the principle upon which the monarchy was to be upheld. It was not attempted to be disguised that the new minister of George III., who had supplanted, or was endeavouring to supplant, the old family influences, had resolved to place the power of the Crown upon a broader basis,—to bring back something of the old ascendancy of prerogative. He had shown his disposition to contend against the force of public opinion, by displacing the popular minister. The portion of history which we have now to trace has been justly described as "equally anomalous and disagreeable."*

Upon the resignation of the duke of Newcastle in June, 1762,—on the alleged plea of his difference with the Cabinet on the question of continuing a subsidy to the king of Prussia, but more probably from his perception that the parliamentary foundation of his power was to be cut from under his feet,—the earl of Bute left his office of Secretary of State to become the head of the Treasury. George Grenville then became Secretary of State; and sir Francis Dashwood Chancellor of the Exchequer. But whatever were the minor arrangements, the real power of the government was centred in Bute; and upon him fell that storm of popular indignation which Wilkes and Churchill embodied in the bitterest of personal attacks. In June, 1762, the first number appeared of "The North Briton." This paper, which afterwards acquired such a dangerous celebrity, was set up by John Wilkes, with the assistance of Charles Churchill. It was marked by no great display of talent; but it was daring in its personality. "The North Briton" did not observe the old decorum of giving names by initials. The King was not softened into the K—, nor was Bute pointed to as B—. The minister's name was not disguised as "The Jack-boot," nor as the "Thane," as the caricatures exhibited him. More paltry than the assaults upon the favourite's

* Dr. Arnold—"Lectures on History," p. 263.

political character was the attempt to lower him in the estimation of the English as a Scot. Wilkes did this coarsely. Churchill with extraordinary skill, in his "Prophecy of Famine," which appeared in January, 1763. We can read this production as we read Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel," utterly forgetting the partizan to admire the poet. Lord Temple, the friend of Wilkes, deprecated the system pursued in "The North Briton" of "attacking at once the whole nation of Scotland, by wholesale and retail, in so very invidious a manner." * He shrunk also from having "Lord B.'s name at full length." Much of the odium that fell upon this minister is to be ascribed rather to the belief that he was a favourite, than to his actions as a statesman. It was to the suspicious circumstances which made him the ruler of Leicester House that the people attributed the confidence placed in him by the young king. The common parallel of the libellers was Mortimer and queen Isabel. That a minion should have displaced such a minister as Pitt, was sufficient to make his name execrable without any very odious acts of power. His precipitation in concluding the peace without obtaining the full advantage of the war, would have been quickly forgotten. But his rash dismissal of three of the greatest amongst the peers from the Lord-Lieutenancies of their counties, for their presumption in offering objections to the conditions of the Peace, indicated a temper in which thinking men saw something like an attempt to go back to arbitrary power. The dislike of Bute became so intense, that in many places a jack-boot and a petticoat were publicly burnt, as types of the favourite and his patroness. When a Bill for laying a tax upon cider was passed amidst great opposition, the popular clamour reached its height; and at last the unhappy minister was afraid to appear in the streets without the escort of a gang of bruisers. Suddenly, on the 8th of April, 1763, lord Bute resigned all his official employments. It would seem, from a correspondence between him and George Grenville, that Bute had the sole power of forming a new ministry, previous to his resignation. Upon offering the great post of First Lord of the Treasury to George Grenville, he made use of the phrase "the king's friends," in recommending Grenville cordially to take the assistance of those who came under this designation. Grenville became the head of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; lord Egremont and lord Halifax the two Secretaries of State. Upon the retirement of Bute, Fox was raised to the peerage as lord Holland. Although he ceased to take any part in public affairs, he clung to the great sinecure of his office of Paymaster; and had the gratification of still receiving those vast irregular emoluments which Pitt despised. The voice of public execration might scarcely reach him amidst the fantastic buildings which he raised at Kingsgate, near Margate; where, though

"Old, and abandon'd by each venal friend," †

he might hug himself in the satisfaction that he had done as much as any man in his time to play the great game of politics solely with reference to his own private advantage; and had won by his talents and perseverance the real prize of statesmanship, whilst his eloquent rival had only the barren fame.

On the 19th of April, eleven days after the resignation of lord Bute, the king closed the session of Parliament. His majesty dwelt upon the conditions

* "Grenville Papers," vol. i. p. 457. † Gray—"Impromptu on Kingsgate."

of the definitive treaty of peace, as advantageous to his own subjects; and he then added, "My expectations have been fully answered, by the happy effects which the several allies of my crown have derived from this salutary measure. The powers at war with my good brother, the king of Prussia, have been induced to agree to such terms of accommodation as that great prince has approved; and the success which has attended my negotiation has necessarily, and immediately, diffused the blessing of peace through every part of Europe." On the 23rd of April came out No. 45 of "The North Briton," in which the comment of Wilkes upon this passage was considered by some, to use Walpole's expression, as giving "a flat lie to the king himself." Wilkes used these words: "The infamous fallacy of this whole sentence is apparent to all mankind; for it is known that the king of Prussia did not barely approve, but absolutely dictated as conqueror, every article of the terms of peace. No advantage of any kind has accrued to that magnanimous prince from our negotiation; but he was basely deserted by the Scottish Prime Minister of England." In this famous "North Briton" Wilkes cautiously abstained from giving the lie to the king himself. It was, he said, "the minister's speech,"—an imposition as great upon the sovereign, as upon the nation: the sanction of the king's name was given to the most unjustifiable public doctrines. The proceedings of the Government against Wilkes not only made the witty profligate the most famous man in England; but rendered him the centre of a constitutional resistance to the Prerogative of the Crown and the Privilege of Parliament, which, mixed up as it was with the cause of a man in many respects worthless, eventually placed the liberties of the people upon a firmer foundation of legal right than had previously been acknowledged. On the 30th of April a "General Warrant" was issued against the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious and treasonable paper entitled "The North Briton," No. 45, &c. By a "General Warrant" is understood an authority to apprehend any person supposed to be implicated in a particular charge. Balfe, the printer, and Kearsley, the publisher, were taken at once. The king's messengers entered the house of Wilkes at midnight on the 29th, but he protested against their intrusion at such an hour; and they quitted him, to return in the morning. He was carried before the two Secretaries of State, and was by them committed to the Tower; his papers being seized and examined. At first he was closely confined, and was debarred all intercourse with his friends, or the use of pen and paper. When these severe restrictions were laid aside, he was visited by earl Temple and the duke of Grafton. On the 3rd of May, he was brought to the Court of Common Pleas, upon a writ of habeas corpus granted by sir Charles Pratt, the Lord Chief Justice. Serjeant Glynn argued the case, and Wilkes spoke himself with that boldness approaching to effrontery, which was one of his characteristics. The court postponed its decison till the 6th. The crown lawyers had contrived not to have the question then raised of the legality of a General Warrant; but the Chief Justice, speaking in the name of himself and his fellow judges, determined that his privilege as a member of parliament protected Wilkes from arrest. That privilege, Pratt said, held good in all cases except treason, felony, and an actual breach of the peace. A libel was not a breach of the peace, but only tended to such breach. "Let Mr. Wilkes be

discharged from his imprisonment." The next day earl Temple was dismissed from the Lord-Lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire, and his name was struck off the list of Privy Councillors. Wilkes was deprived of his commission as a colonel of the Buckinghamshire militia. For seven years did the battle go on—a battle in which every supposed victory of the Government was a real defeat. Of this extraordinary contest, in its various aspects, we shall have to take up the narrative from time to time as we proceed. At every step it will be impossible not to see the weakness and folly of the Ministry and the Parliament; and, however we may despise the reckless audacity of the demagogue over whom public opinion threw its shield, we cannot but rejoice that in his case the eternal principles of justice were asserted from the judgment seat, and that the majesty of the law was not sullied by any such subserviency to power as had disgraced earlier periods of our history.

The interval between the proceedings against Wilkes and the meeting of Parliament in November, was marked by an attempt to call back Mr. Pitt to the direction of affairs. George Grenville had been tried by Bute, and had not given satisfaction. A dry, formal man, with very precise notions of the mode of conducting public business, he could not brook the interference of the ex-minister who had given him his office. Bute was close at the royal ear to give advice to the young sovereign, in the capacity of "the king's friend." Lord Egremont, one of the Secretaries of State, died suddenly of apoplexy. Bute, who, when he got rid of Pitt, had said that the king would never suffer those ministers of the late reign, who had attempted to fetter him, to come again into his service, now advised his majesty to give his confidence to the man whom he used contemptuously to term "the people's darling." On the 27th of August, the well-known sedan-chair of Pitt (built in a singular fashion to accommodate his gouty foot) was moving through the Park to Buckingham House, the king having commanded his attendance. The king was gracious; the great commoner authoritative and firm. Pitt maintained that it would be for his majesty's interest to restore to his confidence those steady friends of the House of Hanover who had been driven from his counsels. The king, according to Pitt's report to lord Hardwicke, appeared to be convinced by his arguments, and desired to see him again on the following Monday, the first interview being on Saturday. In the meantime Bute and Grenville had been with his majesty; and when Pitt had another audience, the king continued to discuss his proposals, as if he had not intimated to Grenville that he was to continue his minister; but finally said, "I see this won't do." Lord Shelburne congratulated Pitt "personally and very sincerely on a negotiation being at an end, which carried through the whole of it such shocking marks of insincerity." The only result of this negotiation was, that it became manifest that Bute still influenced public affairs. Grenville had been affronted by the course which had been taken in endeavouring to supersede him; and he only consented to remain in office upon the condition that there should be no "secret influence." The duke of Bedford became President of the Council, and lord Sandwich Secretary of State.

It is impossible to look upon this extraordinary proceeding on the part of George III. without in some degree regarding it as a manifestation of his peculiar character. He had been brought up with certain notions, and in many respects very proper notions, of his own power and prerogative. As

far as he was acquainted with the history of his country, and we have no right to assume that he was ignorant of it, he had seen no sovereign since the time of William III. who took a direct and active part in the administration of public affairs. So far from indulging the indolence which lord Waldegrave thought was constitutional, he exhibited an amazing anxiety to suggest, to control, to dictate, in every operation of government. He was impatient under the triumphant administration of Pitt, because the personal supremacy of the minister overshadowed the authority of the king. It is possible that he was wearied with the tutelage of Bute, when he thought it possible to call back the greatest man in his kingdom to be the instrument of his will. Pitt's firm bearing, in that memorable audience of the 27th of August, satisfied him that he could not put his government into the hands of a responsible minister who proposed to act as the representative of a great party. When Grenville saw the king on the Sunday evening after his first interview with Pitt, he found him "in the greatest agitation"—the terms, his majesty said, which Pitt had demanded were "too hard." The prevailing desire of George III. to have a ministry moulded to his own views was a constant struggle against the shackles imposed upon a king by the very conditions of a limited monarchy. He had force of character enough to be determined that he should be consulted, and if possible obeyed, in the smaller as well as in the greater affairs of state; but he had not sufficient strength of understanding to know how much to leave to the responsibility of his servants—how far he could safely direct, and at what point he could best defer to the opinions of those to whom he purported to have given his confidence. Through this tendency to govern of himself he weakened his own real power and influence. Lord Brougham has truly said, "It is not to be denied that George III. sought to rule too much; it is not maintained that he had a right to be perpetually sacrificing all other considerations to the preservation or extension of his prerogative. But that he only discharged the duties of his station by thinking for himself, acting according to his conscientious opinion, and using his influence for giving those opinions effect, cannot be denied." * But it was a lamentable circumstance of this constitutional and not unreasonable rule of conduct, that the king personally did many harsh acts to mark his resentment of those who differed from him; that though to some of his ministers he was a confiding and even affectionate master, to others he was wayward and distrustful; that during the first nine years of his reign there were six successive administrations, and that, to use the words of Burke, "the question at last was not, who could do the public business best, but who would undertake to do it at all." † In Burke's parliamentary language, it was "the arbitrary fiat of an all-directing favourite" that prevented men of talents and integrity accepting employments where they could not exercise their judgment or their honesty. But it is now well known that the influence of lord Bute had wholly come to an end after a few years; and we cannot therefore shut our eyes to the fact that the king, however right in his determination not to be a cypher in the State, had not the discretion to prevent that desire becoming a source of national disunion.

* "Statesmen of the time of George III.," vol. i. p. 14.
† "Parliamentary History," vol. xvi. col. 879.

The seven years of Wilkite agitation could not have been a pleasant epoch in the life of any friend of rational liberty, and well-balanced authority. The principles of constitutional freedom were mixed up with the quarrel of a profligate demagogue, and the outrages of an unthinking multitude. Sober men naturally turned from the support of such a cause. On the other hand, the course of the government was so paltry, so passionate, so vindictive, so obstinate, that the most strenuous loyalty could scarcely give an honest assistance to measures which transformed a nation's willing obedience into a dull submission to the powers that be. During this period of hateful controversy, there was a perpetual excitement of libels and mobs; the decisions of the law coming in conflict with the desires of the Crown; the will of the people opposed to the votes of the Parliament. The bystanders looked with surprise and alarm upon this extraordinary game, in which statesmen seemed to be puppets moved by some machinery, rather than by their own natural impulses. Time has partially lifted up the curtain, and we see the hands that pulled the strings.

John Wilkes, although filling an influential position—a Buckinghamshire magistrate; a bon vivant in what was called the best society—was a needy man, and little able of himself to carry on the great legal contest in which he became engaged. His chief friend was earl Temple, who had left office with Pitt, and bore no good will to the influence which had thrust him and his more eminent brother-in-law from high employment. His connexion with Wilkes was not entirely political; for Wilkes was a colonel in lord Temple's militia regiment. But his open support of the writer of the "North Briton" indicated pretty clearly that Temple was in some degree identified with Wilkes; and this led to the immediate revenge of the court, in his dismissal from the Lord-Lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire. From that time the correspondence of Wilkes and the lord of Stowe on the subject of the libellous paper, and the prosecutions connected with it, are very frequent. The patriotic effusions of Wilkes are generally accompanied with requests for the loan of money. "I have this cause at heart, and I feel the spirit of Hampden in it, but I have not his fortune . . . . £500 I must contrive to get, and, after your lordship's goodness, I even blush to mention it."* Wilkes adds, "I believe the causes will in time pay themselves." At this time one of the journeymen printers who had been arrested under the General Warrant had obtained a verdict against the Secretary of State, with three hundred pounds damages, for false imprisonment. Chief Justice Pratt had summed up decidedly for the journeyman printer. Other "causes" of the same character were depending; and Temple gives Wilkes advice as to the course of legal proceedings in "the business of the devils, your friends."† The "North Briton" was now printed at a private press in Wilkes's own house in Great George Street; where other productions were printed, one of which became the object of a movement on the part of the Government, as unwise as the proceedings under the General Warrant.

Whilst an inevitable parliamentary battle in the next Session was in preparation, the town was amused by lampoons and caricatures on both sides of this stirring question. Hogarth had been attacked by Wilkes in an early

* "Grenville Papers," vol. ii. p. 75—Wilkes to Temple, July 9, 1763. † *Ibid.*, p. 78.

number of the "North Briton," for Hogarth had published a caricature called "The Times," of which Pitt was the subject. The pictorial satirist took his revenge of the "North Briton" by issuing a portrait, scarcely a

Hogarth's Caricature Portrait of Wilkes.

caricature, which he had sketched when Wilkes was brought before Chief Justice Pratt. Churchill came to the aid of his friend, and published his bitter "Epistle to William Hogarth." The painter was not to be put down,

even by Churchill's compliment to his genius sweetening the assaults upon "the Man." He published his print of "The Bruiser, C. Churchill, once the Reverend"—the poet's face moulded into that of a bear, with a pot of porter in one hand, and a club in the other. Pitiful were these effusions of personal spite. More pitiful even was the revenge against Wilkes that was being concocted in the highest places. On the 5th of November, the earl of Sandwich writes to Mr. Grenville, to inform him of conferences between his lordship, the Lord Chancellor, and bishop Warburton, on the subject of his proposal to bring before the House of Lords a complaint against Wilkes as the author of a blasphemous and impious work; and he tells Grenville, "I mean to carry the affair into execution; so that I think we have now nothing to do but to settle the mode of bringing it on."* Amongst the profligate nobles of that age, few had obtained a more unenviable reputation than lord Sandwich. A boon companion of Wilkes himself, we have evidence that at the very time at which he was dining with him at a convivial weekly club, Sandwich was employing spies to watch and report all Wilkes's daily movements.† This might be proper official caution; but no official necessity could excuse the baseness of bribing a printer to purloin the proof-sheets of a poem of which Wilkes had printed twelve copies at his press, for private distribution. On the 15th of November, the Parliament was opened. In the House of Lords, before the speech from the throne was taken into consideration, lord Sandwich made a complaint of a printed paper entitled "An Essay on Woman," with notes to which the name of Dr. Warburton was affixed; and of another printed paper entitled "The Veni Creator paraphrased." The "holy Secretary," as Walpole calls him, read many of the atrocious passages, to the great disgust of all decent peers; and the amazement of some who saw the earl of Sandwich employed in the vindication of religion and morality.‡ The compositor employed by Wilkes in his own house, receiving there 25*s.* a week, and bed and board, was examined; and he produced some proof-sheets, with corrections in the handwriting of Wilkes, to establish the authorship. The House then resolved to address his majesty to desire that he would give immediate orders for the prosecution of the author or authors of this scandalous and impious libel. The whole force of the State, of King, Lords, and Commons was arrayed against one demagogue. In the Lower House, after a series of debates, it was resolved that the "North Briton," No. 45, was a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and that it should be burnt by the common hangman. A riot took place when this resolution was carried into effect. Meanwhile, in consequence of Mr. Martin, on the first night of the Session, having termed the writer of the "North Briton" a cowardly, malignant, and infamous scoundrel, Wilkes had challenged him; and in a duel the next day was dangerously wounded. The measures contemplated against him were therefore delayed. His position appearing very perilous he sought safety in France before his wound was healed. On the 20th of January he was expelled the House of Commons.

The question of the legality of a General Warrant had been formally

* "Grenville Papers," vol. ii. p. 154.

† See their Report to the Secretaries of State; October 31 to November 13, in "Grenville Papers," vol. ii. p. 155.

‡ See Chesterfield's Letters.

decided in an action tried before Chief Justice Pratt, on the 10th of December, 1763. At the time of the arrest of Wilkes, lord Halifax and lord Egremont were the two Secretaries of State. Egremont died; and the proceedings which Wilkes had instituted against him were necessarily abated. Halifax, by a series of legal evasions, prevented the action against himself being tried. But the action for false imprisonment against Mr. Wood, the Under Secretary of State, resulted in a verdict against him by a special jury, with damages of a thousand pounds. The opinion of the Chief Justice was now given in the most unequivocal words. "There is no authority in our law-books that mentions this kind of warrants; but in express terms condemns this. Upon the maturest consideration I am bold to say, this warrant is illegal." This judgment was subsequently affirmed by lord Mansfield upon the arguments on a Bill of Exceptions.* But the legality of General Warrants formed the subject of a series of debates in the House of Commons, conducted with all the energy that is naturally elicited by great constitutional questions. The House, on the 13th of February, examined witnesses and debated this question for eleven hours; and the next day for seventeen hours. The debate was renewed three days after, and then the ministerial majority was only fourteen. Walpole gives a ludicrous account of the appearance of the House on this occasion: "You would have almost laughed to see the spectres produced on both sides. . . . . Votes were brought down in flannels and blankets till the floor of the House looked like the pool of Bethesda." † There was no record of the debate on this occasion except Walpole's letter, until the publication of his "Memoirs of George III.;" where a summary is given of the arguments of many speakers. The ministry went upon precedents for their defence, and alluded to the issue of such warrants during the administration of Mr. Pitt. The great orator boldly said that he knew them to be illegal when he issued them. He preferred the general safety in a time of danger to any personal consideration. He did an extraordinary act at any risk, even of his head; to procure the arrest of a suspicious foreigner, who was concealed at different times in different houses. "What was there in a libel so heinous and terrible as to require this formidable instrument?" Their honest convictions made some of the ordinary supporters of the government vote with the minority on this question of General Warrants. It is pitiable to trace the persevering desire of the king to carry out what he deemed a proper punishment for their offence. On the first day of the Session, when the question of parliamentary privilege was discussed, general Conway, the Colonel of a Regiment, voted in the minority. The king immediately wrote to Grenville, "General Conway's conduct is amazing. I am hurt for lord Hertford [brother of Conway, and ambassador at Paris]. I shall propose to Mr. Grenville the dismissing instantly, for in this question I am personally concerned." ‡ On the 25th his majesty urged the dismission of Conway and others; and that it should be given out "that the next would have the same fate if they do not amend their conduct." § Grenville's Diary shows that he

* The received legal doctrine is thus laid down by Blackstone: "A warrant to apprehend all persons, guilty of a crime therein specified, is no legal warrant; for the point upon which its authority rests is a fact to be decided on a subsequent trial, namely, whether the person apprehended thereupon be really guilty or not."—Kerr's edit., vol. iv. p. 342.

† Letter to Lord Hertford. ‡ "Grenville Papers," vol. ii. p. 162. § *Ibid.*, p. 166.

repeatedly advised the king to defer this resolution with regard to Conway; although he supported the king in his determination to take this course of exhibiting his power. On the 18th of February, after the great debate upon General Warrants, the king wrote to Grenville, "firmness and resolution must now be shown, and no one's friend saved who has dared to fly off; this

General Conway.

alone can restore order, and save this country from anarchy, by dismissing . . . . I am not to be neglected unpunished." * In April, Conway was dismissed from his regiment and from his office. The same mode of resentment was adopted in the case of lord Shelburne, colonel Barré, and general A'court, as well as towards persons holding civil offices. The disposition of George III. to look at public measures as personal questions was one cause of many serious calamities of his reign. He told Grenville on the 14th of December that he took no notice of lord Shelburne at the levée; "but spoke to two people on each side of him; which, he thought, was the treatment he deserved, for having broke his word and honour with him, having pledged both upon not going into opposition, and then taking the first opportunity to oppose a measure which personally regarded the king." † The dismissal of Conway for a conscientious vote in Parliament,—a man who had distinguished himself in Germany; was remarkable for his fairness, and his aversion to faction; and was a general supporter of the government—is truly described as a step whose boldness was almost unprecedented. Sir Robert Walpole had dismissed three military men from their employments, the famous "cornet of horse" among the number; but they had incurred the penalty "by a personal, violent, and constant opposition." ‡ The dismissal of Conway and others, for their parliamentary conduct, excited considerable alarm as to the arbitrary

* "Grenville Papers," vol. ii. p. 267. † *Ibid.*, p. 238—Diary of Grenville.
‡ Walpole—"George III.," vol. i. p. 402.

tendencies of the Court; and it did much to establish that unpopularity which a king, who had many qualities to recommend him to the affection of his people, was by his own manifestations of self-will bringing down upon his head. The question of the proceedings against Wilkes became merged in higher questions. The demagogue was prosecuted for libels; was found guilty; and was outlawed on the 1st of November for non-appearance to receive sentence. But he was now considered a persecuted man. When the Common Council voted thanks to Chief Justice Pratt for his judgment on the question of General Warrants, and requested him to sit for his picture to be placed in Guildhall, they expressed the prevailing opinion even of temperate politicians. The ministry had the sense of the nation against them.

Charles Pratt, Lord Camden.

The king was not shielded by ministerial responsibility, for he had unwisely exhibited that individual sensitiveness—those resentments and animosities—which are scarcely compatible with the functions of a constitutional sovereign.

We shall see, in a few years, John Wilkes, and all the chorus of his political drama, passing away, "like an insubstantial pageant faded." Another scene was to be opened, which, devoid of interest as it might at first appear, was to be developed in a series of long continued action which involved not only the interests of England, but eventually the destinies of the Anglo-Saxon family, and incidentally of all the human race. The triumphant administration of Mr. Pitt had given a firmness and compactness to the British empire in North America, which appeared to promise a long continuance of prosperity to the mother-country and her colonies. These colonies were founded upon principles of freedom and toleration, by a race nurtured in those principles, and, in some cases, seeking for a happier field for their establishment than they could find under a temporary suspension of the old English right to be well governed. The colonial Assemblies, or Parliaments,

of the thirteen provinces of North America, elected by the people, trained men of industry and ability to the consideration of questions of public policy and local administration. Thus, whatever might be the authority and influence of the Governor of each State appointed by the Crown, there was always an energy and freedom in their discussions which called out those qualities of good sense, and even of eloquence, which are fostered, more or less, by all representative institutions. From these Assemblies complaints often arose against the commercial policy of the mother-country; and especially after the peace of 1763, when the attempt to carry out our Navigation Laws by a rigid prohibition of the contraband trade of the American with the Spanish colonies produced the most serious dissatisfaction. The trade between Great Britain and her colonies had been always based upon principles wholly opposite to those of commercial freedom. The Englishman was forbidden to smoke any other than Virginian-grown tobacco, and the Virginian could wear no other coat than one of English-made cloth. It was an age of regulation and balance in small matters as well as in great—in commerce as in war. No particular injury was contemplated towards the colonists in the trade regulations; although the monopoly of the English merchants was regarded as the supreme advantage of colonial possessions. From very insignificant beginnings, the North American provinces had become great and prosperous, and contained a population somewhat exceeding two millions. The State regarded these colonists as a happy family of good children, to be kept in order by that paternal authority which knew best what was for their advantage. It was not a very harsh authority, although its exercise was unwise in its persistence. If it vexed them with restrictions, it soothed them with privileges. But the privileges were thought inadequate to the restrictions. At last the parent took up the fancy of compelling the children to pay something in acknowledgment of the heavy cost of past protection, and as a contribution towards the expense of that protection in future. A Stamp Act to raise sixty thousand pounds produced a war that cost a hundred millions.

"What mighty contests rise from trivial things."

On the 10th of March, 1764, Mr. Grenville moved in the Commons a series of Resolutions, for imposing small duties on certain articles of American commerce; to "be paid into the receipt of his majesty's exchequer, and there reserved, to be from time to time disposed of by Parliament, towards defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America." Following this resolution for the appropriation of the produce of duties upon the foreign trade of the American colonies, came the 14th of the series, in these words: "That towards further defraying the said expenses, it may be proper to charge certain Stamp Duties in the said colonies and plantations." * The notion of imposing Stamp Duties on the colonists was considered to have originated with Mr. Jenkinson, the Secretary of the Treasury. But there was found amongst Mr. Grenville's papers a letter to him from one Henry M'Culloh, dated July 5, 1763, in which he says, that a Stamp Duty on vellum and paper in America would amount to upwards of sixty thousand pounds sterling per

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xv. col. 1427.

annum.* Mr. Jenkinson writes to the Minister in July, 1764, to urge him forward with the Stamp Act, which had been postponed in the previous Session to obtain "further information on that subject." On the 10th of January, 1765, the Parliament met. The question of General Warrants was again debated in full houses, and again the Ministry had a small majority. The question of taxing America by Stamp Duties produced only a feeble debate and only one division. On the 6th of February, Grenville introduced fifty-five Resolutions, which were to be engrafted into the Stamp Act. Walpole says, "This famous Bill, little understood here at that time, was less attended to. . . . . The colonies, in truth, were highly alarmed, and had sent over representations so strong against being taxed here, that it was not thought decent or safe to present their memorial to Parliament."† The colonists could not see in Grenville's proposition for a paltry tax, any other than the beginning of an attempt to tax them largely without their own consent. They denied the right of the House of Commons to tax them unless they had representatives in that House. Grenville had rashly termed his Resolution for a Stamp Act as "an experiment towards further aid." Where was the system, thus begun, to end? The Stamp Act was passed, without a debate or division in the House of Lords; and it received the Royal Assent on the 22nd of March. Benjamin Franklin, as agent for the province of Pennsylvania, had come to London to oppose the passing of the Act. When it was passed, he wrote to a correspondent in America, "We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. That we could not do. But since it is down, my friend, and it may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles. Frugality and industry will go a great way towards indemnifying us." The prudential submission of Franklin to an evil which he thought inevitable was not the prevailing feeling of the colonists. The Act was to come into operation on the 1st of November. When the enactment first became known, there was a deep expression of grief, but scarcely any manifestation of resentment. But in the State Assemblies, a determination not to submit without remonstrance was quickly manifested. Virginia, the most attached to the monarchy of all the provinces—the most opposed to democratic principles—was the first to demand a repeal of the Statute by which the colonists were taxed without their own consent. The Resolutions of the Assembly of Virginia went forth as an example to the other provinces, many of which passed similar Resolutions. But in Virginia there was an orator of no common order. Patrick Henry, who was born in 1736, had received no regular education—had been a farmer and then a shopkeeper,—when he adopted the law as a profession. He obtained a brief in a great public cause; and then manifested qualities which left every competitor far behind. As a member of the House of Burgesses at Williamsburg, he is held by Mr. Jefferson to have given "the earliest impulse to the ball of revolution." Jefferson, then twenty-two years of age, first heard Patrick Henry in the Assembly in May, 1765, when he brought forward certain resolutions against the Stamp Act; and, fifty years afterwards, Jefferson declared that he never heard such eloquence from any

* "Grenville Papers," vol. ii. p. 374.
† "George III.," vol. ii. p. 68.

other man.* One specimen of Henry's oratory on the Stamp Act, in this Assembly, has been preserved: "Cæsar," he exclaimed, "had his Brutus; Charles the First had his Cromwell; and George the Third "——"Treason," cried the Speaker; "Treason," cried many of the members—"may profit by their example," was the conclusion of the sentence. "If this be treason," said Henry, "make the most of it." The House of Burgesses in Virginia was dissolved by the governor of the province; but the torch which had been lighted was carried from state to state; and delegates were appointed by several of the Assemblies for a General Congress to meet at New York.

The cry of "treason" in the Assembly of Virginia, although followed by the strong remonstrance of the burgesses, was a manifestation of the desire which then almost universally prevailed amongst the colonists to regard themselves as bound in allegiance to the British crown. The alienation was a gradual result of a mistaken view of the policy that ought to prevail, between a colony that had grown to a real capacity for independence and the parent State. It was a result, also, of that system of parliamentary corruption and of court influence which at that time entered so largely into the government of England. Walpole says that the Stamp Act "removed the burthen of a tax to distant shoulders;" that Grenville contemplated his measure "in the light of easing and improving an over-burthened country." † Burke, in his memorable speech on American taxation, on the 19th of April, 1774, exhibited this fact more distinctly. He points out that upon the close of the war, "the necessity was established of keeping up no less than twenty new regiments, with twenty colonels capable of seats in this House. . . . Country gentlemen, the great patrons of economy, and the great resisters of a standing armed force, would not have entered with much alacrity into the vote for so large and expensive an army, if they had been very sure that they were to continue to pay for it. But hopes of another kind were held out to them." He then traces in this speech the policy of Mr. Grenville, and the peculiarities of his character, which led him to think "better of the wisdom and power of legislation than in truth it deserves;" to believe "regulation to be commerce, and taxes to be revenue." The Navigation Act was Grenville's idol. The commerce of America "had filled all its proper channels to the brim." He "turned his eye somewhat less than was just towards the incredible increase of the fair trade; and looked with something of too exquisite a jealousy towards the contraband." The result was, that "the bonds of the Act of Navigation were straitened so much, that America was on the point of having no trade, either contraband or legitimate." The Americans, Burke says, "thought themselves proceeded against as delinquents, or at best as people under suspicion of delinquency." They were irritated enough before the Stamp Act came. They adopted such counter measures as appeared efficient to a people that had not yet begun to feel their own strength, and understand their own resources. They agreed amongst themselves to wear no English manufactured cloth; and to encourage the breed of sheep that they might manufacture cloth from their

* Tucker—"Life of Jefferson," vol. i. p. 40.
† "George III.," vol. ii. p. 68 and p. 70.

own wool. They protested against the English monopoly; and they devised, feebly enough, such measures as they thought might overcome it. At last what Burke calls "the scheme of a regular plantation parliamentary revenue" was established—"a revenue not substituted in the place of, but superadded to, a monopoly; which monopoly was enforced at the same time with additional strictness, and the execution put into military hands." It was one of the misfortunes of Mr. Grenville's scheme that his Stamp Act was popular. "Great was the applause of this measure here. In England we cried out for new taxes on America, whilst they cried out that they were nearly crushed with those which the war, and their own grants, had brought upon them." Such was the commencement of a struggle which ended in the independence of the American colonies, and thenceforward in the establishment of an empire which has shown how quickly, in one vast region, might be realised the probable future contemplated by Adam Smith;—when "the inhabitants of all the different quarters of the world may arrive at that equality of courage and force which, by inspiring mutual fear, can alone overawe the injustice of independent nations into some sort of respect for the rights of one another." *

* "Wealth of Nations," book iv. chap. vii.

Charles, Marquess of Rockingham.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Illness of the king—The Regency Bill—Overtures to Pitt—He declines office—Grenville and Bedford—The Rockingham Administration—Disturbances in America—Parliament—Debates on the Stamp Act—Pitt contends for its Repeal—Examination of Dr. Franklin—Declaratory Bill as to rights over the Colonies—Repeal of the Stamp Act—Weakness of the Rockingham Administration—They quit office—Pitt created earl of Chatham—His loss of popularity—His plans for great measures—Embargo on Corn—Chatham's illness—Disorganisation of his ministry—Parliament dissolved.

DURING the progress of the Bill for the taxation of the American Colonies, the king was attacked by a serious indisposition. On the nature of that illness the greatest secresy was maintained. "The king's illness," says Walpole, "had occasioned a general alarm; but, though he escaped the danger, his health was so precarious, and he had such frequent disorders in his breast on taking the least cold, that all sober men wished to see a Regency settled by Parliament in case of his death." * The real nature of the king's malady was not suspected by the politicians of that day, or by the general public. "His majesty had a serious illness—its peculiar character was then unknown, but we have the best authority for believing that it was of the nature of those which thrice after afflicted his majesty, and finally incapacitated him for the duties of government." This is the statement of a gentleman whose means of information, and whose diligence in penetrating into the secret passages of the past, were of more permanent value than his adroitness in the use of the facts he ascertained for the advancement of his own

* "George III." vol. ii. p. 95.

party views.*, The family of George III. at that time consisted of George, prince of Wales, born on the 12th of August, 1762; and of Frederick, duke of York, born on the 16th of August, 1763. The differences of opinion between the king and his ministers upon the Regency Bill are of minor importance in a view of public affairs at this distance of time, and require no elaborate detail. The king wished that the power of nominating a Regent should be vested in himself. The Ministry thought it desirable that a Regency during the minority of the successor to the throne should be distinctly named. On the 24th of April, his majesty, in a speech from the throne, proposed, whether, under the present circumstances, it would not be expedient to vest in him the power of appointing, from time to time, by instrument in writing, under his sign-manual, either the queen, or any other person of his royal family, usually residing in Great Britain, as guardian of the person of his successor and as regent of these kingdoms. When a Bill to this effect had passed the Commons, a doubt arose in the Lords, whether the princess-dowager of Wales was included in the term "My Royal Family." Lord Halifax, one of the Secretaries of State, went to the king, and said that the matter ought to be cleared up; but that if the name of his majesty's mother appeared in the Bill, the House of Commons would probably strike it out. The king reluctantly acquiesced, and then the Royal Family was defined as "all the descendants of the late king." Grenville refused to introduce the name of the princess-dowager, as he was urged to do by her friends; and upon this, a member, unconnected with the ministry, made a proposition to that effect. The name of the king's mother was decided to be introduced into the Bill, by the vote of a large majority. The king was now indignant at the conduct of his ministers; sent for his uncle the duke of Cumberland; and commissioned him to negotiate with Mr. Pitt for a return to power. It was an embarrassing time in which to contemplate a change of ministry. America was getting into a flame of anger at the Stamp Act. London was terrified by riots of Spitalfields weavers, upon the rejection of a Bill which would have prohibited the importation of foreign silks. What Burke calls "the vertigo of the Regency Bill" produced changes which an untoward aspect of national affairs might have failed to effect.

The rumours that the king contemplated a change of ministers produced an opinion in one then unconnected with official life, but who looked upon political affairs, and public men, from a higher elevation than most observers of the shifting scenes of that time. Edmund Burke announced to a friend, with reference to Pitt, that "this crisis will show whether pride or patriotism be predominant in his character." To him, wrote Burke, is open "to come into the service of his country upon any plan of politics he chooses to dictate. . . . A few days will show whether he will take this part, or continue on his back at Hayes, talking fustian." The duke of Cumberland went to Hayes, and there learnt the "plan of politics" which Pitt chose "to dictate." There was no "fustian" in his sensible propositions,—that General Warrants should be repudiated; that dismissed officers should be restored; that Protestant alliances should be formed, to balance the Family Compact of the Bourbons. There was some difference of opinion about appointments, but

* Mr. Croker, in "Quarterly Review," vol. lxvi. p. 240.

these might have been removed. Earl Temple was sent for; and although he was intended for the office of First Lord of the Treasury, he persuaded his brother-in-law to give up the negotiation. He was seeking a ministerial alliance with his brother, George Grenville, to whom he had become recon-

Holwood House, Hayes, Kent.

ciled, and he conceived the plan of inducing Pitt to join them; in which union he fancied he saw a power that would enable them to stand alone without the support of ducal Whigs, or courtly Tories. The king was obliged to call back his ministers, Grenville and Bedford. They dictated terms to the king; and Bedford appears to have deported himself in a spirit which may have been grossly exaggerated by Junius, but which is not wholly removed from truth. "The duke of Bedford demanded an audience of the king; reproached him, in plain terms, with duplicity, baseness, falsehood, treachery, and hypocrisy; repeatedly gave him the lie; and left him in strong convulsions." A paper was read, according to Walpole, in which the king was told "that he must smile on his ministers, and frown on their adversaries, whom he was reproached, in no light terms, with having countenanced, contrary to his promise. Invectives against the Princess were not spared; nor threats of bringing lord Bute to the block." The king bowed to the ministers to retire, and said "if he had not broken out into the most profuse sweat he should have been suffocated with indignation." * Pitt was again applied to; and he again declined to take office without lord Temple, who persevered in his

* "George III." vol. ii. p. 183.

resolution, at an audience which both had of the king. The Whig families were again resorted to. The duke of Newcastle again obtained a post of honour in receiving the Privy Seal; the duke of Grafton became one of the Secretaries of State, with general Conway as the other Secretary; and the marquis of Rockingham was named First Lord of the Treasury. Untried colts and worn-out hacks were harnessed together, to drag the state-coach through the sloughs in which it was travelling. They pulled honestly side by side for a brief journey; and then came to a dead stop. This ministry had the lasting credit of bringing one man of extraordinary genius into public life, though in a subordinate situation. The eloquent gratitude of Edmund Burke to the marquis of Rockingham has made us think favourably of the head of this ministry, for "sound principles, enlargement of mind, clear and sagacious sense, and unshaken fortitude." * Such qualities were needed at such a crisis.

The Rockingham Administration came into office on the 10th of July. Parliament had been prorogued previous to their appointment; and a few months passed on without any disturbing events. At last came intelligence which demanded grave and anxious consideration. In the autumn of 1765, various letters were received by Mr. Secretary Conway, from official persons in America, relating the particulars of riots at Boston and in the Colony of Rhode Island. At Boston, the effigy of the gentleman who had accepted the office of stamp-distributor was hung upon a tree, which was subsequently called "Liberty Tree;" his house was sacked, and he was compelled to promise to resign his office. These riots went on for a fortnight, with much wanton destruction of property. A letter from New York of the 25th of September, to Conway, says "the general scheme concerted throughout seems to have been, first, by menace or force, to oblige the stamp-officers to resign their employments, in which they have generally succeeded; and next, to destroy the stamped papers upon their arrival,—that, having no stamps, necessity might be an excuse for the dispatch of business without them." † But more important than the outrages of mobs were the solemn proceedings of a Congress at New York, comprising delegates from nine Assemblies. They continued their sittings for three weeks; and then passed fourteen Resolutions, in which they maintained the right of every British subject to be taxed only by his own consent, or that of his legal representatives; and that their only legal representatives were those annually chosen to serve as members of the Assembly of each province.

The Administration was in a position of extreme difficulty. The strong opposition of the Colonial Assemblies was a reason for ministers re-considering the measures of their predecessors; but a submission to the violent resistance to the authority of the imperial legislature would be to manifest an unworthy fear, which might have the effect of encouraging other resistance to the law. But there were consequences arising out of the discontent and resentment of the colonists which were productive of immediate evils at home, and threatened greater dangers for the future. A petition of the merchants of London trading to North America set forth, that this commerce, so necessary for the support of multitudes, was under such difficulties that its utter ruin

* Speech on American Taxation.

† Papers laid before Parliament, in "Parliamentary History," vol. xvi.

was apprehended; and that several millions sterling, due to the merchants of Great Britain, were withheld by the colonists, on the plea that the taxes and restrictions laid upon them had rendered them unable to meet their engagements. Scarcely seeing a way out of the difficulties that surrounded them, the ministers, on the meeting of Parliament on the 14th of January, after the Christmas recess, laid the papers before the two Houses which "give any light into the origin, the progress, or the tendency, of the disturbances which have of late prevailed in some of the northern colonies." Such were the terms of the king's speech. His majesty said, that he had issued orders for the exertion of all the powers of government for the suppression of riots and tumults; and added, "Whatever remains to be done on this occasion I commit to your wisdom." A debate ensued in the Commons, which was reported by two members, and printed in Paris,—the Houses still strictly forbidding the publication of their proceedings. On that night Burke made his first speech in parliament; and Pitt, whose voice had not been heard for a year, delivered one of those orations which, however imperfectly recorded, give us a notion of that supremacy that, broken as he was in health, wrapped in flannels, and giving effect to his action with a crutch, he still, above all men, exercised over his contemporaries. In a letter which he wrote from Bath on the 9th, he said, "If I can crawl, or be carried, I will deliver my mind and heart upon the state of America." What he then spoke was remembered and repeated as the great contest went on; and by none more diligently than by the colonists. He went with them to the full extent of denying the right of the British Legislature to impose taxes without representation. He touched upon great principles that extended beyond this question of taxing the American Colonies: "There is an idea in some that the Colonies are virtually represented in this House. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county in this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number! Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough—a borough, which, perhaps, its own representative never saw. This is what is called 'the rotten part of the constitution.' It cannot continue the century; if it does not drop, it must be amputated. The idea of a virtual representation of America in this House is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of a man; it does not deserve a serious refutation. The Commons of America, represented in their several Assemblies, have ever been in possession of the exercise of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it." Grenville replied to Pitt, and defended his Stamp Act: "When I proposed to tax America, I asked the House, if any gentleman would object to the right. I repeatedly asked it, and no man would attempt to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America; America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always very ready to ask it. That protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them their protection: and now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense, an

expense arising from themselves, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion. The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this House." Pitt was permitted again to speak, the House being clamorous to hear him. There are passages in his second speech which show how much the House gained in this departure from its ordinary rules. We may give the concluding summary of the orator's opinions: "A great deal has been said without doors, of the power, of the strength, of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms . . . . In such a cause, your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like a strong man. She would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace? Not to sheath the sword in its scabbard, but to sheath it in the bowels of your countrymen? . . . . The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. They have been wronged. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America, that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior's, of a man's behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies, that I cannot help repeating them:

> 'Be to her faults a little blind:
> Be to her virtues very kind.'

Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House what is really my opinion. It is, that the Stamp Act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately. That the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever. That we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent."

The petitions against the American Stamp Act, and the papers laid before Parliament, occupied in the Commons the attention of a Committee of the whole House for three weeks. Several persons were also examined, amongst whom was Dr. Benjamin Franklin. The examination of this eminent man afforded much practical information as to the condition of the North American Colonies. He considered that there were about 300,000 white men in North America, from sixteen to sixty years of age; that the inhabitants of all the provinces, taken at a medium, double in about twenty-five years; that the colonists raised, clothed, and paid, during the recent war, near twenty-five thousand men, and spent many millions; that they paid many and heavy taxes amongst themselves, for the support of the civil and military establishments of the country, and to discharge the debt contracted in the war. His answer to the question, "What was the temper of America towards Great Britain before the year 1763?" is very remarkable: "The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the Crown, and paid, in all their courts, obedience to Acts of Parliament. Numerous as the people are

in the several old provinces, they cost you nothing in forts, citadels, garrisons, or armies, to keep them in subjection. They were governed by this country at the expense only of a little pen, ink, and paper. They were led by a thread. They had not only a respect, but an affection, for Great Britain; for its laws, its customs and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Britain were always treated with particular regard. To be an Old-England man was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank amongst us." To the question, Whether he thought the people of America would submit to pay the Stamp duty if it was moderated, he boldly answered, "No; never; unless compelled by force of arms." He said it was a prevailing opinion amongst the people in America, that they could not be taxed in a Parliament where they were not represented; but the payment of duties laid by Act of Parliament, as regulations of commerce, was never disputed. They distinguished between external and internal taxes. An external tax was a duty on commodities imported, and it enhanced their price; but the people were not obliged to pay the duty; they might refuse the article. An internal tax is forced from the people without their consent. The Americans could do without British manufactures. They could do without cloth from England. "I am of opinion," said Franklin, "that before their old clothes are worn out, they will have new ones of their own making." But "can they possibly find wool enough

Medal of Franklin.

in North America?" he was asked. The answer showed the mettle of the people that he represented: "They have taken steps to increase the wool. They entered into general combination to eat no more lamb, and very few lambs were killed last year. This course, persisted in, will soon make a prodigious difference in the quantity of wool. The establishing of great manufactories, like those in the clothing towns, is not necessary, as it is where the business is to be carried on for the purposes of trade. The people will all spin and work for themselves, in their own houses." To the question, "If the Stamp Act should be repealed, would it induce the Assemblies of America to acknowledge the right of Parliament to tax them, and would they erase their Resolutions?" the answer was, "No, never."

After this examination of papers and witnesses, the repeal of the Stamp

Act was recommended by the Committee of the whole House, and a declaratory Resolution was adopted: "That the king's majesty, by and with the consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever." The distinction which Pitt had maintained, that Parliament was not competent to pass a law for taxing the Colonies, was set at nought by this Resolution. But it was contended that though the right existed, it was impolitic to exercise it, and therefore the Stamp Act ought to be repealed. Pitt adhered to his opinion, but did not attempt to divide the House. A Declaratory Bill was passed, embodying the principle of the power of Parliament to bind the Colonies "in all cases whatsoever." In the Upper House this Bill was supported by the lord chancellor Northington; but was opposed by lord Camden in a very remarkable speech, in which he explicitly declared that "the British Parliament have no right to tax the Americans . . . . Taxation and Representation are inseparably united . . . . Taxation and Representation are coeval with, and essential to, this constitution." He alluded to Carte's History of England, and to another History "much read and admired" [Hume's], which mischievously endeavoured "to fix the era when the House of Commons began in this kingdom . . . . When did the House of Commons first begin? When, my lords? It began with the Constitution, it grew up with the Constitution. There is not a blade of grass growing in the most obscure corner of the kingdom, which is not, which was not ever, represented since the Constitution began; there is not a blade of grass which, when taxed, was not taxed by the consent of the proprietor." Lord Camden divided the House; but only four Peers voted with him against the Declaratory Bill. Whilst this bill was passing into law, a strong opposition was getting up against the Bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act, which was about to be proposed by the Government. It is painful to look back upon one of the most miserable exhibitions which history can present of "a house divided against itself"—those called the friends of the king intriguing against the king's ministers. Lord Bute, whose honour was never doubted, whatever might have been his political indiscretions, distinctly gave his solemn word, that he had never offered an opinion upon measures, or the disposition of offices, directly or indirectly, since the time when the duke of Cumberland was consulted on the arrangement of a ministry. We may therefore dismiss from our minds the popular belief that lord Bute was the instigator of all the double-dealing that was characteristic of the early years of the reign of George III. Burke has been charged with exaggeration in denouncing the system pursued, "in the idea of weakening the State in order to strengthen the Court;" a system effected by those he calls "the new court corporation."* But there were too many proofs of the evidence of "a reptile species of politicians, never before and never since known in our country."† They worked underground to prevent this repeal of the Stamp Act. Their opera-

* "Present Discontents.

† Macaulay, in "Edinburgh Review," vol. lxxx. p. 516.

tions were evinced in a singular misunderstanding between the king and his ministers, in the crisis of the Stamp Act. The most dispassionate relation of the circumstances is in a letter of general Conway to lord Hertford, on the 13th of February: "His majesty had told lord Rockingham and the duke of Grafton that he was for the repeal; but he on Tuesday told lord Strange that he was not so now—that he wished his opinion to be known, and his lordship might declare it. This ran through the House of Commons and the town, and has had an odd effect. Our ministerial lives were not thought worth three days' purchase. His majesty has been pleased to explain himself to us, that he always was for the repeal, when contrasted with enforcing the whole act, but not as compared with modification. We told his Majesty this distinction was unfortunately not explained to us; and that in consequence we had (as he had allowed lord Rockingham particularly to do) declared his majesty to be for the repeal; and that on all accounts we were engaged and obliged to push that measure. It was very mortifying to us, and very unhappy, that it now appeared to be against his majesty's sentiments, which put us into an odd predicament, being under a necessity of carrying on a great public measure against his majesty's declared sentiments, and with great numbers of his servants acting against us. He was not displeased, he said, with our freedom—thought we acted like honest men—had no design of parting us—always foresaw the difficulties which might attend his business—but that, once over, he hoped all things would go smoothly again. You see that this might branch out into very long details, had I time for them; but this is the substance. 'Tis a whimsical situation, and what will be the event I don't know. I think the Bill of Repeal will probably pass, because our disposition for it is too strong in the House of Commons for anything now to conquer; and the Lords, I think, with submission, dare not resist it." *

The House of Commons came to a decisive vote on the 21st of February, on the Resolution that leave should be given to bring in a Bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act. The Resolution was moved by Conway. He drew a strong picture of the mischiefs that had already ensued. The trade of England was not only stopped, but in danger of being lost. The conflict would ruin both countries. "If we did not repeal the Act, he had no doubt but France and Spain would declare war, and protect the Americans." Grenville exposed the futility of maintaining a right in the Declaratory Bill which the government would not dare to assert. Pitt demanded the repeal as due to the liberty of unrepresented subjects. The scene after the termination of the debate on that February morning has been described by Burke in glowing words; but words not too lofty for the great occasion: "I remember, sir, with a melancholy pleasure, the situation of the honourable gentleman who made the motion for the repeal; in that crisis, when the whole trading interest of this empire, crammed into your lobbies, with a trembling and anxious expectation, waited, almost to a winter's return of light, their fate from your resolutions. When, at length, you had determined in their favour, and your doors, thrown open, showed them the figure of their deliverer in the well-earned triumph of his important victory, from the whole of that grave multitude there arose an involuntary burst of gratitude and transport. They

* MS. collection of "Conway's Letters."

jumped upon him like children on a long absent father. They clung about him as captives about their redeemer. All England, all America, joined to his applause. Nor did he seem insensible to the best of all earthly rewards, the love and admiration of his fellow-citizens. Hope elevated and joy brightened his crest."* Such was the enthusiasm towards Conway, the mover of the Resolution. Walpole has described the difference in the reception of Pitt and Grenville. When Pitt appeared, the crowd pulled off their hats, huzzaed, and many followed his chair home with shouts and benedictions. Grenville was hissed; and in a rage, seized the nearest man to him by the collar. "Providentially the fellow had more humour than spleen—'Well, if I may not hiss,' said he, 'at least I may laugh,' and laughed in his face. The jest caught; had the fellow been surly and resisted, a tragedy had probably ensued."† The Bill for the repeal finally passed the Commons by a large majority; and the Lords, by a majority of more than thirty.

When Mr. Pitt made his memorable appearance in the House of Commons, on the 14th of January, 1766, to deliver his opinion against the Resolution of the House to tax America, which had passed "when he was ill in bed:" he said, "If I could have endured to be carried in my bed—so great was my agitation for the consequences—I would have had some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor to have borne my testimony against it. It is now an Act that has passed." But he knew that a ministry had meanwhile come into power who were disposed to repair the evil consequences which he had apprehended. To that ministry he took the earliest opportunity of declaring that he did not give his strenuous support. He had advised some of them, he said, "to engage, but notwithstanding, I cannot give them my confidence. Pardon me, gentlemen, confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom." He plainly discovered, he affirmed, "the traces of an over-ruling influence." He distinctly pointed to the supposed influence of lord Bute. The great Commoner was probably mistaken, but he was undoubtedly sincere. Conway distinctly repelled the charge that the ministry had been subjected to that particular influence. Pitt has been greatly blamed for not allying himself with the Rockingham Administration. He was invited by them with an earnestness that approached to obsequiousness. He turned a deaf ear to their overtures. They fell, from their inability to stand against the unwilling support of the sovereign, and the intrigues of those who arrogated to themselves the exclusive title of the king's friends. This ministry did popular things. They gave in to the clamour of the weavers, by passing an act for restraining the importation of foreign silks. They repealed the cider tax. They passed Resolutions declaring the illegality of General Warrants, and condemning the seizure of private papers, to discover the authors of libels. Their concessions in some degree indicated their weakness. Several of their minor supporters deserted them. The duke of Grafton left them, resigning his office of Secretary of State, on the ground that they wanted "authority, dignity, and extension;" that he knew but one man who could give them strength and solidity; and that were that person to give his assistance, "he should with

* Speech on American Taxation, 1774.
† "George III.," vol. ii. p. 209.

pleasure take up the spade and the pickaxe, and dig in the trenches."* A disagreement ensued in the Cabinet; the king was told that the ministry could not go on as they were; and his majesty, in July, resolved to send for Mr. Pitt, and so told his servants. The king wrote him a letter, expressing his desire to have his thoughts "how an able and dignified ministry may be formed." Pitt answered the king—"penetrated with the deepest sense of your majesty's boundless goodness to me, and with a heart overflowing with duty and zeal for the honour and happiness of the most gracious and benign sovereign." Lord Temple was sent for by the king; and his majesty wrote to Mr. Pitt, who was ill, that he had opened a desire to see his lordship in the Treasury; but that "he seems to incline to quarters very heterogeneous to my and your ideas, and almost a total exclusion of the present men." Temple was ambitious. He was indignant at the idea of being "stuck into a ministry as a great cypher at the head of the Treasury, surrounded with other cyphers all named by Mr. Pitt."† The ministry was at length formed. The duke of Grafton became head of the Treasury; general Conway and lord Shelburne, Secretaries of State; lord Camden, Lord Chancellor; Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Pitt, to the great surprise of the world, on taking the office of Lord Privy Seal went to the House of Peers as Earl of Chatham.

The transformation of Pitt into Chatham is held to have destroyed his popularity. "That fatal title blasted all the affection which his country had borne to him, and which he had deserved so well. . . . . The people, though he had done no act to occasion reproach, thought he had sold them for a title."‡ The City of London declined to present an address on the appointment to office of the man they had idolised. The objectors seem to have forgotten the bodily infirmities which necessarily prevented him taking the post in the House of Commons which a prime minister was expected to take; and they scarcely gave him credit for the power which remained to him, of influencing his colleagues by the vigour of his plans, when he could not command a popular assembly by the splendour of his eloquence. He had large projects of statesmanship. He was anxious to cement an alliance with the Protestant States of Europe, to counterbalance the Family Compact of France and Spain, which was leading those powers again to meditate attacks upon England. He sent an ambassador to confer with the Czarina of Russia and Frederick of Prussia; but Frederick was indignant at the treatment he had received at the peace, and could place no reliance on a policy so subject to the consequences of ministerial change. There is a strong testimony to the rare powers of lord Chatham's mind, at an early period of his administration. Charles Townshend for the first time attended the Cabinet as Chancellor of the Exchequer, when the great statesman developed his views of the position of Europe. "Mr. Townshend," says the duke of Grafton in his Memoirs, "was particularly astonished; and owned to me, as I was carrying him home in my carriage, that lord Chatham had just shown us what inferior animals we were, and that much as we had seen of him before,

* "Chatham Correspondence," vol. ii. p. 422. † *Ibid.*, p. 436 and p. 438.
‡ Walpole—"George III.," vol. ii. p. 353.

he did not conceive till that night his superiority to be so very transcendent." The minister contemplated important changes in the government of Ireland. "To enable himself to contend with the powerful connections there, he proposed to establish himself upon the basis of a just popularity, by shortening the duration of Parliament, and granting other measures which the Irish appeared to have most at heart." * Lord Chatham also had in view organic changes in the constitution of the East India Company—their astonishing dominion having now become an anomaly in the absence of government control, and their vast revenues the means of administering to private rapacity and injustice.

The Administration entered upon its duties at a period of domestic trouble. The season was one of extreme wetness. The harvest failed; and riots attended the rising price of corn. But the price had not quite reached the point at which exportation was forbidden. By an Order in Council an embargo was laid on exportation. The Parliament had not been called together, as it might have been, to sanction the measure, which came into operation on the 24th of September. Parliament met, according to the date of its prorogation, on the 11th of November. The first appearance of Chatham in the House of Lords was to defend the Order in Council on the ground of public necessity. Camden and others in both Houses maintained its legality. Fierce debates ensued, in which this exercise of the prerogative was compared to former unconstitutional attempts to set up a dispensing power. It was thought essential to mark that such an exertion of the prerogative was not constitutional. An Act of Indemnity was therefore passed to exonerate those who had advised, and acted upon, the Order in Council. A parliamentary inquiry into the affairs of the East India Company was now forced on by Chatham, in opposition to the wishes of several of his colleagues. He refused to impart to them the nature and extent of his plans. Several of the Rockingham party resolved to secede from him. He had to form new combinations of public men; and to quiet the apprehensions of those who were accused of being despotically governed by him. During the Christmas recess Chatham went to Bath, where he became seriously ill. Parliament assembled, and the prime minister was not in his place. His Cabinet fell into disorder. The fatal effects of the absence of the chief, and his unwillingness to entrust responsibility to his colleagues, were signally manifested, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer commended the Stamp Act, and again proposed to tax the Colonies. Burke has described in his Speech upon American Taxation, this strange disorganization of lord Chatham's ministry. "When his face was hid but for a moment, his whole system was on a wide sea, without chart or compass. . . . As if it were to insult as well as betray him, even long before the close of the first Session of his Administration, when everything was publicly transacted, and with great parade, in his name, they made an Act declaring it highly just and expedient to raise a revenue in America. For even then, sir, even before this splendid orb was entirely set, and while the western horizon was in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, and, for his hour, became

* Letter from Lord Camden; quoted from the MS. by sir Denis Le Marchant, in note to Walpole's "George III.," vol. iii. p. 111.

lord of the ascendant. You understand, to be sure, that I speak of Charles Townshend, officially the reproducer of this fatal scheme."

That portion of the life of Chatham when he was nominally the head of the Administration, but wholly incapable of directing the national affairs, and altogether shrinking from that direction, is as difficult to understand as it is melancholy to contemplate. In the beginning of 1767, when the Parliament met, he was ill at Bath. In the middle of February, the gout had returned so severely upon him as to confine him to his bed at the inn at Marlborough, —as he writes to lord Shelburne by the hands of his secretary. In that inn he is described by Walpole as "inaccessible and invisible, though surrounded by a train of domestics that occupied the whole inn, and wore the appearance of a little court."* Here he remained a fortnight. The duke of Grafton earnestly entreats to be allowed to come to the earl of Chatham. The answer is, that "until he is able to move towards London, it is by no means practicable to him to enter into discussions of business." On the 2nd of March he came to town, but unable to stir hand or foot. At this time the ministry had been in a minority upon the question whether the Land Tax should be reduced in amount. The king writes to Chatham expressing his reliance upon him "to withstand that evil called connexion," to which his majesty attributes the defeat of the ministry. Chatham responds reverentially. Meanwhile the public business falls into confusion; a violent Opposition, a divided Ministry. From the beginning of April the prime minister had not been allowed to see any one, nor to receive letters. It was in vain that his colleagues desired to visit him. Business, said Chatham, was impossible for him. Again and again the king wrote affectionately to his minister; and at last said, "If you cannot come to me to-morrow, I am ready to call on you." As an interview less to be dreaded, Chatham consented to receive the duke of Grafton. The duke records in his Memoirs that he found him in a different state from what he expected. "His nerves and spirits were affected in a dreadful degree, and the sight of his great mind bowed down and thus weakened by disorder would have filled me with grief and concern, even if I had not long borne a sincere attachment to his person and character." The Session closed on the 2nd of July. The duke of Grafton was now the real minister; although the name of Chatham in some degree upheld the government.

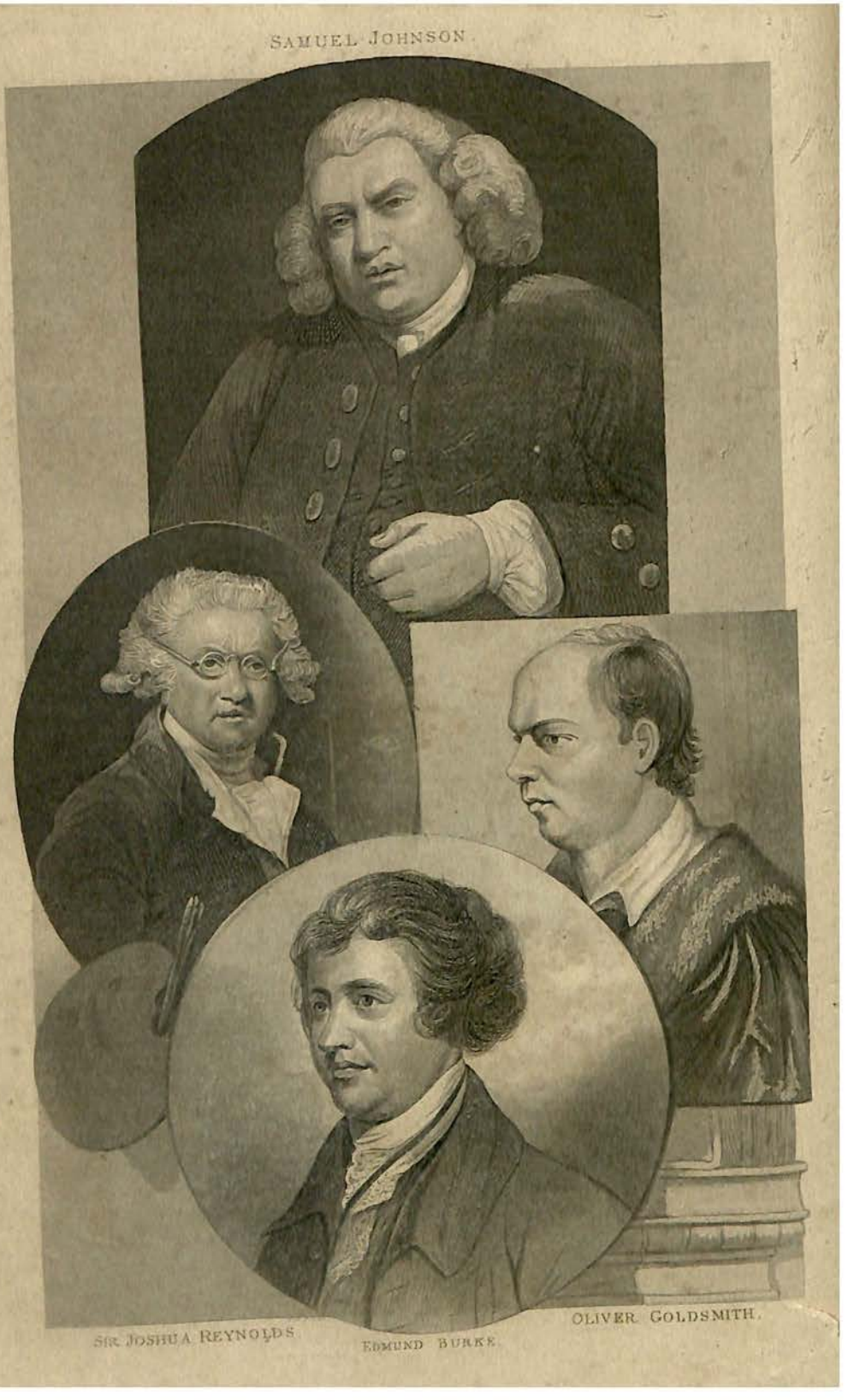
A theory has been proposed, in a review of the Chatham Correspondence, that the illness of the great minister was a long series of pretences—"that the gout, whatever may have been its real severity, was exaggerated in order to excuse a line of conduct, for which, even if true, it would have furnished no excuse;"—that the gout was a frequent pretext;—that the desire of lord Chatham to have a power of attorney prepared in order to enable his lady to transact his private business was "a blind;"—that his disappointment at his loss of popularity, and his regret at having descended from his proud position of the Great Commoner, made him reluctant to appear in his new character, and that he clung to office till he

* "George III.," vol. iii. p. 416. The statement in the "Edinburgh Review," vol. lxxx., that Chatham insisted that during his stay all the waiters and stable-boys of the inn should wear his livery, is contradicted by lord Mahon, on the authority of the late Mr. Thomas Grenville.

could find some striking and popular occasion for his resignation.* Never was ingenuity more absurdly exercised for the purpose of damaging a great man's character. The true solution of this mystery is, that the intellect of Chatham was temporarily enfeebled, almost destroyed; that he did not resign office, although incapable of performing its duties, because the ordinary perceptions of his mind were clouded to an extent that left him no power of judgment; and that when he did resign, in October, 1768, on account of "the deplorable state of his health," his mind had to some extent resumed its vigour, though his bodily infirmities were as great as ever. His condition during the continuance of his mental prostration is thus described: "Lord Chatham's state of health is certainly the lowest dejection and debility that mind or body can be in. He sits all the day leaning on his hands, which he supports on the table; does not permit any person to remain in the room; knocks when he wants anything; and having made his wants known, gives a signal, without speaking, to the person who answered his call, to retire." † He had sold his property at Hayes, and was removed to Burton-Pynsent, a valuable estate he had acquired under the will of sir William Pynsent. With the intense eagerness of a mind verging on insanity, his one idea was to re-purchase Hayes. Difficulties were naturally raised; and he resigned himself to his disappointment, saying "That might have saved me." But the re-purchase was effected; and for many months he dwelt there secluded from all mankind. Lord Chatham, according to Walpole, under an attack of the gout, had put himself into the hands of Dr. Addington—"innovating enough in his practice to be justly deemed a quack. . . . . If all was not a farce, I should think the physician rather caused the disease; Addington having kept off the gout, and possibly dispersed it through his nerves, or even driven it up to his head." ‡ If all was a farce, it was a long farce to occupy more than a year in playing out.

The ministry struggled on with considerable difficulty through the Session of 1768. There had been many changes in its composition. Charles Townshend had died of fever. His brilliant talents were neutralized by his levity; and it was clear that if his ambition had placed him at the head of the government, he would have done some rash things—perhaps precipitated a war with America earlier than the nobleman, lord North, who succeeded Townshend as the Chancellor of Exchequer. The Parliament, now approaching the end of its septennial term, was dissolved on the 11th of March, 1768.

* "Quarterly Review," vol. lxvi. p. 251.
† Letter in Lord Lyttleton's "Memoirs."
‡ "George III.," vol. ii. p. 451.


SAMUEL JOHNSON.
SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.
EDMUND BURKE.
OLIVER GOLDSMITH.

Duke of Grafton.

CHAPTER XIX.

New Parliament—Non-publication of Debates—Wilkes returned for Middlesex—Riots—Sentence upon Wilkes—His expulsions from Parliament and re-elections—Debates on the privileges of the Commons—The Letters of Junius—Personalities of Junius—His attacks on the duke of Grafton—Private letters of Junius—His attack on the duke of Bedford—Address of Junius to the king—Opening of Parliament—Lord Chatham—Chatham's speech on the Address—Schism in the Ministry—Lord Camden disclaims their measures—Resignation of the duke of Grafton.

THE new Parliament was opened on the 10th of May, 1768. In this most important Session the non-publication of debates was enforced with almost unequalled strictness. Horace Walpole has, for some years, been to us the almost only authority for forming any notion of the debating power in an age of real oratory, if we may judge of its rhetorical excellence from the testimony of contemporaries. He is not now a member of "the Thirteenth Parliament of Great Britain." He says, "What traces of debates shall appear hereafter must be mutilated and imperfect, as being received by hearsay from others, or taken from notes communicated to me." * The rigid enforcement of the Standing Order for the exclusion of strangers went on from 1768 to 1774—the whole term of the duration of this Parliament, thus known as the "Unreported Parliament." But the debates of the House of Commons in this stirring period were not "unreported." Mr. Cavendish (afterwards sir Henry Cavendish), member for Lostwithiel, not only devoted himself to the task of taking down the heads of speeches, but after some practice, attempted to report them "more at large." These most valuable notes have been the foundation of the collection edited by Mr. J. Wright, as "Sir Henry Cavendish's Debates;" but, probably from inadequate public

* "Memoirs of George III.," vol. iii. p. 180.

encouragement, these Reports, in their printed form, do not extend beyond March 27, 1771.*

At the opening of Parliament the ministry comprised lord Camden, Lord Chancellor; the duke of Grafton, First Lord of the Treasury; lord Shelburne, Secretary of State; lord North, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Chatham still held the Privy Seal, but continued unable to discharge any official duties. It was the duke of Grafton's ministry. The new Parliament commenced in a tempest of popular violence, such as had been unwitnessed in England for many years. John Wilkes, an outlaw, suddenly returned from France, at the time when the writs had been issued for a general election, and he declared himself a candidate for the city of London. He was lowest on the poll, there being four aldermen in nomination, who had the suffrages of most decent citizens. Wilkes then proposed himself as a candidate for the county of Middlesex. The ministry were unwilling to proceed against him on his outlawry; and the Whigs, generally, could not well forget that he had been their tool. The demagogue was returned as member for Middlesex; and his triumph was celebrated by illuminations and riots. On the 20th of April, being the first day of term, Wilkes, according to a promise he had given, surrendered to his outlawry, and was committed to custody. A violent mob rescued their favourite from the officers of the court; but he had the prudence to get away from them, and surrender himself at the King's Bench prison. Riots daily took place in the neighbourhood of Wilkes's place of confinement. On the 10th of May, a vast concourse of people assembled in St. George's Fields, to convey the member for Middlesex to his seat in the House, which it was thought he would then take in virtue of his privilege. The riot act was read when the mob assailed the prison-gates; and the military being called in, five or six persons lost their lives, and many were wounded. The magistrate who gave the order to fire was tried and acquitted. On the 11th of May a royal proclamation was issued "for suppressing riots, tumults, and other unlawful assemblies." There were other causes of tumult than the political agitations connected with Wilkes. Seamen from vessels in the Thames were parading the streets, demanding increase of wages; and having interfered with the unloading of colliers, the coalheavers took part against the sailors, and were fighting with them in the public thoroughfares. The coalheavers had their own especial grievance, having by Act of Parliament been subjected to the jurisdiction of the alderman of the ward. An alehouse-keeper of the name of Green had given offence to the coalheavers, who were chiefly Irish; and they vowed his destruction. Walpole relates their proceedings, as "the fiercest and most memorable of all the tumults." His narrative shows the lawlessness of the metropolis ninety years ago. Green, Walpole says, "every night removed his wife and children out of his house. One evening he received notice that the coalheavers were coming to attack him. He had nobody with him but a maid-servant and a sailor, who by accident was drinking in the house. Green asked the sailor if he would assist him. 'Yes,' answered the generous tar, 'I will defend any man in distress.' At eight the rioters appeared, and fired on the house, lodging in one room above two hundred bullets; and when their ammunition was spent

* Published in Parts, in 1843, and forming two volumes, the second of which is incomplete.

they bought pewter pots, cut them to pieces, and fired them as ball. At length with an axe they broke out the bottom of the door; but that breach the sailor defended singly; while Green and his maid kept up a constant fire, and killed eighteen of the besiegers. Their powder and ball being at last wasted, Green said he must make his escape; 'for you,' said he to the friendly sailor, 'they will not hurt you.' Green, retiring from the back room of his house, got into a carpenter's yard, and was concealed in a sawpit, over which the mob passed in their pursuit of him, being told he was gone forwards." During nine hours, whilst this tumult was going on, no police or military interfered. Green was tried for murder and was acquitted. Seven of the coalheavers were executed; but the revenge of their associates did not cease, for they murdered Green's sister. The brave sailor "never owned himself; never claimed honour or recompense for his generous gallantry." *

The only real business in the first short Session of the new Parliament was to continue the Act prohibiting the exportation of corn and flour. The Houses adjourned after sitting only ten days, and the Parliament was afterwards prorogued. Colonel Luttrell on the 10th of May had moved "that the proper officer of the Crown do inform the House, why the laws were not immediately put in force against John Wilkes, Esq., an outlaw;" but the Speaker held that the motion could not be entertained. The parliament did not re-assemble till the 8th of November; but the case of John Wilkes had been kept alive in the public mind by the legal proceedings against him. Lord Mansfield, in June, delivered judgment in the Court of King's Bench, that the outlawry of Mr. Wilkes was null and void, through a defect in the pleadings; but the original judgment against him for libels was sufficient, and he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, and to two fines of 500*l.* There were illuminations in the Strand on the 27th of October, in honour of Wilkes's birth-day. On the 2nd of January, 1769, he was elected alderman of the ward of Farringdon Without; and subsequently, some informality having been found in the proceedings, he was re-elected. He was to be raised to the highest pinnacle of popularity by the contest in which the government, acting through the House of Commons, now became engaged with the prisoner in the King's Bench who had been elected member for Middlesex. On the 14th of November, a petition to the Commons was presented from Mr. Wilkes "for redress of his grievances." The proceedings upon this petition occupied much time; and the House of Commons appeared eager to raise another issue, upon a complaint in the House of Peers of Lord Weymouth, the Secretary of State, that Wilkes had published a libel against himself. The Commons, after a conference with the Lords, took this matter in hand; summoned Wilkes to their bar in custody; and received his defiance in the assertion that he was the author of the paper complained of, and that he gloried in it. The House decided that this was an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel. On the 3rd of February, lord Barrington moved that John Wilkes, having confessed himself the author of what the House had deemed to be a libel, and being also under sentence for other seditious, obscene, and impious libels, be expelled. The motion was carried by a majority of eighty-two; and a new writ was moved for

* "Memoirs of George III.," vol. iii. p. 219.

Middlesex. The sentence of expulsion was resisted by the minority upon constitutional grounds; and upon the same principle Wilkes was re-elected unanimously. The election was declared null and void by a majority in the Commons of a hundred and forty-six. Again the freeholders of Middlesex resolved to set at nought the decision of Parliament. The rights of electors were considered to be violated. Large sums were subscribed to carry on this dangerous battle between the people and their representatives. The whole kingdom was in agitation. Wilkes was a third time elected; and it was voted, that having been expelled the House he was incapacitated for election. The government now provided a candidate who would not shrink from opposing the popular favourite. Colonel Luttrell vacated his seat, and stood for the metropolitan county. On the 13th of April, without any tumult, Wilkes was a fourth time returned by a very large majority. The House of Commons now decided by a majority of fifty-four, that Luttrell should have been returned, and not Wilkes, and that Luttrell should take his seat. The king, in April, 1768, had urged upon lord North the necessity for the expulsion of Wilkes; and on this last decision of the House he congratulated the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon "the very honourable issue of the debate." His majesty added, "the House has, with becoming dignity, supported their own privileges, without which they cannot subsist, and it is now my duty to see the laws obeyed."

King, Lords, and Commons, were now committed to what was deemed a warfare against the people, and a violation of constitutional rights. Sober statesmen were alarmed. Granby and Conway staid away from Parliament on the motion for the expulsion of Wilkes. "Having declared against violent measures they would not concur in it; and disapproving Wilkes's attacks on the government, they would not defend him." * Dunning took the same course. When lord Barrington moved the expulsion, George Grenville, during whose administration Wilkes had been first arrested for the libel in the "North Briton," delivered a speech which may even now be read with admiration for its grave wisdom. He denied, in the strongest terms, the legality and the prudence of the proposed measure.† Burke brought all the force of his eloquence to contend against the manifest disposition of the House. One sentence would not be readily forgotten: "The late hour of the night—the candles—all put me in mind of the representation of the last act of a tragi-comedy, performed by his majesty's servants, by desire of several persons of distinction, for the benefit of Mr. Wilkes, and at the expense of the constitution." ‡ The conclusion of his speech pointed to the impending danger: "I dread the consequences of this violent struggle between the two tides of power and popularity." The House went on debating, with more or less energy, on every occasion when the re-election of Wilkes was the subject of controversy. On the 15th of April, upon the motion for declaring colonel Luttrell member for Middlesex, instead of Mr. Wilkes, the discussion was conducted with a heat that manifested how the passions even of temperate men had become committed to this unhappy

* Walpole—"George III.," vol. iii. p. 317.
† Reported in full in the "Cavendish Debates" vol. i. pp. 159 to 176.
‡ "Cavendish Debates," vol. i. p. 180.

contest. Alderman Beckford having been interrupted by Mr. Onslow in saying that "he apprehended a Resolution of the House of Commons was not the law of the land," George Grenville rose to the point of order, and with great animation exclaimed, "Sir, the man who will contend that a Resolution of the House of Commons is the law of the land, is a most violent enemy of his country, be he who or what he will." His emotion was so great that on the conclusion of his short speech, "Mr. Grenville spat blood."* On the same evening, Charles Fox, who had not then attained his majority, made his first speech, in favour of the government. The debut of the "man of the people" of after times was not promising. He said that "the contest was between the House of Commons and the lowest scum of the people." Burke replied, in terms which probably sank deep into the mind of the young man, who was then renowned only for his extravagance: "Sir, if party distinction is to be raised up in this country between the gentlemen and those who have this evening been called beggarly—if such a party should ever arise—woe betide the gentlemen! If, dabbling in intrigues, they make themselves contemptible and useless, they will never be respected: the active, the industrious, those who labour, will get before them." † On the 8th of May, there was a debate on the petition against the return of colonel Luttrell, when the question that he was duly elected was affirmed by a majority of sixty-nine. On that occasion, Mr. Henry Cavendish said, "I lay it down as a principle that no Order of the House of Commons can make a minority a majority; that no Resolution of the House of Commons can ever make Mr. Luttrell the legal representative of the county of Middlesex: for I do, from my soul, abhor, detest, and abjure, as unconstitutional and illegal, that damnable doctrine and position, that a Resolution of the House of Commons can make, alter, suspend, abrogate, or annihilate the law of the land." ‡ The next day, seventy members dined together at the Thatched House Tavern, when one of the toasts was "Mr. Cavendish's creed." Another toast was, "The first edition of Dr. Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England." § The allusion was to the debate of the previous night. Blackstone, then Solicitor-General to the queen, had declared that the legal incapacity of Wilkes to sit in that House was established by the Common Law; and Grenville said, "I greatly prefer the opinion given by the learned gentleman in his work on the Laws of England, to what fell from him this evening;" and then quoted a passage from the Commentaries as to the qualifications of persons to be elected.‖

Whilst this contest was going on in Parliament, the attention of the town, and very soon of the whole nation, was turned to an anonymous writer in the "Public Advertiser," who, under the signature of "Junius," commenced a series of attacks upon persons of high station, that formed, by their fearlessness as well as their ability, a striking contrast to the ordinary communications to newspapers. There had been many previous letters in the same paper, printed and conducted by Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall, which, from their personalities, had made some noise. Many of these, signed

* "Cavendish Debates," vol. i. p. 371. † *Ibid.*, p. 382. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 428.
§ "Chatham Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 360.
‖ "Cavendish Debates," vol. i. p. 430.

Poplicola, Anti-Sejanus, jun., Correggio, Mnemon, Lucius, Atticus, have been ascribed to the same writer; but it has been maintained very convincingly, in successive articles in the "Athenæum," that, although included in the edition of Junius of 1812, the theory of their coming from one and the same pen, is not to be accepted without large qualification. Nevertheless, careful inquirers, amongst whom is lord Mahon, think they would not have appeared in Woodfall's edition without some good authority. These letters abound with very choice figures of speech, which have a remarkable resemblance to the undoubted writings of Junius. Lord Chatham, in the spring of 1767, is "a man purely and perfectly bad,"—"a grand vizier,"—one who had accepted "a share of power under a pernicious court minion." In the autumn, Chatham is "a lunatic brandishing a crutch." Camden is a judge, with the laws of England under his feet, and "before his distorted vision a dagger which marshals him the way to the murder of the constitution." Beastliness and brutality characterize these productions, in many instances. Profaneness is common enough. So far these letters agree with those of Junius. They agree also in the few political principles which we find amidst their scurrility. Those who contended against the justice and policy of taxing the North American colonies, were "a particular set of men base and treacherous enough to have enlisted under the banners of a lunatic, to whom they sacrificed their honour, their conscience, and their country,—the wretched ministers who served at the altar, whilst the high priest himself, with more than frantic fury, offered up his bleeding country a victim to America." On the 5th of April, 1768, the return of Wilkes to England offered a favourable occasion for a new attack to be opened against the ministry of the duke of Grafton, under the signature of C., which Junius adopted in his private correspondence with his printer. Wilkes was now the object of his most rancorous abuse—"a most infamous character in private life." The ministry were responsible for this outlaw being at large. "We are still strong enough to defend our lives and properties against Mr. Wilkes and his banditti." Within a year there was no man more zealous than Junius in an endeavour to stimulate this banditti into those acts of violence which are the natural consequence of writings which rouse the passions by unmeasured personalities. He made no attempts to sustain the people in a temperate assertion of their rights; or to bring the powers of argument to deter those who were invading those rights. His mode of proceeding has its admirers, as we learn from his last idolator: "Junius had a busier mission than that of writing panegyrics on principles,—or didactic essays on axiomatic politics . . . . Principle, in those days, if not practised, being at least understood, Junius was, in my judgment, right in applying his vast powers rather to the chastisement of wrong-doers, than to theoretical disquisitions on wrongs done."*

It is more than forty years ago since the author of this History was induced diligently to read the "Letters of Junius." The elaborate edition by Woodfall was then recently published; but to a youth it was more important that, as a "British Classic," Junius could be carried about as a pocket volume. Little more than forty years had passed since the victims of Junius were guiding the destinies of the nation. The "great personage" whom he had

* "William Burke the Author of Junius." By J. C. Symons. 1859.

assailed with unexampled boldness was still alive, although utterly insensible to what opinions might be held of the honesty of his arch-enemy. Probably the study of Junius as a master of invective was seriously damaging to our capacity for forming a correct judgment of the public men of a very remarkable period. Certainly it required a much more intimate acquaintance with the real materials for an impartial view of national affairs than were then open to us, to divest ourselves of a lingering confidence that these brilliant epigrams of an anonymous assailant of the great had not only a broad foundation of truth to rest upon, but were substantially true. Unquestionably it demanded a strong exercise of the reasoning faculty not to be seduced by the fascination of the mystery which had so long defied an absolute solution. It was more than difficult not to believe that this man in the mask was some grand and awful magician, endued with all-penetrating knowledge, wondrous ability, and irresistible power. The tardy conviction at length arrived that, whether of high rank or of humble, a senator or a garreteer, a minister of state or an eavesdropper, a noble lord in a blue ribbon or an office clerk, he was, taken all in all, one of the most abandoned of anonymous literary assassins; that no writer ever more abused the power of the press for the gratification of his "envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness." Again we read Junius, now that we have to write of Grafton, Mansfield, Bedford, whom he made his quarry. When we now see that his elaborately pointed periods are rarely the vehicle of anything higher than temporary personalities of the dirtiest character such as a gentleman would scorn, and of dastardly insinuations such as none but a coward could utter in disguise, we care not to trouble ourselves about the solution of the riddle which has engaged so many acute minds—*Who* was Junius? We are content with asking, *What* was Junius? If that question be answered in accordance with our opinion of his character, we may arrive at one safe conclusion—*Who* Junius was *not*.

Horace Walpole has a remark upon the author of Junius, which appears to have been overlooked by some who think that the literary merit of these Letters will keep their moral turpitude in the back-ground. "Men," he says, "wondered how any one possessed of such talents could have the forbearance to write in a manner so desperate as to prevent his ever receiving personal applause for his writings: the venom was too black not to disgrace even his ashes."* The representatives of Sir Philip Francis have paraded his claims to be Junius, as if he, in that belief, were to be honoured in the dust. The letter of lady Francis to lord Campbell is an earnest pleading that the renown of being the author of Junius shall be allotted to her deceased husband.† When the able editor of the "Grenville Papers," then librarian to the late duke of Buckingham, suggested to his grace "the possibility that lord Temple might have been the author of Junius," although the duke had not heard it as a family tradition, he "did not discourage the supposition." The librarian at Stowe, with whom the honour of the Grenvilles must have had some weight, thus encouraged, writes upwards of two hundred pages

* "Memoirs of George III.," vol. iii. p. 402.

† Printed in Campbell's "Chancellors," vol. iv.—and given also in Bohn's edition of Junius, vol. ii. p. lxii.

of "Notes on the Authorship of Junius," which he thus concludes: "It is my firm and deliberate conviction, that if lord Temple were not the author of Junius, then the author has never yet been publicly named."* The writer of a very interesting article in the "Quarterly Review," seeks to identify Junius with Thomas lord Lyttelton—the "profligate lord Lyttelton" as he was called,—not more by the remarkable talents of this young nobleman, than by his unquestionable familiarity with the gross excesses and base insinuations in which Junius delighted to indulge; by the love of Junius for private scandal, picked up in "the haunts of refined blackguardism" which Thomas Lyttelton frequented.† If "the venom of Junius was too black not to disgrace his ashes;" if that vanity which led Junius to hold that his Letters would descend to posterity in company with the Bible had some counterpart in the intense vanity of sir Philip Francis; if one of the resemblances between Junius and Temple was, that the most scurrilous pamphlets were written under the direction of this malignant friend of Wilkes; if to be plunged in the grossest sensuality was one proof that Lyttelton was Junius —how will these attributes support the theory of some of his contemporaries that Burke was the real Junius;—or the modified hypothesis now put forward, that "Edmund Burke in all probability aided William in writing Junius." ‡

In noticing, perhaps more fully than they intrinsically deserve, the Letters of Junius, it is our chief duty to regard them as bearing upon, and in connection with, the history of their time. There can be no doubt that they had some influence upon the movements of party; terrified a few persons of high station; made others more obstinate in their contempt even of the truths uttered by a systematic libeller. That they produced any real and permanent benefit to the country can scarcely be pretended, even by those who shut their eyes to the monstrous evil of that system of personality which they carried to its utmost limit—a system which was the disgrace of the literature of that period, and which only died out when anonymous writers accepted their position of secresy as one that imposed as heavy, perhaps heavier, responsibilities than belonged to acknowledged authorship. Junius waged no chivalric war. In "complete steel" he was fighting with naked men. Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, amongst his gossiping anecdotes, says that Mr. Bradshaw, the Secretary of the Treasury, made no secret "of the agony into which the duke of Grafton was thrown by these productions. Such was their effect and operation on his mind, as sometimes utterly to incapacitate him during whole days for the ministerial duties of his office." § It was "the venom of the shaft rather than the vigour of the bow" ‖ which made the prime minister sink, "as a sick girl," under these skin-deep wounds from a foe in ambush.

The first especial attack of Junius on the duke of Grafton was in connection with an event which was associated with the Wilkite agitation. Mr. Cooke, the member who had been returned for Middlesex at the same time with Wilkes, having died, Serjeant Glynn had been elected in December, with the recommendation to popular favour of having been counsel for Wilkes. The court had also put a candidate in nomination. The "roughs" at this

* "Grenville Papers," vol. iii. p. ccxxxviii.
† "Quarterly Review," vol. xc.
‡ "William Burke, the Author of Junius," p. 6.
§ "Historical Memoirs," vol. i. p. 454.
‖ Johnson—"Falkland Islands."

period were mostly chairmen, of whom the greater number were Irish. The mob, whether hirelings or volunteers, engaged in a fierce battle, which ended in the death of Mr. Clarke, one of the friends of the popular candidate. Two chairmen, whose names were Macquirk and Balfe, had a verdict of Wilful Murder returned against them on a coroner's inquest; and they were tried at the Old Bailey, and found guilty, in January. The feeling of the populace was manifested by the shouts and clapping of hands which arose in the gallery, when the verdict was given. They were left for execution, although one had been recommended to mercy by the jury, and there were circumstances which invalidated the proof that these men, however engaged in the riot, had struck the deceased. Walpole relates that two members of the House of Commons, who saw "the glaring cruelty of putting two men to death who had neither counselled the deed nor meditated it," expressed their opinion in the House of Commons; that there was not a dissenting voice on the recommendation that they should be pardoned; and that consequently the criminals were respited during pleasure. At the desire of the Secretary of State, the College of Surgeons entered upon an examination of witnesses, and gave as their unanimous opinion that the blow which was described on the trial was not the cause of Clarke's death. The men accordingly received the King's free pardon. Burke, on the 15th of April, spoke strongly against this proceeding: "After a jury, upon legal evidence, have given their verdict—the court of judicature has determined, the judges have approved, and the party is under sentence,—the mercy of the Crown interposes: 'No, no,' say the government, 'we must get a jury of surgeons; of that kind of judicature we must avail ourselves;' and the man receives the royal pardon." * The orator complains of this mode of setting aside a solemn verdict by an irregular inquiry; but he does not make his complaint the vehicle for a personal attack upon the prime minister or any member of the government. Junius, on the contrary, writes thus to the duke of Grafton: "When the laws have given you the means of making an example, in every sense unexceptionable, and by far the most likely to awe the multitude, you pardon the offence, and are not ashamed to give the sanction of government to the riots you complain of, and even to future murders. You are partial, perhaps, to the military mode of execution; and had rather see a score of these wretches butchered by the guards, than one of them suffer death by regular course of law." The object of Burke is to complain of an irregular ministerial act: the purpose of Junius is to damage an individual.

The one paramount desire of Junius was to destroy the administration of the duke of Grafton. He had no large conception of a general policy that should unite a great party in the conduct of affairs if that administration were destroyed. The two questions which absorbed the thoughts, and divided the opinions, of all public men, were the contest between Parliamentary Privilege and Wilkes, and the more perplexing quarrel between the mother country and the North American Colonies. It was known that the king held the most decided opinions on both these questions—that he would have pursued Wilkes to the utmost reach of power, whatever might be the

* "Cavendish Debates," vol. i. p. 382.

unpopularity; and that he would assert the right of taxation over the Colonies, whatever might be the danger of rebellion and war. The ministry of the duke of Grafton was committed, in a great degree, to an agreement with the will of the sovereign, less perhaps from conviction than from an imperfect view of the consequences of persisting in a doubtful career. At this juncture lord Chatham, having ceased to be at the head of affairs, was free to pursue his own declared sentiments on the subject of American taxation, and to form an independent judgment on the case of Wilkes. He had become reconciled to his brother-in-law, lord Temple, and was looked upon as having joined the Grenville party. But though he agreed with George Grenville on the unconstitutional proceedings of the House of Commons in the matter of the Middlesex election, he was totally opposed to him on the subject of America. The Rockingham party, of whose policy Burke was now the great parliamentary expositor, held fast to the popular principles in the dispute with the freeholders of Middlesex, but repudiated any such assertion of authority over the Colonies as George Grenville had maintained. Junius not only supported but prompted Wilkes in every act that could damage the ministry. But he also spoke in the most contemptuous terms of any individual or any party that deemed the Colonists anything but rebels, to be trodden down as troublesome vermin. Ostensibly he was an adherent of George Grenville. Had he any real principles? He was not a politician, in the higher sense of the word. He had some selfish ambition to gratify; he had some private grievances to revenge. He might be a writing puppet, moved by some one of higher mark—a Francis, or a Dyer, prompted by a Temple. He might be a man of noble birth, mining like a mole; whose vanity was gratified by the notoriety which he commanded,—pleased with acquiring another self-consciousness than that which belonged to his proper person. Whoever he was, he had essentially a paltry mind. He had not the mind of any man that had won or was winning a great name—a Chatham or a Burke, even a Barré or a Shelburne. He was "a good hater;" but his dislikes had more of the real meanness than of the false grandeur of hatred. His true nature was disclosed in his private letters to his printer. Of Mansfield, the lord chief justice, he says, "I will never rest till I have destroyed or expelled that wretch." Mr. Chamier, a member of the club which Johnson, Reynolds, Burke, and Goldsmith made illustrious, is "to be run down," to annoy lord Barrington, the secretary-at-war, who had appointed him his deputy. With the airs of an aristocrat he writes to Garrick, "Mark me, vagabond. Keep to your pantomimes, or be assured you shall hear of it." With the determination of an assassin, he says of the duke of Bedford, "I am sure I can threaten him privately with such a storm as would make him tremble even in his grave." In consonance with his whole system, he recommends Woodfall to deny the authenticity of one of his letters which had been printed: "Suppose you were to say—We have some reason to suspect that the last letter signed Junius in this paper was not written by the real Junius." To show how the coward trembled even in his triple armour of concealment, we have only to quote from one letter to his publisher: "I must be more cautious than ever. I am sure I should not survive a discovery three days; or, if I did, they would attaint me by bill. I am persuaded you are too honest a man to contribute in any way

to my destruction." Attaint him by bill! as if he were a Bolingbroke or an Ormonde. He was a man of rank, and had their penalties of forfeiture in his mind, according to the belief of one who has looked carefully into the subject.* In our view, the fear of attainder was only one of the many pretences by which an inordinately vain man sought to raise his personal importance in the eyes of the humble friend to whom he left all the real peril consequent upon his own audacity. "I hope these papers have reimbursed you. I never will send you anything that *I* think dangerous; but the risque is yours, and you must determine for yourself."

The duke of Grafton, in 1769, was thirty-four years of age. He had the misfortune to be divorced from his wife by no fault of his own; and he subsequently made no secret of keeping a mistress—the great of that day not having been shamed into decency by the decorum of the Court. These circumstances are paraded by Junius without reserve. His descent from Charles II. was objected to him as a crime. But there was a greater sin which Grafton had just committed. He had quitted Nancy Parsons, and married a niece of the duchess of Bedford. The family union was the symptom of political union; and the hatred of Junius to the two ducal houses strengthened with their strength. His letter to the duke of Bedford appeared immediately after outrages committed upon the duke at Exeter and at Honiton. Bull-dogs were set upon him, as he rode through the latter town, and he was pelted with stones by an outrageous mob, who cried "Wilkes and Liberty,"—"the Peacemaker."† Junius took up the hint. The duke was assaulted on the 30th of July. On the 19th of September appeared a letter in which "the Peacemaker," who as ambassador to France negociated the Peace of Paris, was accused of having made disadvantageous terms for his country upon the receipt of pecuniary compensations. With reference to the Devonshire outrages, we have this passage: "Your friends will ask, perhaps, whither shall this unhappy old man retire? Can he remain in the metropolis, where his life has been often threatened, and his palace so often attacked? If he returns to Woburn, scorn and mockery await him. He must create a solitude round his estate, if he would avoid the face of reproach and derision. At Plymouth his destruction would be more than probable: at Exeter, inevitable." Lord Brougham has devoted a paper to the vindication of the character of John, fourth duke of Bedford,—"to rescue the memory of an able, an amiable, and an honourable man, long engaged in the public service, both as a minister, a negociator, and a viceroy—long filling, like all his illustrious house, in every age of our history, an exalted place among the champions of our free constitution—from the obloquy with which a licentious press loaded him when living." Lord Brougham makes the complete refutation which he gives to the falsehoods of Junius, a test of "the claims of a noted slanderer to public confidence."‡

The celebrated Address of Junius to the king may properly close our notice of this over-estimated writer. Of that depth of political information which it has been the fashion to attribute to Junius, this address exhibits no trace. It is a tedious homily, displaying no accurate perception of the

* "Quarterly Review," vol. xc. p. 101.
† Journal of the Duke—in "Cavendish Debates," p. 620.
‡ "Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the time of George III."

character of George III., and touching none of the points on which he was really open to animadversion. He is blamed for his encouragement of "the natives of Scotland;" for removing on his accession the ablest servants of the crown for "a little personal motive of pique and resentment"—not alluding to the design of governing by "the king's friends;" of hastily concluding a peace with "the natural enemies of this country." The contest with Wilkes is gone over, without any stronger argument than very dull sarcasm upon the king's ministers. Allusion is made to Charles I., but only to point to the treachery of his Scotch subjects. The peroration is like the bounce at the end of a squib: "The name of Stuart, of itself, is only contemptible; armed with the sovereign authority, their principles are formidable. The prince who imitates their conduct should be warned by examples; and, while he plumes himself upon the security of his title to the crown, should remember that, as it was acquired by one revolution, it may be lost by another." Mr. Woodfall was prosecuted for this Address; and was tried before lord Mansfield, in June, 1770. The jury had been charged to consider, first, the printing and publishing the paper; secondly, the sense and meaning of it. But the Chief-justice told them that as to the charge of its being malicious, seditious, &c., these were inferences in law about which no evidence need be given. The jury returned a verdict of "Guilty of printing and publishing only." The Court of King's Bench decided that a new trial should be granted, but the original newspaper not being produced, the proceedings fell to the ground. Out of this trial grew a material alleviation of the Libel Law.

On the 9th of May, the Parliament was prorogued. It was the day after the final decision on the Middlesex election. In the speech from the throne the members were exhorted, "with more than ordinary earnestness," to exert their utmost efforts for the maintenance of the public peace. The excitement throughout the country was considerable, but it rarely took the form of tumult. It was manifest, however, that the supposed victory of the government would not give the nation that quiet which sanguine courtiers anticipated. Lord Chatham came forth from his long retirement, and attended the king's levée on the 7th of July—"he himself, *in propriâ personâ*, and not in a strait waistcoat," as Walpole writes. From the MS. Memoirs of the duke of Grafton we find that Chatham, when called by the king into his closet, objected to the course which had been pursued in the case of Wilkes, and stated "that he doubted whether his health would ever again allow him to attend Parliament, but if it did, and if he should give his dissent to any measure, that his majesty would be indulgent enough to believe that it would not arise from any personal consideration."

On the 9th of January, 1770, the Parliament was opened by the king. With a singular want of perception of the ridiculous, the first words of the royal speech were these: "My Lords and Gentlemen,—It is with much concern that I find myself obliged to open the Session of Parliament with acquainting you, that the distemper among the horned cattle has lately broke out in this kingdom." The petitions which had been presented from corporations and counties received no notice in this speech. Junius, with some justice, said to the duke of Grafton, "While the whole kingdom was agitated with anxious expectation upon one great point, you meanly evaded the question; and instead of the firmness and decision of a king, gave us

nothing but the misery of a ruined grazier." But a voice more terrible than that of Junius was to rouse the government from its seeming unconcern. In the House of Lords, Chatham moved an amendment to the Address, pledging the peers that they would take into their most serious consideration the causes of the discontents which so generally prevailed, and particularly the late proceedings in the House of Commons touching the incapacity of John Wilkes, Esq., to be elected a member of the present Parliament. The scene in the Upper House on this occasion must have been as exciting as any in the history of our country. The speech by which Chatham introduced the amendment, as well as the speech of lord Mansfield, and lord Chatham's reply, were first published in 1792, from a report of Mr. Francis, afterwards sir Philip Francis, upon whom rests the prevailing opinion that he was Junius. We may judge by the following passage of the tendency of Chatham's speech: "The liberty of the subject is invaded, not only in the provinces, but here at home! The English people are loud in their complaints; they demand redress; and, depend upon it, my lords, that, one way or another, they will have redress. They will never return to a state of tranquillity till they are redressed. Nor ought they. For in my judgment, my lords, and I speak it boldly, it were better for them to perish in a glorious contention for their rights, than to purchase a slavish tranquillity at the expense of a single iota of the Constitution." Lord Mansfield spoke, contending that the proposed amendment was an attack upon the privileges of the other House of Parliament. This produced a reply from lord Chatham. When men speak of the eloquence of this wondrous orator, they quote such passages of this speech as the following.

On the usurpation of power by the House of Commons:—"The Constitution of this country has been openly invaded in fact; and I have heard, with horror and astonishment, that very invasion defended upon principle. What is this mysterious power, undefined by law, unknown to the subject, which we must not approach without awe, nor speak of without reverence,—which no man may question, and to which all men must submit? My lords, I thought the slavish doctrine of passive obedience had long since been exploded; and, when our kings were obliged to confess that their title to the Crown, and the rule of their government, had no other foundation than the known laws of the land, I never expected to hear a divine right, or a divine infallibility, attributed to any other branch of the Legislature. My lords, I beg to be understood. No man respects the House of Commons more than I do, or would contend more strenuously than I would, to preserve to them their just and legal authority. Within the bounds prescribed by the Constitution, that authority is necessary for the well-being of the people. Beyond that line every exertion of power is arbitrary, is illegal; it threatens tyranny to the people, and destruction to the state. Power without right is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination. It is not only pernicious to those who are subject to it, but tends to its own destruction. . . . . The House of Commons, we are told, have a supreme jurisdiction, and there is no appeal from their sentence; and that wherever they are competent judges, their decision must be received and submitted to, as, *ipso facto*, the law of the land. My lords, I am a plain man, and have been brought up in a religious reverence for the original simplicity of the laws of

England. By what sophistry they have been perverted, by what artifices they have been involved in obscurity, is not for me to explain. The principles, however, of the English laws are still sufficiently clear; they are founded in reason, and are the masterpiece of the human understanding; but it is in the text that I would look for a direction to my judgment, not in the commentaries of modern professors. The noble lord assures us that he knows not in what code the law of Parliament is to be found; that the House of Commons, when they act as judges, have no law to direct them but their own wisdom; that their decision is law; and if they determine wrong, the subject has no appeal but to Heaven. What then, my lords? Are all the generous efforts of our ancestors, are all those glorious contentions, by which they meant to secure to themselves, and to transmit to their posterity, a known law, a certain rule of living, reduced to this conclusion, that instead of the arbitrary power of a King, we must submit to the arbitrary power of the House of Commons? If this be true, what benefit do we derive from the exchange? Tyranny, my lords, is detestable in every shape, but in none so formidable as when it is assumed and exercised by a number of tyrants. But, my lords, this is not the fact; this is not the Constitution. We *have* a law of Parliament. We have a code in which every honest man may find it. We have Magna Charta. We have the Statute Book, and the Bill of Rights." . . . . . .

Could the mischief of the decision of the House of Commons not be redressed:—"If we are to believe the noble lord, this great grievance, this manifest violation of the first principles of the Constitution, will not admit of a remedy. It is not even capable of redress, unless we appeal at once to Heaven! My lords, I have better hopes of the Constitution, and a firmer confidence in the wisdom and constitutional authority of this House. It is to *your* ancestors, my lords, it is to the English barons, that we are indebted for the laws and Constitution we possess. Their virtues were rude and uncultivated, but they were great and sincere. Their understandings were as little polished as their manners, but they had hearts to distinguish right from wrong; they had heads to distinguish truth from falsehood; they understood the rights of humanity, and they had spirit to maintain them. My lords, I think that history has not done justice to their conduct, when they obtained from their sovereign that great acknowledgment of national rights contained in Magna Charta: they did not confine it to themselves alone, but delivered it as a common blessing to the whole people. They did not say, these are the rights of the great barons, or these are the rights of the great prelates. No, my lords, they said, in the simple Latin of the times, 'nullus liber homo' [no free man], and provided as carefully for the meanest subject as for the greatest. These are uncouth words, and sound but poorly in the ears of scholars, neither are they addressed to the criticism of scholars, but to the hearts of free men. These three words, 'nullus liber homo,' have a meaning which interests us all. They deserve to be remembered,—they deserve to be inculcated in our minds,—they are worth all the classics. Let us not, then, degenerate from the glorious example of our ancestors. Those iron barons (for so I may call them when compared with silken barons of modern days) were the guardians of the people; yet their virtues, my lords, were never engaged in a question of such importance as the present. A breach

has been made in the Constitution,—the battlements are dismantled,—the citadel is open to the first invader,—the walls totter,—the Constitution is not tenable. What remains, then, but for us to stand forward in the breach, and repair it, or perish in it?"

That memorable debate of the Peers on the 9th of January was closed by an event which was not unexpected, but which formed a striking exception to the ordinary course of the actions of great statesmen. It is clear from the Chatham Correspondence that the Lord Chancellor Camden, and the marquis of Granby, were to a certain extent under the influence of Chatham. His confidential correspondent, Mr. John Calcraft, writes to him on the 28th of November, to beg "that they may be put on their guard" not to attend a particular council. "Fearing neither of our friends are the best politicians, I cannot help harbouring doubts but they may get entangled at this council, for no pains will be spared." Camden, Granby, and Conway, as well as

House of Lords. From a Print of the period.

Grafton, in the spring of 1769, held to the necessity of not attempting any taxation of America, by import duties. They were overruled. Grafton remained in power, and Camden and Granby did not quit their employments. The schism in the cabinet was made more serious by the question of Wilkes.

After Chatham's speech, on the 9th of January, Camden rose from the woolsack, and thus threw off all restraint:—"I accepted the great seal without conditions; I meant not, therefore, to be trammelled by his majesty —I beg pardon, by his ministers—but I have suffered myself to be so too long. For some time I have beheld with silent indignation the arbitrary measures of the minister. I have often drooped and hung down my head in council, and disapproved by my looks those steps which I knew my avowed opposition could not prevent. I will do so no longer, but openly and boldly speak my sentiments. I now proclaim to the world that I entirely coincide in the opinion expressed by my noble friend—whose presence again reanimates us —respecting this unconstitutional vote of the House of Commons. If, in giving my opinion as a judge, I were to pay any respect to that vote, I should look upon myself as a traitor to my trust, and an enemy to my country. By their violent and tyrannical conduct, ministers have alienated the minds of the people from his majesty's government—I had almost said from his majesty's person—insomuch, that if some measures are not devised to appease the clamours so universally prevalent, I know not, my lords, whether the people, in despair, may not become their own avengers, and take the redress of grievances into their own hands."

In the House of Commons, the marquis of Granby voted for the amendment which had been proposed in opposition to the government. The Lord Chancellor, and the Commander-in-Chief, were thus in open hostility with the other members of the Cabinet. Such an anomalous state could not long endure. Chatham, Temple, and their friends, were waiting the issue with extreme solicitude. Granby had been earnestly entreated to retain his command of the army in spite of his vote. "The king, it seems, and the duke of Grafton are upon their knees to lord Granby not to resign," writes Temple to Chatham.* Chatham grieves that twenty-four hours' respite has been granted to a minister's entreaties.† He was at last set at rest by Granby's resignation. But he regrets that the Chancellor had dragged the great seal for an hour at the heels of a desperate minister.‡ His high office had been offered to Mr. Charles Yorke, the son of lord chancellor Hardwicke. It was a prize he had long coveted; but to accept it would be to desert his party. He declined. Three days after he went to the levée at St. James's; and, at the earnest entreaties of the king, he kissed the royal hand as Chancellor. Camden was dismissed. Yorke, borne down by agitation of mind, died, as was supposed by his own hand, on the 20th of January. On the 22nd there came on another great debate in the House of Lords on the State of the Nation, in which Chatham announced his cordial union with the party of Rockingham. It was on this occasion that Chatham recommended a specific plan of Parliamentary Reform. "The boroughs of this country have properly enough been called 'the rotten parts' of the Constitution. But in my judgment, my lords, these boroughs, corrupt as they are, must be considered as the natural infirmity of the Constitution. Like the infirmities of the body, we must bear them with patience, and submit to carry them about with us. The limb is mortified, but the amputation might be death. Let us try, my lords, whether some gentler remedies may not be discovered. Since we

* "Chatham Correspondence," vol. iii. p. 391. † *Ibid.*, p. 392. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

cannot cure the disorder, let us endeavour to infuse such a portion of new health into the Constitution as may enable it to support its most inveterate diseases. The representation of the counties is, I think, still preserved pure and uncorrupted. That of the greatest cities is upon a footing equally respectable; and there are many of the larger trading towns which still preserve their independence. The infusion of health which I now allude to would be to permit every county to elect one member more, in addition to their present representation. The knights of the shires approach nearest to the constitutional representation of the country, because they represent the soil. It is not in the little dependent boroughs, it is in the great cities and counties, that the strength and vigour of the Constitution resides; and by them alone, if an unhappy question should ever arise, will the Constitution be honestly and firmly defended. It would increase that strength, because I think it is the only security we have against the profligacy of the times, the corruption of the people, and the ambition of the crown."

The continued debate on the State of the Nation was deferred till the 2nd of February. On the 28th of January, the duke of Grafton resigned. The king was not unprepared for this event. On the 23rd of January he thus wrote to lord North: "Lord Weymouth and lord Gower will wait upon you this morning to press you in the strongest manner to accept the office of First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury. My mind is more and more strengthened in the rightness of the measure, which would prevent every other desertion. You must easily see that if you do not accept, I have no peer at present that I would consent to place in the duke of Grafton's employment." "The rightness of the measure" was to be tested by twelve years of national calamity.

Lord North. From an Engraving by Bartolozzi.

CHAPTER XX.

Lord North's Administration—Retrospect of Colonial affairs—Opposition to the Revenue Act—Debates in Parliament on American proceedings—Measures of coercion proposed—Lord Hillsborough—Virginia—Outrages in Boston—Repeal of duties, except that on teas—Encounter with the military at Boston—Renewal of the conflict regarding Wilkes—Remonstrance of the City of London—Beckford's Address to the King—Printers arrested for publishing Debates—Released by the City authorities—Riots—The Lord Mayor and an Alderman committed—Officers of State.

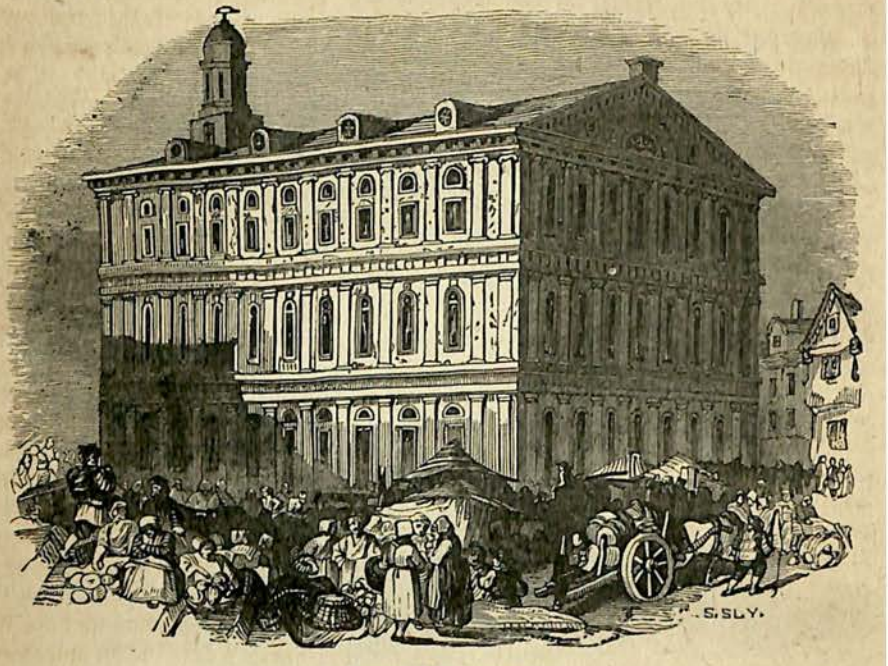
THE domestic agitations during the period of the duke of Grafton's ministry required to be given in an unbroken narrative. We now take up the more truly important relation of those events in the North American Colonies, and of the mode in which they were dealt with by the imperial government. These facts form the prologue to the tragedy of the American Revolution.

In 1768 a third Secretary of State was appointed. The office of Secretary of State for Scotland had been abolished; but now a new place was created for the earl of Hillsborough—the Secretaryship of the Colonies. It was a position of authority which demanded a rare union of firmness and moderation. But the Secretary was a member of a cabinet divided in judgment on the great question of American taxation; and lord Hillsborough was of the party of the duke of Bedford, who held opinions on that subject, not exactly in consonance with that championship of our free constitution which has been claimed for him.* Hillsborough had to deal with colonial subjects of the British Crown, whose indignation at the Stamp Act had been revived by Charles Townshend's fatal measure for granting duties in America on glass, red and white lead, painter's colours, paper, and tea. These duties were not to be collected until the 20th of November, 1767. That day passed over in

* See *ante*.

quiet in Boston; but the inhabitants had previously assembled, and had entered into resolutions to forbear the use of many articles of British produce or manufacture. The principle of resistance to the Revenue Act of 1767 was declared in a work largely circulated, entitled "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania." The author was John Dickinson. Franklin republished these letters in London, although they were opposed to his earlier opinion that external taxation,—import duties—were essentially less obnoxious than internal taxation—a Stamp Act. In February, 1768, the Assembly of Massachusetts, between which body and the governor, Francis Bernard, there had been serious disputes, addressed a circular letter to the other provinces, inviting them to unite in opposing the act for raising a revenue in the colonies. When the intelligence of this circular reached London, Hillsborough wrote to Bernard directing him to require, in the king's name, the House of Representatives in Massachusetts to rescind the resolution which produced the circular letter from their Speaker; and if they refused, immediately to dissolve them. The governors of the other colonies were ordered to pursue a similar course, if the assemblies gave any countenance to the "seditious paper," of Massachusetts. The dissolution of the Assembly of that state took place on the 1st of July, 1768, on its refusal, by a very large majority, to rescind the resolution. At that time there was a great ferment in Boston, occasioned by the seizure of a sloop laden with wine from Madeira, which had been attempted to be landed without paying duty. The new Commissioners of Customs directed the seizure; but a riot ensuing, they fled in terror to a fortress at the mouth of the harbour. It was now ascertained, from a letter written by Hillsborough to Bernard at the very time that this riot was taking place, that troops were ordered to be sent from Halifax to Boston. Some of the more violent inhabitants proposed to arm; others requested the governor to call together another Assembly. He refused to do so. The bold step was then taken by the popular leaders of summoning a Convention to meet at Boston. Elections took place; and committee men, as they were termed, from ninety-five towns or districts held sittings in a building belonging to the people of Boston, known as Faneuil Hall. The Convention sat only six days. The governor had remonstrated against this body of delegates attempting to transact the public business, and warned them of the penal consequences which they might incur if they did not separate. They protested, however, against taxation of the Colonies by the British Parliament, and against a standing army. They addressed a petition to the king. They recommended to all the preservation of good order. On the 28th of September, a squadron arrived from Halifax; conveying a large body of troops with artillery. Other troops continued to arrive; and four regiments were encamped near the city, or found their lodging in any public building. It was illegal to quarter them on the inhabitants. There was quiet; but the spirit of resistance was not thus to be extinguished. That spirit was not confined to Massachusetts; although the determination to counteract the operation of the Revenue Act took only the form of associations who agreed not to consume the produce or manufactures of the mother country. The "sons of liberty," as they were called, would wear no English broadcloth; and the "daughters of liberty" would drink no tea, if a duty were to be paid of threepence a-pound. The

consumers of tea in England paid four times as much duty; but the Colonists denied the right of the imperial Parliament to levy any duty at all upon those who were unrepresented.



Faneuil Hall, Boston.

The king, on opening the Parliament on the 8th of November, 1768, spoke in severe terms of the proceedings in North America. The spirit of faction had broken out afresh; one of the colonies had proceeded to acts of violence and of resistance to the execution of the law; the capital town of that colony was in a state of disobedience to all law and government,—had adopted measures subversive of the constitution, and attended with circumstances that might manifest a disposition to throw off their dependence on Great Britain. Not a word was uttered of the cause of this disobedience. Turbulent and seditious persons were to be defeated. On the 15th of December, in the House of Lords, the duke of Bedford moved an Address to the king, recommending that the chief authors and instigators of the late disorders in Massachusetts should be brought to condign punishment; and beseeching his majesty that he would direct the governor of that colony "to take the most effectual methods for procuring the fullest information that can be obtained touching all treasons or misprision of treason, committed within this government since the 30th day of December last, and to transmit the same, together with the names of the persons who were most active in the commission of such offences, to one of your majesty's principal Secretaries of State, in order that your majesty may issue a special commission for inquiring of, hearing and determining, the said offences

within this realm, pursuant to the provisions of the statute of the 35th year of the reign of king Henry VIII., in case your majesty shall, upon receiving the said information, see sufficient ground for such a proceeding." This most arbitrary proposal was carried without a division. In the House of Commons, at the opening of the Session, Mr. Stanley, the seconder of the Address, said that the people of the insolent town of Boston "must be treated as aliens." "It is not arms that govern a people," exclaimed Burke. Beckford spoke with plain English honesty: "At the time of passing the American Stamp Act, I openly declared it to be my opinion that taxing America for the sake of raising a revenue would never do. Why would you stir these waters? Let the nation return to its old good-nature, and its old good-humour." The Resolutions and Address of the Lords had been sent down to the Commons. On the 26th of January, 1769, the proposal of the duke of Bedford was strenuously resisted, and feebly defended. Burke said, with regard to this dangerous remedy for disaffection, "you fire a cannon upon your enemy which will re-act upon yourselves." Why, he said, do you call for this Act of Henry VIII. to be put in force? "Because you cannot trust a jury of that country. If you have not a party among two millions of people, you must either change your plan of government, or renounce the colonies for ever." George Grenville said the Resolution was "so much waste paper . . . . Your conduct reminds me of the story of the sailor who climbed up to the top of the main-mast: on being asked what he was doing, he said he was doing nothing, and that the lad was helping him."* The most practical advice was offered to the House by Mr. Pownall, who had been governor of Massachusetts:—"Let the matter of right rest upon the declaratory law, and say no more about it."†

The minority, whether in Parliament or amongst the nation generally, who opposed the principle of American taxation, little knew in the spring of 1769 how near they were to a triumph. On the 19th of April, governor Pownall moved that the House should go into Committee to consider the Act passed for granting certain duties on the American colonies. There was a short debate, but the motion was rejected, by what lord North called "a mannerly way of putting aside the present question"—namely, by moving the orders of the day. On the 9th of May the Parliament was prorogued. But on the 1st of May a Cabinet Council was held, in which the result of a deliberation on the question of America is thus described by the duke of Grafton in his MS. Memoirs: "The internal state of the country was really alarming; and from my situation I had more cause to feel it than any other man. But a measure at this time adopted by a majority of the king's servants gave me still more apprehension, considering it to be big with more mischief; for, contrary to my proposal of including the article of teas, together with all the other trifling objects of taxation, to be repealed on the opening of the next Session, it was decided that the teas were still to remain taxed as before, though contrary to the declared opinions of lord Camden, lord Granby, general Conway, and myself. Sir Edward Hawke was absent through illness: otherwise I think he would have agreed with those who voted for including the teas in the repeal." The duke of Grafton then

* "Cavendish Debates," vol. i. p. 203. † *Ibid.* p. 225.

proceeds distinctly to accuse lord Hillsborough of having suppressed in the minute of the Council, which was to be communicated to the colonial governors, "words as kind and lenient as could be proposed by some of us, and not without encouraging expressions which were too evidently displeasing to his lordship.". Camden charged Hillsborough with this suppression; which he denied. The presumptuous Secretary, who evidently acted with some authority from a higher quarter, not only garbled the minute, but accompanied it with a circular letter, which Grafton terms "unfortunate and unwarrantable—calculated to do all mischief, when our real minute might have paved the way to some good." Grafton and Camden felt that their power was gone. They ought to have resigned and denounced their dangerous colleague. The tea-duties were to be retained upon the principle maintained by the king, that "there must always be one tax, to keep up the right."

Whilst the king's ministers were thus divided upon the question of which few men saw the real importance, a demonstration of opinion was taking place in one of the colonies, of far more significance than the riots at Boston, and the meeting of its Convention. Lord Hillsborough had removed sir Jeffrey Amherst from the post of governor of Virginia, and had appointed in his place lord Boutetort, who, in a lucrative American office, could repair the consequences of his extravagance at home. In 1758 America had been called "the hospital of England;" the places in the gift of the Crown being filled "with broken Members of Parliament, of bad if any principle; valets de chambre, electioneering scoundrels, and even livery servants."* Lord Boutetort was a faded courtier, whose rank would be acceptable to the aristocratic families of Virginia, and whose parade might dazzle the eyes of discontented politicians. Boutetort, the only governor who had appeared in Virginia within memory, opened the Session of the Legislature of Virginia, at Williamsburg, with royal pomp. He went to the House of Representatives in a state carriage, drawn by six white horses. He gave splendid entertainments. A dutiful address was presented to him, which he answered with the most perfect courtesy.† But there were men in that Assembly of a character not to be propitiated by cream-coloured horses or sumptuous feasts. George Washington, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Peyton Randolph, were members of that Assembly. The House of Burgesses followed up its dutiful Address by unanimous Resolutions, in which they asserted that the right of laying taxes on Virginia was exclusively vested in its own Legislature; and pronounced that the mode of trial recommended in Parliament upon charges of high treason, was illegal and unconstitutional. The governor, without waiting for an official communication, dissolved the Assembly. On the next day the members assembled at the Raleigh tavern; and in a room called "The Apollo"—probably in memory of the famous Apollo Room where Ben Jonson prescribed his "*Leges Conviviales*"—eighty-eight pledged themselves not to import or purchase certain articles of British merchandise, whilst the Revenue Act was unrepealed, and signed Resolutions to that effect. The example spread. Pennsylvania approved the Resolutions. Delaware adopted them.

The Assembly of Massachusetts was at last legally convened in May,

* Letter of General Huske in Phillimore's "Memoirs of Lord Lyttelton."
† Bancroft, "American Revolution," vol. iii p. 309.

1769. The members complained that they could not discuss the public affairs with freedom, being surrounded with an armed force. The governor told them he had no authority over the ships in the port or the troops in the town. The place of assembling was removed to the town of Cambridge. The two authorities continued hostile, and the Assembly was prorogued. Sir Francis Bernard was recalled to England; and a lieutenant-governor, Hutchinson, an American, remained in authority. Then commenced a series of outrages on the part of the leaders of the non-importation agreement, which was disgraceful to the cause which would have had far better argument in moderation. Obnoxious persons were tarred and feathered. At a public dinner "strong halters, firm blocks, and sharp axes, to such as deserve them," was one of the toasts.* These excesses, which are slightly passed over by the historian of the American Revolution, elicited the following remarks from lord Chatham, strenuous as he was in contending for the right of America to be untaxed by Great Britain. His words are not reported in the Parliamentary History, but they are given in a letter from Mr. Johnson, Agent for Connecticut.† "I have been thought to be, perhaps, too much the friend of America. I own I am a friend to that country. I love the Americans because they love liberty, and I love them for the noble efforts they made in the last war. But I must own I find fault with them in many things; I think they carry matters too far; they have been wrong in many respects. I think the idea of drawing money from them by taxes as ill-judged. Trade is your object with them, and they should be encouraged. But (I wish every sensible American, both here and in that country, heard what I say,) if they carry their notions of liberty too far, as I fear they do, if they will not be subject to the laws of this country, especially if they would disengage themselves from the laws of trade and navigation, of which I see too many symptoms, as much of an American as I am, they have not a more determined opposer than they will find in me."

We have now reached the period of lord North's administration. On the 5th of March, 1770, on the House of Commons proceeding to take into consideration the petition of the Merchants of London trading to North America, the First Lord of the Treasury, in a temperate speech, moved the repeal of such portions of the Act of 1767, as laid duties upon glass and other articles, omitting any mention of tea. "I cannot propose," he said, "any further repeal than what it was my intention to promise them. The Americans, by their subsequent behaviour, have not deserved any particular indulgence from this country." Upon this principle, many a mistaken policy has been persisted in, out of pure defiance of the excesses which that policy has provoked. "We will not be driven to repeal, by any threats held out to us," said the minister. He anticipated no larger revenue than 12,000*l.* a year from the tea duties, but he would not give up the right to tax America which was asserted in the preamble of the Act imposing the duties. There was much discussion upon the particular point in dispute; but colonel Barré took a broad view of the whole question: "For three years we have seen nothing but the folly and absurdity of succeeding administrations. If the former erred, they had the sense of the nation with them; they acted

* Bancroft, vol. iii. p. 342.

† Note of Mr. Jared Sparkes, in his edition of Franklin's Works,

upon a system. We are now proceeding upon no system at all: what we do carries nothing with it but monuments of our tyranny and folly. . . . . Why suffer these discontents to rankle in the minds of your American subjects? I suspect we are not safe behind this peace. With your colonies discontented, what would be your condition if a war should break out?

Colonel Barré.

Could you depend upon receiving their support? With their minds soured, they might, perhaps, go further: they might take you at an unlucky moment, and compel you to come into their terms." The proposition of lord North was carried by a majority of sixty-two. Franklin, writing to a friend in America, says of this result, "I think the repeal would have been carried, but that the ministry were persuaded by governor Bernard, and some lying letters, said to be from Boston, that the associations not to import were all breaking to pieces; that America was in the greatest distress for the want of the goods; that we could not possibly subsist any longer without them, and must, of course, submit to any terms Parliament should think fit to impose upon us. The ministerial people gave out, that certain advices were received of our beginning to break our agreements; of our attempts to manufacture proving all abortive, and ruining the undertakers; of our distress for want of goods, and dissensions among ourselves, which promised the total defeat of all such kind of combinations, and the prevention of them for the future, if the government were not urged imprudently to repeal the duties. But now that it appears, from late and authentic accounts, that agreements continue in full force, that a ship is actually returned from Boston to Bristol with nails and glass (articles that were thought of the utmost necessity), and that the ships, which were waiting here for the determination of Parliament, are actually returning to North America in their ballast, the tone begins to change."

On the same day that the British Parliament was voting against the repeal of the tea-duties, the people of Boston were fighting with British soldiers in their streets. The story of this conflict has been related as if, as is generally the case, there were not egregious faults on both sides. "At the cry of innocent blood shed by the soldiery, the continent heaved like a troubled ocean," writes Mr. Bancroft.* There was a quarrel between a soldier and some workmen at a rope-walk. The soldier challenged one to fight in the good old English fashion of fisty-cuffs; was beaten; and came back with some of his companions for revenge. A general scuffle ensued, and the troops were driven to their barracks. Sunday intervened; but on Monday, the 5th of March, the troops, who had been stimulating each other, came forth in the evening, and offering some insults to the townsmen, there was a serious tumult. This was at length quieted. The more prudent of the citizens cried "Home, home;" but many boys remained, daring the soldiers, and calling them "lobsters." They at last surrounded a sentinel; and captain Preston, the captain of the day, ordered the main guard to turn out. The captain, a corporal, and six men marched to the rescue of the sentinel. They began to load; and then a party of the townsmen passed along the front of the soldiers, and struck their muskets with sticks. They dared the guard to fire, calling them "lobster scoundrels." One of the soldiers received a blow with a stick thrown at him, and he shot a mulatto. Two other persons were killed, and eight wounded. A warrant was issued against Preston, who surrendered himself, and the soldiers were committed to prison. With great good sense governor Hutchinson and the colonel in command removed all the troops from the town. The affray was called "a massacre." When Preston was tried for murder a few months afterwards, no counsel dared undertake his defence; till John Adams, a rising advocate, devoted to the popular cause, but more devoted to his duty, accepted a brief; and the jury returned a verdict of Not Guilty. The high-minded barrister became the President of the United States. Two of the soldiers were found Guilty of Manslaughter. On the 9th of May, Burke brought forward a motion for inquiry into the late disorders in America. On that occasion George Grenville made his last speech in Parliament, he dying in the following November. His concluding words, in giving his assent to Burke's motion, were solemn and prophetic: "If, by the neglect of his ministers, our beloved sovereign should leave his crown to his successor diminished and dishonoured, then, sir, let those who brought the misery upon us, rise up severally, and say, 'I was the man who formed those incompetent plans; I was the man who advised this plan and that plan; I was the man to whom all these fatal consequences are owing.'"

When the American colonists came to know that the British Parliament had repealed all the duties laid by the Act of 1767, except that on tea, the spirit which had prompted the non-importation agreements was somewhat allayed. The citizens of New York determined by a large majority to resume importations from England; and many orders were despatched in July for every kind of merchandise but tea. Other provinces were indignant with the New Yorkists. Massachusetts maintained a position of sullen defiance.

* "American Revolution," vol. iii. p. 386.

The jurymen of Boston had manifested that in the discharge of their duty, in the trial of captain Preston and the soldiers, they were not to be influenced by popular clamour. The conduct of John Adams showed how high-minded were many of those opponents of an obstinate policy, who, in parliamentary language were usually called rebels. "The language we hold," said colonel Barré, "is little short of calling the Americans rebels: the language they hold is little short of calling us tyrants—rebels on one side, tyrants on the other." It was thus that the men of England and the men of America were mutually inflamed. Although, for two or three years, there was in America an apparent calm—a deceptive absence of violence which looked like peace—the time was rapidly approaching when the exhortation of Mr. Wedderburn, in 1770, before he became lord North's solicitor-general, would be looked upon as a prophecy: "How, sir, will it hereafter sound in the annals of the present reign, that all America—the fruit of so many years' settlement, nurtured by this country at the price of so much blood and treasure—was lost to the Crown of Great Britain in the reign of George III.?"* Whilst there is a lull in this trans-atlantic tempest, let us revert to our domestic affairs—petty in their details, but very significant in their tendencies.

The parliamentary conflict on the question of the Middlesex election was not likely to drop after the great debates on the Address at the opening of the Session of 1770. Mr. Sheriff Townsend, in his place in the House of Commons on the 7th of February, declared, upon going into a Committee of Ways and Means, that it was not his intention to pay the Land-tax. He would state the case as on the part of the freeholders of Middlesex. Their lawful representative, Mr. Wilkes, was kept out of the House by force and violence. Mr. Luttrell was not their representative. Lord North told the worthy sheriff that if any demand upon him was illegal, the law would relieve him. He refused to pay the tax; his goods were distrained; he brought an action against the collector; and lord Mansfield having charged the jury that the question was no other than whether there was a legislative power in this country, the jury found for the defendant. The declaration of Mr. Townsend was an indication of the prevailing temper of the citizens of London. On the 14th of March, the lord mayor and sheriffs, a few aldermen, and a great number of the common council, exercising the ancient right of the City to present addresses to the king in person, arrived, with an immense concourse of people at St. James's. The address, remonstrance, and petition offered on this occasion, prayed for the dissolution of Parliament, and the removal of evil ministers; spoke of "secret and malign influence" which had deprived the people of their dearest rights; and declared that the present House of Commons did not represent the people. The king's answer was "deemed by some to have been uncommonly harsh."† His majesty said, "I shall always be ready to receive the requests, and to listen to the complaints, of my subjects: but it gives me great concern to find that any of them should have been so far misled, as to offer me an Address and Remonstrance, the contents of which I cannot but consider as disrespectful to me, injurious to my Parliament, and irreconcileable to the principles of the constitution." A debate

* "Cavendish Debates," vol. ii. p. 30.
† "Annual Register," 1770, p. 79.

took place the next day in the House of Commons, upon a motion for an Address to his majesty that he would direct a copy of this paper and his answer to be laid before them. The lord mayor (Beckford), alderman Trecothick, and sheriffs Townsend and Sawbridge, boldly defended the language of the Remonstrance. Lord North told them that they would be remembered as the John Lilburns and Dr. Sacheverells of their day. Burke called to the memory of the House the words of lord Falkland, "Peace! peace!" The Commons, by a large majority, agreed upon an Address to the king; having resolved that "to deny the legality of the present Parliament, and to assert that the proceedings thereof are not valid, is highly unwarrantable." The general opinion was, that the lord mayor and sheriffs courted commitment.* On the 23rd of May, the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, presented a second Remonstrance to the king at St. James's. Walpole says, "it had been drawn up by lord Chatham, or formed on one of his late speeches." They lamented that his majesty had been advised to lay the weight of his displeasure upon the citizens of London. "We are deeply concerned that what the law allows, and the constitution teaches, hath been misconstrued by ministers, instruments of that influence which shakes the realm into disrespect for your majesty." They demanded "a full, free, and unmutilated Parliament." They concluded by saying, "we offer our constant prayers to Heaven that your majesty may reign, as kings only can reign, in and by the hearts of a loyal, dutiful, and free people." The king's answer conveyed no change of opinion on the proceedings of the City: "I should have been wanting to the public as well as to myself, if I had not expressed my dissatisfaction at the late Address. My sentiments on that subject continue the same." The king had no sooner spoken his answer, writes Walpole, "than, to the astonishment of the whole court, Beckford, the lord mayor, desired leave to say a few words. This was totally unprecedented. Copies of all intended harangues to the sovereign are first transmitted privately to court, that the king may be prepared with an answer. On this occasion the king was totally at a loss how to act. He was sitting in ceremony on his throne, and had no means to consult, no time to consider, what to do. Remaining silent and confounded, Beckford proceeded:" † The words said to be uttered by the lord mayor are engraved in letters of gold under his monument in the Guildhall of London. Having this distinguished record, it may be proper here to give them:—

"Most gracious Sovereign,—Will your majesty be pleased so far to condescend as to permit the mayor of your loyal city of London to declare in your royal presence, in behalf of his fellow-citizens, how much the bare apprehension of your majesty's displeasure would at all times affect their minds. The declaration of that displeasure has already filled them with inexpressible anxiety and with the deepest affliction. Permit me, sire, to assure your majesty, that your majesty has not in all your dominions any subjects more faithful, more dutiful, or more affectionate to your majesty's person and family, or more ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the maintenance of the true honour and dignity of your crown. We do

* "Chatham Correspondence," vol. iii., p. 429.
† "Memoirs of George III.," vol. iv. p. 154.

therefore, with the greatest humility and submission, most earnestly supplicate your majesty that you will not dismiss us from your presence, without expressing a more favourable opinion of your faithful citizens, and without some comfort, without some prospect at least of redress. Permit me, sire, further to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavour, by false insinuations and suggestions, to alienate your majesty's affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, and to withdraw your confidence in and regard for your people, is an enemy to your majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution, as it was established at the glorious Revolution."

Chatham was in raptures. Two days after he wrote to Beckford, "The

Alderman Beckford.

spirit of Old England spoke, that never-to-be-forgotten day . . . . Your lordship's mayoralty will be revered, till the constitution is destroyed and forgotten." Beckford replied, "What I spoke in the king's presence was uttered in the language of truth, and with that humility and submission which becomes a subject speaking to his lawful king."* Certainly the constitution was somewhat outraged when a subject forgot that ministerial responsibility ought to have sheltered his lawful king from a personal reproof.† Beckford died within a month after this remarkable impulse of an honest but over-zealous partisanship. The agitations connected with the Middlesex election soon subsided. The term of Wilkes's imprisonment had expired in April; and, in his position of alderman, he became more a city agitator than a demagogue to stir a nation.

In the ensuing Session of Parliament, in **1771**, there was a contest

* "Chatham Correspondence," vol. iii. pp. 462-3.

† See *ante*, p. 246.

between the House of Commons and the Corporation of London which was eventually productive of the highest public benefit. Although both Houses held strenuously to the principle that it was the highest offence to publish their debates, the speeches of particular members were frequently printed. Sometimes the privileges of Parliament were strictly enforced. At other times little notice was taken of reports, with stars and initials in newspapers and magazines. The thirteenth Parliament of Great Britain was one in which the majorities of both Houses were on the anti-popular side; and thus the nation had only occasional glimpses of the proceedings of those who presided over their destinies. On the 8th of February, 1771, colonel Onslow complained to the House of Commons, that two newspapers had printed a motion he had made, and a speech against it; and moreover had called him, "little Cocking George." Upon his motion, the papers were delivered in and read; and the printer of the "Gazetteer," R. Thompson, and the printer of the "Middlesex Chronicle," J. Wheble, were ordered to attend the House. The printers could not be found to serve the orders upon them, and then the House addressed the king that he would issue his royal proclamation for their apprehension. On the 12th of March, colonel Onslow said he was determined to bring this matter to an issue. "To-day I shall only bring before the House three brace, for printing the debates." This wholesale proceeding was resisted by motions for adjournment and amendments, which protracted the debates till five o'clock in the morning, during which the House divided twenty-three times.* One member moved an amendment to the motion for summoning one of the printers, by adding, "together with all his compositors, pressmen, correctors, blackers, and devils;" and Burke said, "It would be as irregular for the printer to come to your bar without them, as it would be for you, sir, to come to the House without your mace, or a marshal of the King's Bench without his tipstaff, or a first lord of the treasury without his majority." † Four of the printers obeyed the orders of the House; made their submission, and were discharged. But the affair now took a more serious turn. The serjeant-at-arms had been ordered to take J. Miller, of the "London Evening Post" into custody. Wheble and Thompson had been previously arrested collusively, by some friends or servants; and being taken before alderman Wilkes, and alderman Oliver, were discharged. Miller was apprehended by the officer of the House of Commons, at his house in the city; but the officer was immediately himself taken into custody by a city constable. The parties went before the lord mayor, Crosby; who was attended by Wilkes and Oliver. The lord mayor decided that the arrest of a citizen without the authority of one of the city magistrates, was a violation of its charters; and ordered Miller to be released, and the officer of the Commons to give bail to answer a charge of assault. The king, always impatient of resistance to authority, wrote on the 17th of March to lord North.—"If lord mayor and Oliver be not committed, the authority of the House of Commons is annihilated." On the first complaint of colonel Onslow he had written to his minister, "Is not the House of Lords the best court to bring such miscreants before, as it can fine as well as imprison, and has broader shoulders to support the odium of so salutary a measure?"

* "Annual Register," 1771.

† "Cavendish Debates," vol. ii. p. 391.

On the 18th of March, the deputy-serjeant-at-arms was desired by the Speaker to give an account of the transactions in the City. It was then moved that Brass Crosby esq., lord mayor, and a member of parliament, should attend in his place the next day. The lord mayor although he was, ill, came amidst the huzzas of a crowd that echoed through the House. He was permitted to sit whilst defending his conduct; and then he desired to go home, having been in his bed-chamber sixteen or seventeen days. The lord mayor was allowed to retire. Charles Fox said "there are two other criminals, alderman Oliver and alderman Wilkes," for which expression "criminals," he was gently reproved by Wedderburn, who had become solicitor-general. Alderman Oliver was then ordered to attend in his place. Wilkes had written a letter to declare that he was the lawful member for Middlesex, and would only appear in the House as a member. Mr. Calcraft writes to lord Chatham, "The ministers avow Wilkes too dangerous to meddle with. He is to do what he pleases; we are to submit. So his majesty orders; he will have 'nothing more to do with that devil Wilkes.'" * On the 25th of March the lord mayor and alderman Oliver were in their places. In the course of the debate upon a proposal to commit them to the Tower, members came in, and reported that they had been insulted on their way to the House. The magistrates of Westminster were called, and were ordered to disperse the mob. The debate proceeded. The lord mayor being again permitted to withdraw, said he should submit himself to whatever the House should do. The populace took the horses from his coach, and drew him in triumph to the Mansion House. After a sitting of nine hours, a motion for adjournment was rejected. When the Speaker asked alderman Oliver what he had to say in his defence, he replied—"I know the punishment I am to receive is determined upon. I have nothing to say, neither in my own defence, nor in defence of the city of London. Do what you please. I defy you."†

Before the motion for committing alderman Oliver to the Tower was carried, colonel Barré left the House, followed by Dunning, and about a dozen other members. He wrote to Chatham, "I spoke to this question about five minutes only, but I believe with great violence." To the Tower was Oliver conducted quietly at seven o'clock on the morning of the 27th. On that day the lord mayor again came to the House to attend in his place. A tremendous riot ensued. Mr. Calcraft described the scene to lord Chatham: "The concourse of people who attended the lord mayor is incredible. They seized lord North, broke his chariot, had got him amongst them, and but for sir William Meredith's interfering, would probably have demolished him. This, with the insults to other members, caused an adjournment of business for some hours. The justices came to the bar to declare they could not read the Riot Act, and that their constables were overpowered. The sheriffs were then called upon: they went into the crowd, attended by many members, and quieted them by five o'clock; when we proceeded on business." Upon the resumption of the debate lord North displayed his anxiety by his tears, and his courage by his words. "I certainly did not come into office at my own desire. Had I my own wish, I

* "Chatham Correspondence," vol. iv. p. 148.
† "Cavendish Debates," vol. ii. p. 461.

would have quitted it a hundred times. My love of ease and retirement urged me to it; but as to my resignation now, look at the situation of the country; look at the transactions of this day, and then say whether it would be possible for any man with a grain of spirit, with a grain of sense, with the least love for his country, to think of withdrawing from the service of his king and his country . . . . There are but two ways in which I can go out now—by the will of my sovereign, which I shall be ready to obey; or the pleasure of the gentlemen now at our doors, when they shall be able to do a little more than they have done this day." *

The lord mayor and alderman Oliver remained prisoners in the Tower, till the Parliament was prorogued on the 8th of May. A prorogation suspends the power under which the privilege of committal is exercised. The House wisely resolved not to renew the perilous dispute with the City in the ensuing session. With equal wisdom the printers of the debates were no more threatened or arrested. On the 1st of May, Chatham told the Peers some wholesome truths, on the subject of the publication of parliamentary proceedings. The dissatisfaction of the people "had made them uncommonly attentive to the proceedings of Parliament. Hence the publication of the parliamentary debates. And where was the injury, if the members acted upon honest principles? For a public assembly to be afraid of having their deliberations published is monstrous, and speaks for itself." It was some years before these principles were completely recognised, in the conviction that a full and impartial report of the debates in Parliament is one of the best securities for freedom, for a respect for the laws, and for raising up a national tribunal of public opinion in the place of the passions of demagogues and the violence of mobs. The triumph of the "miscreants" of 1771 led the way to the complete establishment of that wonderful system of reporting, which has rendered the newspaper press of this country the clearest mirror of the aggregate thought of a reflecting people.

* "Cavendish Debates."

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF STATE FROM THE END OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, 1741, TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THAT OF LORD NORTH, 1770.

[To enable our readers to connect with our narrative a general view of the constitution of a Ministry at any period of change, whether general or partial, we have drawn out the following Table :—

LORD CHANCELLOR.	FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.	CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.	PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE.
1741. Philip, lord Hardwicke, (from 1737).	1741. Sir Robert Walpole.	1741. Sir Robert Walpole.	1741. William, lord Harrington (from 1730).
1742. ,,	1742. Spencer, earl of Wilmington.	1742. Samuel Sandys, esq.	1742. (Feb. 12). John, lord Carteret (*vice* lord Harrington).
1743. ,,	1743. Hon. Henry Pelham.	1743. Hon. Henry Pelham.	1743. ,,
1744. ,,	1744. ,,	1744. ,,	1744. (Nov. 24). William, earl of Harrington (*vice* lord Carteret).
1745. ,,	1745. ,,	1745. ,,	1745. ,,
1746. ,,	1746. ,,	1746. ,,	1746. (Feb. 10). John, earl Granville (*vice* earl of Harrington).
			— (Feb. 14) Thos. Holles, duke of Newcastle.
			— ,, William, earl of Harrington.
			— (Nov. 4). Philip Dormer Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield *vice* earl of Harrington).
1747. ,,	1747. ,,	1747. ,,	1747. ,,
1748. ,,	1748. ,,	1748. ,,	1748. (Feb. 13). John, duke of Bedford (*vice* earl of Chesterfield).
1749. ,,	1749. ,,	1749. ,,	1749. ,,
1750. ,,	1750. ,,	1750. ,,	1750. ,,
1751. ,,	1751. ,,	1751. ,,	1751. (July 12). Robert, earl of Holdernesse (*vice* duke of Bedford).
1752. ,,	1752. ,,	1752. ,,	1752. ,,
1753. ,,	1753. ,,	1753. ,,	1753. ,,
1754. ,,	1754. (March 16). J. H. Pelham, duke of Newcastle.	1754. (March 9). Sir William Lee. — (April 6). Hon. H. B. Legge.	1754. (April 6). Sir Thos. Robinson (*vice* duke of Newcastle).
1755. ,,	1755. ,,	1755. Sir George Lyttelton.	1755. (Nov.) Henry Fox, esq. (*vice* sir T. Robinson).
1756. The Great Seal in Commission.	1756. (Nov. 16). William, duke of Devonshire.	1756. Hon. H. B. Legge.	1756. (Dec.) William Pitt, esq. (*vice* Mr. Fox. He resigned in April, 1757, and was re-appointed in June).

1757. *Sir Robt. Henley—Lord Keeper —(created lord Henley, 1760)*	1757. *(April 9). W. Murray, lord* Mansfield.	1757. *(April 9). W. Murray, lord* Mansfield.	1757.
	— (July 2). J. H. Pelham, duke of Newcastle.	— (July 2). Hon. H. B. Legge.	
1758. ,,	1758. ,,	1758. ,,	1758. ,,
1759. ,,	1759. ,,	1759. ,,	1759. ,,
1760. ,,	1760. ,,	1760. ,,	1760. ,,
1761. ,,	1761. ,,	1761. William, viscount Barrington.	1761. (March 25). John, earl of Bute (*vice* lord Holdernesse).
			— (Oct. 9). Charles, lord Egremont (*vice* Mr. Pitt).
1762. ,,	1762. (May 29). John, lord Bute.	1762. Sir Francis Dashwood.	1762. (May 29). Hon. G. Grenville (*vice* lord Bute).
			— (Oct. 14). George, earl of Halifax (*vice* Mr. Grenville.
1763. ,,	1763. Hon. George Grenville.	1763. Hon. George Grenville.	1763. (Sept. 9). John, earl of Sandwich (*vice* lord Egremont).
1764. ,, —Lord Chancellor, as earl of Northington.	1764. ,,	1764. ,,	1764. ,,
1765. ,,	1765. (July 13). Charles, marquis of Rockingham.	1765. William Dowdeswell. esq.	1765. (July 12). A. H., duke of Grafton (*vice* lord Halifax).
			— Hon. H. S. Conway (*vice* lord Sandwich).
1766. (July 30). Chas., lord Camden.	1766. (August 2). Augustus Henry, duke of Grafton.	1766. Hon. Charles Townshend.	1766. (May 23). Charles, duke of Richmond (*vice* duke of Grafton).
			— (Aug. 2). William, earl of Shelburne (*vice* duke of Richmond).
1767. ,,	1767. (Sept. 12). William, lord Mansfield.	1767. (Sept. 12). William, lord Mansfield.	1767. ,,
	— (Dec. 1). A. H., duke of Grafton.	— (Dec. 1). Frederick, lord North.	
1768. ,,	1768. ,,	1768. ,,	1768. (Jan. 20). Thomas, viscount Weymouth (*vice* general Conway).
			— Willes, earl of Hillsborough—*colonies.*
			— (Oct. 21). W. H., earl of Rochford (*vice* earl of Shelburne).
1769. ,,	1769. ,,	1769. ,,	1769. ,,
1770. (Jan. 17). Hon. Chas. Yorke.	1770. (February 10). Frederick, lord North.	1770. ,,	1770. (Dec. 19). John, earl of Sandwich (*vice* lord Weymouth).
— (Jan. 20.) Great Seal in Commission.			

George III., as he usually appeared at this period.

CHAPTER XXI.

Foreign affairs—Cession of Corsica to France—The Falkland Islands—First Partition of Poland—War between Turkey and Russia—Acquisitions of Russia—Suppression of the Jesuits—Home Politics—Subscription to Thirty-nine Articles—Test Act—Thirtieth of January—Repeal of laws against forestalling—The queen of Denmark—Death of the Princess Dowager—The Royal Marriage Act—Retrospect of Indian affairs—East India Company's Regulation Act—Teas, duty free, to the Colonies.

THE turbulence of home politics, and the threatening aspect of the colonies, left little inclination in the people to think much of foreign affairs. The cession by Genoa, in 1768, of Corsica to France, and the resistance by the Corsican patriot, Paoli, to the occupation of the island by French troops, excited interest in a few who could sympathize with heroic actions. Boswell wrote an account of Corsica. The cold Walpole advises Gray to read it: "What relates to Paoli will amuse you much."* The impressible Gray replies, "It has moved me strangely; all, I mean, that relates to Paoli. He is a man born two thousand years after his time." Corsica was subjugated

* Feb. 18, 1768.

in 1769, and Paoli became an exile from his country, seeking refuge in England. A month after Corsica was annexed to France, Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio. In 1768 England was within a hair's-breadth of making war with France in the matter of Corsica. "Corsica a province of France is terrible to me," said Burke. The duke of Grafton did not go to war; but he sent secret supplies of arms and ammunition to Paoli, who said he could hold out eighteen months. Insurrections continued through 1770 and 1771. The French minister, the duke de Choiseul, who had annexed Corsica, and was anxious for a rupture with England, was dismissed from power in 1770. "My minister wishes for war," said Louis XV., "but I do not." If war had come, Corsica would most probably have been a British possession; Napoleon Bonaparte a subject of the British crown. He might have chosen England for the theatre of his rising ambition; have commanded a company of British grenadiers in the war of the French Revolution; and have won a green ribbon instead of an empire.

In 1770, whilst the influence of the duke de Choiseul was paramount, Great Britain became involved in a dispute with Spain, which very nearly led to a war in which France would most probably have joined. The Falkland Islands—who cares now to enter into the details of a quarrel about a possession which Johnson calls "tempest-beaten barrenness?" These two islands in the South Atlantic were known by English navigators at the end of the sixteenth century. They were not colonised till the French, in 1764, formed a settlement in East Falkland. The British settled in West Falkland in 1767. The French at that time ceded their colony to the Spaniards; and the Spaniards, at a period of profound peace, in 1770, sent a force of five frigates, with sixteen hundred men, from Buenos Ayres, and drove the British from their fort at Port Egmont. Preparations for war were instantly made. The aggression of Spain was the chief topic of the speech with which the king opened the session of Parliament on the 13th of November. There were violent debates in both Houses, the opposition accusing the ministry of supineness and pusillanimity. Johnson wrote a pamphlet in defence of the government, which may be read, now the particular points of the quarrel have ceased to interest, for his forcible descriptions of the calamities of war, and his declamation against the folly of plunging two countries into hostilities upon a question of doubtful right. The Spanish government gave way to remonstrance. Mr. Harris, afterwards lord Malmesbury, was the British Chargé des Affaires at Madrid; and, although at one time war appeared inevitable, the Spanish court finally made restitution. Mr. Harris had been recalled from Spain, in consequence of the language of the Spanish ambassador in London. He was twenty leagues from Madrid on his way home, when he met the messenger from St. James's who was sent to say that the Spanish envoy had conceded the demands of the British government.* The sudden change was in consequence of the fall from power of the duke de Choiseul. England and Spain left the naked rocks and bogs of the Falkland Islands to their wild cattle; till in 1840, after an attempt at occupation by the republic of Buenos Ayres, they were again colonised by the English.

* "Diaries and Correspondence of the Earl of Malmesbury," vol. i. p. 61.

The first Partition of Poland by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, was made in 1772. On the 5th of August definitive treaties were signed between these powers, by which nearly a third of the Polish territory was divided amongst them. To Russia was assigned great part of Lithuania; to Austria, Galicia and portions of Podolia and Cracow; to Prussia, Pomerania, and the country of the Vistula. Prussia acquired by far the smallest share of the spoil in extent of territory, but incomparably the most valuable, when she obtained Dantzic, and the best trading towns of the dismembered country. The events which led to this partition, or rather which were the excuses for it, were connected with the religious and political dissensions of the Polish nobles, priests, and commonalty. An elective monarchy was necessarily subject to the intrusive control of a powerful neighbour. After the death of John Sobieski, at the end of the seventeenth century, his successors Augustus II. and Augustus III. were little more than the representatives of the court of Russia. The influence of the Czarina, Catherine, procured the election of Stanislaus Poniatowski. The favorite of the profligate empress was lifted

Stanislaus Augustus.

into a throne by the intrigues of one party of the nobles, supported by a Russian army. From 1764 to 1772 two factions were struggling about civil and religious privileges, whilst their country was more and more exposed to the danger of an entire loss of its independence. Poland could scarcely be called a nation, if by a nation we mean a community of various classes, with a large intermediate class between the highest and the lowest. Poland was a country of nobles and of serfs. When Russia was about to seize the territories which she coveted, Prussia demanded a share; and to prevent the opposition of the other great neighbour, Austria was propitiated with another share. Maria Theresa, personally, was opposed to the scheme; but her opposition was not of that nature which was likely to interfere with its completion. "I let things go their own way," she said, "but not without the greatest grief."

The indifference of the English government to what was considered by

impartial observers "as the first very great breach in the modern political system of Europe,"* was manifested in the diplomatic communications of our court. Mr. Harris, now minister at Berlin, kept lord Suffolk well-informed of the negotiations between Prussia and Russia. The Secretary for foreign affairs receives the intelligence very coolly: "I have some reason to apprehend the terms and quantum of this curious transaction are not positively settled; though there is no doubt of the general plan and intention."† Again: "His majesty does not consider the affair of such present importance as to justify acting to prevent it."‡ Mr. Murray, ambassador at Constantinople, who had given some advice to the Porte on the subject, received a very severe admonition from the British government not to meddle with matters on which he had no instructions. Lord Rochford calls the partition of Poland an "extraordinary and unexpected event;" but says, "I am to inform you that, although such a change suggests not improbable apprehensions that *the trade* of Europe may hereafter be affected by it, neither his majesty nor the other commercial powers have thought it of such present importance as to make a direct opposition to it."§ The language of the British government only reflected the temper of the country. Burke describes this apathy: "We behold the destruction of a great kingdom, with the consequent disarrangement of power, dominion, and commerce, with as total an indifference and unconcern as we would read an account of the extermination of one horde of Tartars by another, in the days of Gengis Khan and Tamerlane."‖ Mr. Harris, writing to lord Suffolk in 1774, upon the completion of the Partition by fresh usurpations of territory, indulges a hope which was not to be fulfilled: "There is reason to believe that this affair once settled, that unfortunate Republic, after an uninterrupted series of discord, troubles, and disgraces, for nearly ten years, in which it has lost its liberty, its finest provinces, and all its consideration in the affairs of Europe, will be left quietly to reflect on its misfortunes, and from its insignificance be unmolested."¶ Twenty-one years afterwards, Kosciusko fell; and what remained of Poland was divided amongst the first spoliators.

Intimately connected with the affairs of unhappy Poland was the war between Turkey and Russia. It commenced in October, 1768, under the avowed desire of the sultan, Mustapha III., to save Poland from the calamity of Russian interference in her domestic troubles. The sultan, however, lies under the charge of having proposed a partition of Poland between Turkey and Austria. The war was a serious calamity for the Porte. Its details have become more interesting for us, as the scenes of that conflict present us with the names so familiar in 1855. The war was for some time chiefly between the Polish confederates and their allies the Turks, against the Russian troops in Poland. But it soon assumed the more decisive character of a war for an extension of Russian dominion. The generals of each power, in the judgment of the king of Prussia, had no military skill. The battles were terrible sacrifices of life, without intelligent direction, though the Russians had more pretension to tactics. "To have a proper notion of the contest," said

* "Annual Register," 1772, p. 2.
† "Malmesbury Diaries," &c., vol. i. p. 70.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 73.
§ Appendix to Mahon, vol. v.
‖ "Annual Register," 1772, p. 2.
¶ "Diaries," &c., vol. i. p. 99.

Frederick, "we must figure to ourselves a party of one-eyed people thoroughly beating a party of blind men." Eventually the whole country between the Danube and the Dnieper fell into the hands of the Russians. The Crimea was overrun by them. They became masters of Kertsch, Yenikale, and Kaffa. The Turkish fleet was destroyed in the bay of Chesme, by a Russian squadron which had sailed from Cronstadt to the Mediterranean. The Russian admiral was assisted by English officers, every indirect aid having been given by the British government to Russia; which power, wrote lord Rochford, in 1772, "his majesty cannot but look upon as the natural ally of his crown, and with which he is likely, sooner or later, to be closely connected." There was an armistice after the Russian fleet returned to the Baltic, having been very efficiently resisted by Gazi Hassan, an adventurer who raised himself by his genius and daring to be capitan pasha.* Peace was concluded in 1774. The acquisitions of Russia by the peace of Kuchuk-Kainarji may be thus summed up: Russia obtained the Great and the Little Kabarda, the fortresses of Azof, Kilbarun, Kertsch, and Yenikale; the country between the Bog and the Dnieper; the free navigation of the Black Sea, and a free passage through

Turkish Troops.

the Bosporus and the Dardanelles; the co-protectorship over Moldavia and Wallachia; and the protectorship over all the Greek churches within the Turkish empire. The Khanat of the Crimea was declared independent, but it soon became a prey to Russia.

* The sketch of this remarkable man in "Anastasius" is held to be perfectly accurate.—Note by Lord Mahon, vol. v. p. 473.

The suppression of the Jesuits, in 1773, "though it has been so long expected," writes Burke, "is so remarkable an event that it will stamp the present year as a distinguished era."* The event was expected, because the abolition of the society by Pope Ganganelli, Clement XIV., was a final measure of the proscription which had been carried on against them, for some years, by the Roman Catholic powers of Europe. They had been expelled from Portugal, in 1759, with many odious circumstances of severity. In 1764, the Society was suppressed in France, and their property confiscated. In 1767, the members of the Order were driven out of Spain. Clement XIII. strenuously defended the Jesuits. He believed that they were amongst the firmest supporters of the papacy, and the most faithful champions of religion. He would consent to no change in their constitution; and he was supported by the obstinacy of their chief, Lorenzo Ricci.† The Bourbon courts had real or supposed injuries of the Jesuits to revenge. Madame de Pompadour, it is said, had been affronted by her confessor, a Jesuit, who exhorted her wholly to amend her life. The king of Spain believed that they were plotting to put his brother upon the throne. Clement XIII. died in 1769. His successor had been raised to the papal throne by the Bourbon influence. But he was a man of liberal and moderate opinions; and he saw that the institution had outlived its uses as an instrument of papal supremacy, and was out of harmony with the prevailing opinions of his time. However predisposed against the Jesuits, he took several years for inquiry and counsel. On the 31st of July, 1773, he thus pronounced his decision: "Inspired, as we humbly trust, by the Divine Spirit, urged by the duty of restoring the unanimity of the Church, convinced that the Company of Jesus can no longer render those services, to the end of which it was instituted, and moved by other reasons of prudence and state policy which we hold locked in our own breast, we abolish and annul the Society of Jesus, their functions, houses, and institutions." When Ganganelli said "the Company of Jesus can no longer render those services to the end of which it was instituted," he expressed a truth of larger comprehension than their services to the papacy. They had, in spite of their political intrigues, rendered essential aid to the progress of knowledge. Their missions had done more for the spread of information as to the geography of distant countries, than for the conversion of the peoples amongst whom they went. Their success as educators had done more for the freedom of the human mind than their notions of papal authority for its enslavement. They had advanced literature and science amidst their incessant efforts to hold society in thraldom. They had waged unceasing war against Protestantism, and during that conflict the prevailing thoughts of Europe had been advancing, and had left them behind. "The general course of events, the development of modern civilization, the liberty of the human mind, all these forces against which the Jesuits were called to contest, were arrayed against them, and conquered them." ‡ A recent writer has expressed this more tersely: "They stood in the way of the age, and the age swept them from its path." § The same acute thinker says:

* "Annual Register," 1773, p. 3.
† Ranke—"History of the Popes," vol. iii. p. 209.
‡ Guizot—"Civilisation en Europe"—Douzième Leçon.
§ Buckle—"Civilization in England," vol. i. p. 783.

"They were the last defenders of authority and tradition; and it was natural that they should fall in an age when statesmen were sceptics, and theologians were Calvinists." Johnson, whilst most men exulted in their destruction, "condemned it loudly as a blow to the general power of the Church, and likely to be followed with many dangerous innovations, which might at length become fatal to religion itself." * He was addressing a French abbé, and was perhaps right with regard to France.

There are subjects of home politics which ought to be fully treated in a special history of a particular era, but which must be slightly noticed in a work embracing the whole field of British progress. Thus, in the year 1772, when Wilkes was contending for the shrievalty of London instead of battling with a House of Commons; when the country was no longer agitated with Remonstrances and Addresses; when Woodfall was reporting the debates of Parliament without the terror of the serjeant-at-arms before his eyes,—there were interesting discussions in both Houses on petitions of some of the clergy and laity that Subscription to the Thirty-Nine Articles might not be enforced at the Universities. But we cannot enter upon any detail of these proceedings. Nor can we do more than notice that the Dissenters then obtained a majority in the House of Commons for a repeal of the Test Acts, but were defeated in the Upper House. Time gradually matures into practical measures the theories, sometimes crude and undigested, by which social reforms are advanced. There has been, since 1772, a partial concession to the spirit of religious liberty on the subject of Subscription. The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts was amongst the earliest of those vast improvements which have made the age of queen Victoria so essentially different from the age of George IV. The constant agitation of questions like these gradually determines public opinion, and reforms are accomplished without violence or ill-will. Thus, in March, 1772, Mr. Montague moved for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal so much of the Act of the 12th of Charles II. as directs that every 30th of January should be for ever kept as a day of fasting and humiliation. When the debates were very meagrely reported, a joke was sometimes carefully preserved; and we learn from the Parliamentary History that Mr. Stephen Fox said he thought the ceremony of the day did no harm, unless,—addressing the Speaker,—"it obliges you, sir, to go to church once a year." In 1859, the fast of the 30th of January passed out of the Calendar by Act of Parliament; and the form of prayer, which was called "impious" in the debate of 1772, has vanished from our Liturgy. The motion was rejected. The strongest prejudice must, however, yield at last, and the most prejudiced know that time will settle these conflicts of principle. "I am against abolishing the fast for the 30th of January," said Johnson. "But I should have no objection to make an Act continuing it for another century, and then letting it expire." † The time he had contemplated had nearly run out when this solemn mockery could no longer be endured.

Upon a question of political economy, the Parliament of 1772 was in advance of public opinion. It was a period of scarcity. The price of wheat was

* Mrs. Piozzi's "Anecdotes."—Note in Boswell
† Boswell—March 21, 1772.

35 per cent. above the average. Harvests were deficient throughout Europe. Adam Smith represents the feeling of his time in saying—"In years of scarcity the inferior ranks of people impute their distress to the avarice of the corn merchant." The statute of Edward VI. enacted, that whoever should buy any corn or grain with intent to sell it again, should be reputed an unlawful engrosser, and be subject to various penalties. The statute of Charles II. permitted the engrossing of corn when it was cheap, but the buyer was not to sell again in the same market within three months. The statute of 1772 "For repealing several Laws therein mentioned against Badgers, Engrossers, Forestallers, and Regrators," boldly declares that these laws are "detrimental to the supply of the labouring and manufacturing poor of this kingdom." The preamble to the statute says, that "it hath been found by experience that the restraints laid by several statutes upon dealing in corn, meal, flour, cattle, and sundry other sorts of victuals, by preventing a free trade in the said commodities, have a tendency to discourage the growth and to enhance the price of the same." Nevertheless, the Common Law was not yet rendered inoperative by public enlightenment. In 1800, the clamours against corn dealers were as violent as in the days of the Tudors; and a merchant was convicted, before lord Kenyon, for regrating, that is, for selling thirty quarters of oats at an advanced price in the same market on the same day on which he had bought them.

The commencement of the year 1772 brought to George III. an accumulation of family anxieties. On the 29th of January, a courier arrived from Denmark with the intelligence that the queen of Denmark, sister of the king of England, had been sent as a prisoner to the castle of Kronberg. Caroline Matilda, the youngest of the numerous family of Frederick, prince of Wales, was born in 1751; and was married in 1766, to Christian VII., king of Denmark. She is described as very beautiful; of a sweet nature; one whose life would have been happy had she been united to a worthy husband. The king of Denmark was as debased in morals as he was low in intellect—a spiritless wretch, who had given up all care of his subjects to his favourite, Struensee. Verging towards idiocy, the king left his consort to transact state affairs in council with Struensee. The minister was rash and presumptuous; and provoked the hostility of a strong party of the court, who were led by the dowager-queen, Juliana Maria, the step-mother of Christian VII. A formidable conspiracy was organized against Struensee; and Caroline Matilda was destined to be the victim with him, upon an accusation against her of conjugal infidelity. She had borne the king a son and a daughter, and had been recently confined with a second daughter. At midnight the king's chamber was suddenly entered; and he was required to sign an order for the arrest of his queen, of Struensee, and of his colleague in the ministry, Brandt. The king was told that they had entered into a plot to depose him; and in terror for his own personal safety, he hesitated not to resign his queen and his ministers into the hands of their enemies. Caroline Matilda was dragged from her chamber, refused access to her husband, and with her infant carried off to the castle of Kronberg. Struensee and Brandt were beheaded, after a pretended trial. Proceedings against the queen were suspended by the interposition of the government of George III.; and, after a captivity of four months, she was received on board a British man-of-war, but was not per-

mitted to take her child with her. In the castle of Zell, in Hanover, she passed the remaining three years of her unhappy life. There is a record of M. Roques, the pastor of the French Protestant church at Zell, who was frequently consulted by the queen on the distribution of her charities, that on her death-bed she made a solemn declaration that she had never been unfaithful to her husband.

When this distressing news arrived in England, the mother of George III. was dangerously ill. The king, as Walpole relates, was advised to conceal this new misfortune from the Princess Dowager; but he replied, "My mother *will* know everything, and therefore it is better that I should break it to her by degrees."* On the 8th of February the king wrote this short note to lord North: "My mother is no more." Of the five sons of the princess of Wales, two had died—Edward, duke of York, and Frederick, the youngest son. William, duke of Gloucester, and Henry, duke of Cumberland, were at this time under the serious displeasure of their brother the king.

The Marriage-Act of 1753 especially excepted members of the royal family from its operation. George II. is represented to have said, "I will not have my family laid under these restraints." In 1771, the duke of Cumberland, then in his twenty-sixth year, became deeply enamoured of Mrs. Horton, the daughter of an Irish peer, Simon Luttrell, lord Irnham. The duke had been previously notorious for his intrigues; and a jury had awarded damages of ten thousand pounds against him in an action for criminal conversation brought by lord Grosvenor. The letters of this very silly prince of the blood, produced on this occasion, were the public scorn. In October, 1771, the duke of Cumberland induced Mrs. Horton to accompany him to Calais, where they were married according to the forms of the English Church. The pair were forbidden the Court. What was the mortification of the king, what was the triumph of Wilkes, exclaims Walpole, "when it was known that this new princess of the blood was own sister of the famous colonel Luttrell, the tool thrust by the Court into Wilkes's seat for Middlesex?"† The duke of Gloucester, in September, 1766—he then being in his twenty-third year—had married the widow of the earl of Waldegrave. This lady was a natural daughter of sir Edward Walpole; and as the wife of the nobleman who had been governor to prince George, had been distinguished for her exemplary character. Walpole says, "The duke of Cumberland's marriage was a heavy blow on lady Waldegrave, and seemed to cut off all hopes of the king's permitting the duke of Gloucester to acknowledge her for his wife."‡ The duke of Gloucester's marriage was kept secret.

On the 20th of February the following royal message was brought down to both Houses of Parliament: "George R. His Majesty being desirous, from paternal affection for his own family, and anxious concern for the future welfare of his people, and the honour and dignity of his crown, that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family (which ever has belonged to the kings of this realm as a matter of public concern) may be made effectual, recommends to both Houses of Parliament to take into their

* "Last Journals of Horace Walpole," edited by Dr. Doran, vol. i. p. 4.
† "Memoirs of George III.," vol. iv. p. 356. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

serious consideration whether it may not be wise and expedient to supply the defect of the laws now in being; and, by some new provision, more effectually to guard the descendants of his late majesty king George the second (other than the issue of princesses who have married or may hereafter marry into foreign families) from marrying without the approbation of his majesty, his heirs, or successors, first had and obtained." The Royal Marriage Bill was presented next day to the House of Lords. It made provision that no Prince or Princess, descended from George II.—with the exception of the issue of Princesses married abroad—should be capable of contracting matrimony without the previous consent of the king, his heirs, or successors. But it also provided that if any such descendant of George II., being above the age of twenty-five, should persist in a resolution to marry, the king's consent being refused, he or she might give notice to the Privy Council, and might at any time within twelve months after such notice contract marriage, unless both Houses of Parliament, before the expiration of twelve months, should expressly declare their disapprobation of such intended marriage. After continued and vehement debates in both Houses, the Bill became law; and it still continues in force. Its provisions appear to be imperfectly understood. It is called "an encroachment upon the law of nature"—"an impious and cruel measure." * There is a constitutional appeal against an unjust exercise of the prerogative. Such an appeal has never been made; but it would most probably not be made in vain, if any case should arise which would justify Parliament in not supporting the sovereign in the assertion of an arbitrary power. However we may deplore the alleged necessity of excepting the highest in the land from the enjoyment of that individual liberty which belongs to the meanest subject, we cannot help repeating a question very pertinently asked, "What turn would English history have taken if this Act had never been passed?" † During the progress of the Bill, the duke of Gloucester's marriage was avowed. There is a very interesting letter of the duchess of Gloucester to her father, sir Edward Walpole, dated the 19th of May; the last debate on the Marriage Act having been on the 24th of March. The following is an extract:—"When the duke of Gloucester married me (which was in September, 1766) I promised him upon no consideration in the world to own it even to you without his permission; which permission I never had till yesterday, when he arrived here in much better health and looks than ever I saw him; yet, as you may suppose, much hurt at all that has passed in his absence: so much so, that I have had great difficulty to prevail upon him to let things as much as possible remain as they are. To secure *my* character, without injuring his, is the utmost of my wishes; and I dare say that you and all my relations will agree with me that I shall be much happier to be called lady Waldegrave, and respected as duchess of Gloucester, than to feel myself the cause of his leading such a life as his brother does, in order for me to be called your Royal Highness. . . . . If ever I am unfortunate enough to be called duchess of Gloucester, there is an end of almost all the comforts which I now enjoy, which, if things can go on as they are now, are

* Massey—"George III.," vol. ii. p. 145.
† "Quarterly Review," vol. cv. p. 479.

many."* The domestic miseries of one generation are, happily, frequently put an end to in another generation. The son of William, duke of Gloucester, the brother of George III., married the princess Mary, the daughter of George III.†

In 1773, the Parliament turned from its long course of anti-popular contests, to look seriously at a matter of paramount national importance. The pecuniary affairs of the East India Company had fallen into great disorder. On the 2nd of March a petition was presented from the Company to the House of Commons, praying for the assistance of a loan of a million and a half sterling. In the previous session a Select Committee of the House had been appointed to inquire into the affairs of the Company. The necessity for such an inquiry was strongly urged, upon financial and moral grounds. The net revenues of Bengal had decreased; the natives were distressed and discontented; the Company's servants were arbitrary and oppressive. General Burgoyne, the mover of the Resolution for a Committee, made an eloquent appeal to the feelings of the House: "The fate of a great portion of the globe; the fate of great states, in which your own is involved; the distresses of fifteen millions of people; the rights of humanity; are involved in this question." To understand the necessity for such an inquiry, we must take a rapid glance at the affairs of India, from the period when the French supremacy was utterly destroyed by the energies of Clive.‡

In 1760, when the strong hand that had made the English masters of Bengal was withdrawn, the agents of the Company, regarding their own enrichment as the immediate business of their lives, and permitting their native factors to pursue a similar course of extortion, Meer Cossein, for whose elevation they had removed the Subahdar whom Clive had raised to power, displayed an inclination to be freed from his English friends. The differences at last came to an open rupture, and Meer Cossein's troops murdered the members of a deputation sent from Calcutta to negotiate with him. In 1763 war was commenced, for the purpose of deposing Meer Cossein and restoring Meer Jaffier. The Subahdar was finally overthrown, but not before he had taken a horrible vengeance upon the English, by murdering a hundred and fifty prisoners in the fortress of Patna. The tyrant fled to the Nabob of Oude. Their joint forces were subsequently defeated by the English under major Munro. Shah Alum, the Great Mogul, who had been driven from his capital of Delhi by the Mahrattas, now sought the British protection. But in spite of victories, the rule of the stranger was one of oppression for the Bengalees; and the undoubted misgovernment of this period justified general Burgoyne, to call upon the Parliament to redress their wrongs: "Good God! what a call! the native of Hindustan, born a slave; his neck bent from the very cradle to the yoke; by birth, by education, by climate, by religion, a patient,

* "Last Journals of H. Walpole," p. 100.

† "On the death of the late duke of Sussex, the fifth son of king George III., who had been married at Rome in 1792, by a minister of the Church of England, and shortly afterwards again in England, according to the rites of the Church of England, it was held that his peerage did not pass to the only son of that marriage, Sir Augustus D'Este; but that the statute extended to prohibit contracts for, and to annul, any marriage in violation of its provisions, wherever the same might be contracted or solemnized."—(*Blackstone's Commentaries*—Kerr's edit., vol. i. p. 215.)

‡ *Ante*, p. 226.

submissive, willing subject to Eastern despotism, first begins to feel, first shakes his chains, for the first time complains, under the pre-eminence of British tyranny."

The misrule of the Company's servants in India was unchecked by an united central authority in England. The king's government had as yet no efficient control over Indian affairs. The Directors were quarrelling amongst themselves, and divided into knots contending for supremacy. To establish a just rule over the vast empire that was subject to their power and influence formed a small portion of their deliberations. In India there was no supreme authority; and the three presidencies had rival interests to uphold. The whole dominion of the English would have probably gone to ruin, if Clive had not procured an ascendancy in the Court of Directors, and once more sailed for Calcutta with extensive powers, as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bengal. His very name soon operated upon the native princes. His judicious measures set some bounds to the rapacity of the Company's servants. He made them give pledges to accept no future presents from natives. He debarred high officers from carrying on private trade. He deprived military officers of that extra allowance in the field known as "double batta." For himself, he now cautiously abstained from adding anything to his large fortune by accepting such gratuities as he had received in the early portion of his career. He returned to England in the beginning of 1767, having laid the foundation of that better government which eventually made the British dominion a blessing instead of a curse to India. His

Hyder Ali. From a Hindu Miniature.

biographer has said, "From Clive's second visit to India dates the political ascendancy of the English in that country. . . . . From Clive's third

visit to India dates the purity of the administration of our Eastern Empire." *

The successes of the Company in Bengal were now to be counterbalanced by defeats in Madras. Hyder Ali, a man of ability and daring, who had deposed the rajah of Mysore in 1761, was extending his dominions by conquests and seizures; and was securing his ascendancy by an energy which formed a striking contrast to the supineness of the greater number of native princes. He became engaged in a contest with the English; and by his rapid movements, and his sudden attacks, was a most formidable enemy by land and sea. Having plundered and wasted the Carnatic, he appeared with five thousand horsemen before Madras, in 1769; and there concluded a treaty with the terrified Council, in the absence of their troops. The terms of the alliance which was then concluded were not onerous. Their moderation evinced the sagacity of this extraordinary ruler.

An arrangement was, in 1769, made between the Administration and the East India Directors. The Company were to hold the territorial revenues of India for five years, they paying £400,000 annually into the Exchequer. But in 1770 the resources of India materially failed. There was a terrible famine in Bengal, in which it is supposed that one-third of the inhabitants perished. In 1772, the Company declared a deficiency of above a million; obtained loans from the Bank of England to a large amount; and at last went to Parliament for aid, with the undoubted risk of provoking a more stringent inquiry into their affairs than had ever before been instituted. In

Sir Philip Francis.

1773, an Act was passed, by which £1,400,000 was lent to the Company; the payment of £400,000 per annum was postponed; and the dividend of the proprietors was restricted to 6 per cent., until the loan should be repaid.

* Macaulay—"Essays."

By another Act the annual elections of directors were to be subject to regulations, such as prevailed till the very recent changes. A Governor-General was to reside in Bengal, to which presidency the other two were made subordinate. The first Governor-General, Warren Hastings, was named in this Act, as were the new Council. The appointments of Parliament were to continue for five years, and then the nomination was to revert to the Court of Directors, subject to the approbation of the Crown. One of the new council was Philip Francis; and this appointment has given birth to the theory that Junius ceased to write when he was propitiated by so great a bounty upon his silence.

The transactions of the government with the East India Company were completed by what was meant as a concession to the Directors. They had in their warehouses seventeen million pounds of tea, for which they wanted a market. Permission was given by Act of Parliament to export teas belonging to the Company to any of the British plantations in America, with a drawback of the duty payable in England. The colonial tax of three pence in the pound was to be paid in the American ports. Ships were freighted, and consignees appointed to sell their cargoes. Fatal boon, whose consequences no one saw.

Lord Dartmouth.

CHAPTER XXII.

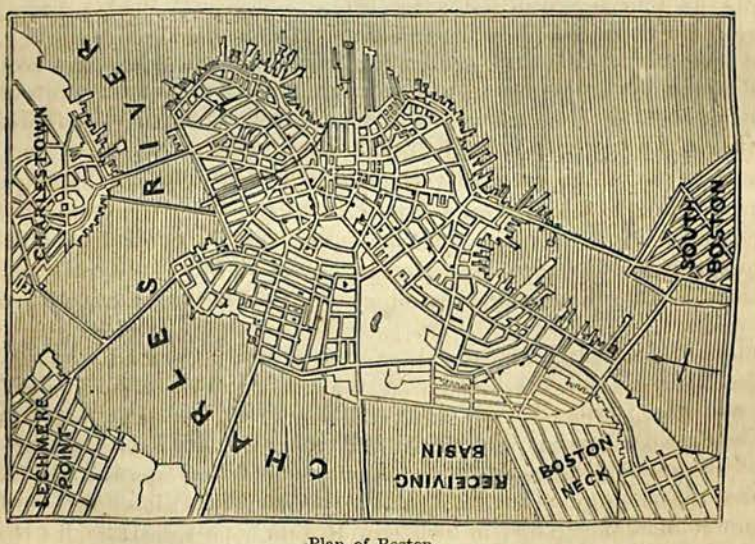
Destruction of Tea in Boston Harbour—Franklin before the Council—Boston Port Bill—Burke's speech against taxing America—Chatham's speech—Sentiments of the Americans—State of Parties in America—Leaders of the House of Commons—Reception of the Boston Port Bill—Military preparations—Chatham's and Burke's efforts for conciliation—Rapid growth of America—English feelings on the American question—Hostilities commenced at Lexington—Ticonderoga and Crown Point taken—Washington's view of civil war—Principles involved in the struggle.

It was Sunday, the 28th of November, 1773, when there sailed into Boston harbour the English merchant ship Dartmouth, laden with chests of tea belonging to the East India Company. The Act of Parliament which allowed the Treasury to license vessels to export the teas of the Company to the American colonies, free of duty, was the signal for popular gatherings in Boston. Samuel Adams, in the "Boston Gazette," roused again that feeling of resistance which had partially subsided. The governor of Massachusetts, in October, wrote to lord Dartmouth, who had succeeded lord Hillsborough as colonial secretary, that Samuel Adams, "who was the first person that openly, and in any public assembly, declared for a total independence," had "obtained such an ascendancy as to direct the town of Boston and the House of Representatives, and consequently the Council, just as he pleases." The East India Company had appointed its consignees in Boston. On the night of the 2nd of November, summonses were left at the houses of each of these persons, requiring them to appear on a certain day at Liberty Tree, to resign

their commission; and notices were issued desiring the freemen of Boston and of the neighbouring towns to assemble at the same place. The consignees did not appear; but a Committee of the Assembly traced them to a warehouse, where they were met to consult. They were required not to sell the teas, but to return them to London by the vessels which might bring them. They refused to comply, and were denounced as enemies to their country. Philadelphia had previously compelled the agents of the Company to resign their appointments. Town meetings were held at Boston, when strong resolutions were adopted. In this state of things, on that Sunday, the 28th of November, the first tea-ship arrived. The New England colonists preserved that strict observance of the Sabbath which their puritan fathers felt the highest of duties. But it was a work of necessity to impede the landing of the tea; and a Committee met twice on that Sunday to concert measures. They obtained a promise from Rotch, the commander of the ship Dartmouth, that his vessel should not be entered till the following Tuesday. On Monday, the Committees of all the neighbouring towns assembled at Boston; and five thousand persons agreed that the tea should be sent back to the place whence it came. "Throw it overboard," cried one. The consignees, alarmed at this demonstration, declared that they would not send back the teas, but that they would store them. This proposal was received with scorn; and then the consignees agreed that the teas should not be landed. But there was a legal difficulty. If the rest of the cargo were landed, and the tea not landed, the vessel could not be cleared in Boston, and after twenty days was liable to seizure. Two more ships arrived, and anchored by the side of the Dartmouth. The people kept watch night and day to prevent any attempt at landing the teas. Thirteen days after the arrival of the Dartmouth, the owner was summoned before the Boston Committee, and told that his vessel and his tea must be taken back to London. It was out of his power to do so, he said. He certainly had not the power; for the passages out of the harbour were guarded by two king's ships, to prevent any vessel going to sea without a licence. On the 16th, the revenue officers would have a legal authority to take possession of the Dartmouth. For three days previous there had been meetings of the Boston Committee; but their journal had only this entry—"No business transacted matter of record."

On the 16th of December, there was a meeting in Boston of seven thousand persons, who resolved that the tea should not be landed. The master of the Dartmouth was ordered to apply to the governor for a pass, for his vessel to proceed on her return voyage to London. The governor was at his country house. Many of the leaders had adjourned to a church, to wait his answer. The night had come on when Rotch returned, and announced that the governor had refused him a pass, because his ship had not cleared. There was no more hesitation. Forty or fifty men, disguised as Mohawks, raised the war-whoop at the porch of the church; went on to the wharf where the three ships lay alongside; took possession of them; and deliberately emptied three hundred and forty chests of tea into the waters of the bay. It was the work of three hours. Not a sound was heard, but that of breaking open the chests. The people of Boston went to their rest, as if no extraordinary event had occurred.

On the 27th of January, 1774, the news of this decisive act reached the English government. On the 29th there was a great meeting of the Lords of the Council, to consider a petition from Massachusetts, for the dismissal of Hutchinson, the governor, and Oliver, the lieutenant-governor. Dr. Franklin appeared before the Council as agent for Massachusetts. He had rendered himself obnoxious to the English government by a proceeding which even his patriotism could not wholly justify. He had obtained possession of some private letters written confidentially several years before, in which Hutchinson and Oliver avowed sentiments opposed to what they considered the licentiousness of the Colonists. These letters Franklin transmitted to the Assembly at Boston, who voted, by a large majority, that the opinions expressed contemplated the establishment of arbitrary power; and they accordingly petitioned for the removal of the governor and lieutenant-governor. The intelligence from Boston of the destruction of the teas was not likely to propitiate the Council. Franklin was treated with little respect; and Wedderburn, the solicitor-general, assailed him with a torrent of invective, at which the lords cheered and laughed. Franklin bore the assaults with perfect equanimity; but from that hour he ceased to be a mediator between Great Britain and the Colonists. The Council reported that the Petition from Massachusetts was "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous." Two days after, Franklin was dismissed from his office of Deputy Postmaster General. He said to Priestley, who was present at the Council, that he considered the thing for which he had been so insulted, as one of the best actions of his life.



Plan of Boston.

The Parliament had met on the 13th of January. It was the 7th of March when lord North delivered the king's message relating to "the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, with a view to obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of the constitution thereof." There was a debate, of which the most remarkable part was, that

when lord North stated that the proper papers should be ready on the following Friday, Thurlow, the attorney-general, said, loud enough to reach the ear of the minister, "I never heard anything so impudent; he has no plan yet ready."* The one plan which first presented itself—the most unfortunate of all plans—is exhibited in a note of the king to lord North, dated the 4th of February: "Gen. Gage, though just returned from Boston, expresses his willingness to go back at a day's notice if convenient measures are adopted. He says, They will be lions while we are lambs; but if we take the resolute part, they will undoubtedly prove very meek. Four regiments, sent to Boston, will, he thinks, be sufficient to prevent any disturbance. All men now feel that the fatal compliance in 1766 has increased the pretensions of the Americans to thorough independence." On the 14th of March, lord North brought in a Bill for removing the Custom House from Boston, and declaring it unlawful, after the 1st of June, to lade or unlade, ship or unship, any goods from any landing-place within the harbour of Boston. There was little opposition to this measure, which was passed in a fortnight, and when sent to the Lords was as quickly adopted. Chatham suggested, in a letter to Shelburne, that reparation ought first to be demanded and refused before such a bill could be called just. The letter of Chatham, in which he makes this suggestion, is that of a great statesman, exhibiting the sound qualities of his mind perhaps even more clearly than his impassioned oratory: "The whole of this unhappy business is beset with dangers of the most complicated and lasting nature; and the point of true wisdom for the mother-country seems to be in such nice and exact limits (accurately distinguished, and embraced, with a large and generous moderation of spirit), as narrow, short-sighted counsels of state, or over-heated popular debates, are not likely to hit. Perhaps a fatal desire to take advantage of this guilty tumult of the Bostonians, in order to crush the spirit of liberty among the Americans in general, has taken possession of the heart of government."†

In the "heart of government" there was no place for conciliation. The Boston Port Bill, backed up by military force, was to be followed by other measures of coercion. On the 28th of March, lord North brought in a Bill for regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay. "I propose," he said, "in this Bill to take the executive power from the hands of the democratic part of government." The proposition went, in many important particulars, to annul the Charter granted to the province by William III. The council was to be appointed by the Crown; the magistrates were to be nominated by the governor. This Bill also passed, after ineffectual debate. A third Bill enacted, that, during the next three years, the Governor of Massachusetts might, if it was thought that an impartial trial of any person could not be secured in that colony, send him for trial in another colony; or to Great Britain, if it were thought that no fair trial could be obtained in the Colonies. The object of the Bill was distinctly stated by lord North—"Unless such a bill should pass into a law the executive power will be unwilling to act, thinking they will not have a fair trial without it." Colonel Barré strongly remonstrated against such a

* Walpole—"Last Journals," vol. i. p. 329.
† "Chatham Correspondence," vol. iv. p. 337.

measure. The Bill was to protect the military power in any future encounters with the people.* The king rejoices "in the feebleness and futility of opposition."† Mr. Bancroft says, without perhaps any very accurate means of judging, that "the passions of the British ministry were encouraged by the British people, who resented the denial of their supremacy, and made the cause of Parliament their own."‡ The British people were not allowed to be free judges of the great question at issue. On the discussion of the Bostonian Bills, Walpole says, "The doors of both Houses were carefully locked—a symptom of the spirit with which they were dictated." § Perhaps if the words of Edmund Burke had gone forth to the world, hot from his lips, instead of oozing out in a pamphlet, the people might have thought seriously of the crisis which called forth his eloquent philosophy. His speech of the 19th of April, on American taxation, has passages that have an interest for all time. It had been urged that the tax upon tea was trifling. This is his reply:—"Could anything be a subject of more just alarm to America, than to see you go out of the plain high-road of finance, and give up your most certain revenues and your dearest interest, merely for the sake of insulting your colonies? No man ever doubted that the commodity of tea could bear an imposition of three-pence. But no commodity will bear three-pence, or will bear a penny, when the general feelings of men are irritated, and two millions of people are resolved not to pay. The feelings of the colonies were probably the feelings of Great Britain. Theirs were formerly the feelings of Mr. Hampden when called upon for the payment of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! but the payment of half twenty shillings, on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a slave." Lord Carmarthen, as Walpole records, produced a sensation on his first appearance in the House of Commons. The young lord's speech prompted one of the most splendid manifestations of Burke's genius: "A noble lord, who spoke some time ago, is full of the fire of ingenuous youth; and when he has modelled the ideas of a lively imagination by further experience, he will be an ornament to his country in either house. He has said, that the Americans are our children, and how can they revolt against their parent? He says, that if they are not free in their present state, England is not free; because Manchester, and other considerable places, are not represented. So then, because some towns in England are not represented, America is to have no representative at all. They are 'our children'; but when children ask for bread, we are not to give a stone. Is it because the natural resistance of things, and the various mutations of time, hinder our government, or any scheme of government, from being any more than a sort of approximation to the right, is it therefore that the Colonies are to recede from it infinitely? When this child of ours wishes to assimilate to its parent, and to reflect with a true filial resemblance the beauteous countenance of British liberty; are we to turn to them the shameful parts of our constitution? are we to give them our weakness for their

* Lord Mahon has not looked at this measure with his usual care. He says, "It was imagined that no fair trial could be had within the limits of that province of any persons concerned in the late disturbances."—History, vol. vi. p. 8.

† Note to lord North, 23rd March. ‡ "American Revolution," vol. iii. p. 556.

§ "Last Journals," p. 363.

strength; our opprobrium for their glory; and the slough of slavery, which we are not able to work off, to serve them for their freedom?"

The dangers of the country called forth Chatham from his retirement. Walpole describes him making his appearance in the House of Lords, on the 26th of May: "Lord Chatham, who was a comedian even to his dress, to excuse his late absence by visible tokens of the gout, had his legs wrapped in black velvet boots, and, as if in mourning for the king of France, he leaned on a crutch covered with black likewise." * Walpole says, "he made a long feeble harangue." There are portions of the harangue which throw a doubt upon the taste or candour of the journalist—the opening passage for example:

"If we take a transient view of those motives which induced the ancestors of our fellow-subjects in America to leave their native country to encounter the innumerable difficulties of the unexplored regions of the Western World, our astonishment at the present conduct of their descendants will naturally subside. There was no corner of the world into which men of their free and enterprising spirit would not fly with alacrity, rather than submit to the slavish and tyrannical principles which prevailed at that period in their native country. And shall we wonder, my lords, if the descendants of such illustrious characters spurn with contempt the hand of unconstitutional power, that would snatch from them such dear-bought privileges as they now contend for? Had the British colonies been planted by any other kingdom than our own, the inhabitants would have carried with them the chains of slavery and spirit of despotism; but as they are, they ought to be remembered as great instances to instruct the world what great exertions mankind will naturally make, when they are left to the free exercise of their own powers."

The spirit of the New Englanders took the same course of thought as that of the first orator of the mother-country. In proposing a General Congress of the several Houses of Assembly, John Hancock exclaimed, "Remember from whom you sprang." † This was said on the 5th of March—two days before lord North had delivered to Parliament the Royal Message which was the prelude to the measures which the British government believed would ensure the submission of the Colonists. The people of Massachusetts, in their proceedings of the 16th of December, "had passed the river and cut away the bridge." ‡ Lord Mansfield called upon the Peers to delay not in carrying the Boston Port Bill: "Pass this Act, and you will have crossed the Rubicon." Before the men of Massachusetts knew of the severities that were hanging over them, the most violent of their leaders, Samuel Adams, had officially drawn up instructions for Franklin, the agent for the colony, which concluded with these words: "Their old good will and affection for the parent country are not totally lost. If she returns to her former moderation and good-humour, their affection will revive. They wish for nothing more than a permanent union with her upon the condition of equal liberty. This is all they have been contending for; and nothing short of this will or ought to satisfy them." § The same language was held in 1774

* "Last Journals," vol. i. p. 369. (Louis XV. died on the 10th of May.)
† Bancroft, vol. iii. p. 561. ‡ J. Adams, quoted by Bancroft.
§ Bancroft, p. 563.

by George Washington. He wrote in October of that year, to a friend who held the rank of captain in the English army, "You are taught to believe that the people of Massachusetts are rebellious; setting up for independency and what not. Give me leave to tell you, you are grossly abused. . . .

John Hancock.

I can announce it as a fact, that it is not the wish or interest of that government, or any other upon this continent, separately or collectively, to set up for independence. But this you may at the same time rely on, that none of them will ever submit to the loss of those valuable rights and privileges which are essential to the happiness of every free state, and without which life, liberty, and property, are rendered totally insecure."

Such were the sentiments, even of the moderate, in the American Colonies. But it must not be assumed that the universal opinion of the colonial communities was represented by Samuel Adams or John Hancock, even by George Washington or Thomas Jefferson. There was a large party in every province who were avowed Royalists; and who gradually acquired the name of Tories. They were not wanting in encouragement from England. They had the support of a preponderating majority in Parliament, which sanguine persons thought would overawe the malcontents. "Nothing can be more calculated," writes the king to lord North, "to bring the Americans to a due submission than the very handsome majority that at the outset appears in both Houses." This was written on the 22nd of January, 1775, a new Parliament having met on the previous 29th of November. The American Royalists would not lack private instigations from individuals of eminence in England, to oppose their rebellious countrymen. The conversational opinions of the famous Dr. Johnson might reach them, even before they read his pamphlet, "Taxation no Tyranny." They might be told that Edward Gibbon, of rising literary reputation, held that the right was on

the side of the mother country.* The future great historian was returned to Parliament in 1774, and was prepared to speak on the American question, if he could have overcome "timidity fortified by pride." Whatever may be now the prevailing sentiment upon the colonial quarrel, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the controversy was one that involved great principles, and called forth the highest energies of great intellects. On either side of the Atlantic was manifested the grandeur of the Anglo-Saxon mind. Chatham, in 1775, paid a deserved tribute to the qualities displayed in the first American Congress: "When your lordships look at the papers transmitted us from America—when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself I must declare and avow, that in all my reading and observation—(I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master-states of the world)—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your lordships that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be fatal." Gibbon has described the striking scene he witnessed in the British House of Commons: "I assisted at the debates of a free assembly; I listened to the attack and defence of eloquence and reason; I had a near prospect of the character, views, and passions, of the first men of the age. The cause of government was ably vindicated by lord North, a statesman of spotless integrity, a consummate master of debate, who could wield, with equal dexterity, the arms of reason and of ridicule. He was seated on the treasury-bench between his attorney and solicitor-general, the two pillars of the law and state, *magis pares quam similes;* and the minister might indulge in a short slumber, whilst he was upholden on either hand by the majestic sense of Thurlow, and the skilful eloquence of Wedderburn. From the adverse side of the house an ardent and powerful opposition was supported by the lively declamation of Barré, the legal acuteness of Dunning, the profuse and philosophical fancy of Burke, and the argumentative vehemence of Fox, who, in the conduct of a party, approved himself equal to the conduct of an empire. By such men every operation of peace and war, every principle of justice and policy, every question of authority and freedom, was attacked and defended; and the subject of the momentous contest was the union or separation of Great Britain and America. The eight sessions that I sat in parliament were a school of civil prudence, the first and most essential virtue of an historian."†

The differences of opinion in America ought to have retarded the terrible issue that was approaching. The fears of the timid, the hopes of the loyal, were opposed to the advocates of resistance, and might have prevailed to avert the notion of independence. In an unhappy hour, blood was shed; and conciliation then became a word that was uttered to deaf ears in England as in America. We must in this chapter rapidly trace the course of events till we reach that crisis.

The ministry after passing their coercive Bills had determined to send out

* See his Letter to Holroyd, 31st January, 1775. † Autobiography.

general Gage to supersede Hutchinson as governor of Massachusetts, and to be Commander in Chief in the Colonies. He would have to act upon a system distinctly opposed to the old chartered system of free local government. He undervalued, as we have seen, the resistance which was to be brought against him, and relied too absolutely upon "four regiments." His appointment was not disagreeable to the New Englanders. He had lived amongst them, and had honourably executed the military authority with which he had been previously entrusted. In an unhappy hour he arrived at Boston, on the 13th of May, 1774. A vessel which came there before him brought a copy of the Boston Port Bill. When Gage came into the harbour, the people were holding a meeting to discuss that Act of the British Legislature which deprived them of their old position in the commerce of the world—which doomed their merchants and all dependent upon them to absolute ruin. There was but one feeling. The meeting entered into resolutions, to which they invited the co-operation of the other Colonies, for the purpose of suspending all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, and the West Indies, until the Act was repealed. Copies of the Act were everywhere circulated, printed with a black border. But there was no violence. The new Governor was received with decorum, but without the accustomed honours. General Gage gave the Assembly notice that on the 1st of June, according to the provisions of the Act, their place of meeting would be removed to the town of Salem. When the spirit of opposition to his dictates was getting up, the Governor suddenly adjourned the Assembly. He was asked to appoint the 1st of June as a day of general prayer and fasting. He refused. In Virginia the House of Burgesses appointed the 1st of June as a day of humiliation, to avert the calamity of their loss of rights, or the miseries of civil war. They were immediately dissolved. The Assembly of Virginia did not separate without recommending a General Congress. The idea universally spread. Meanwhile, general Gage had an encampment of six regiments on a common near Boston, and had begun to fortify the isthmus which connects the town with the adjacent country. The 1st of June came. There was no tumult. Business was at an end; Boston had become a city of the dead.

The first Congress, consisting of fifty-five members, met at Philadelphia on the 4th of September. The place of their meeting was Carpenter's Hall. Peyton Randolph was chosen as their President. Their proceedings were conducted with closed doors. The more earnest party gradually obtained the ascendancy over the more timid. They drew up a Declaration of Rights. They passed Resolutions to suspend all imports from Great Britain or Ireland after the 1st of December, and to discontinue all exports after the 10th of September in the ensuing year, unless the grievances of America should be redressed. They published Addresses to the people of Great Britain, and of Canada, and they decided upon a petition to the king. These were the papers that called forth the eulogium of Chatham. The Congress dissolved themselves on the 26th of October; and resolved that another Congress should be convened on the 10th of May, 1775.

After the 1st of June the irremediable conflict between the Governor and Representatives of the people soon put an end to the legal course of government. General Gage was so wholly deserted by the Council, that the meeting of the Assembly, which was proposed to take place at Salem in October,

could not be regularly convened. Writs for the election of members had been issued, but were afterwards annulled by proclamation. The elections took place. The persons chosen assembled, and styled themselves a Local Congress. A Committee of safety was appointed. They enrolled militia, called "Minute-

Carpenter's Hall.

men," whose engagement was that they should appear in arms at a minute's notice. They appointed commanders. They provided ammunition. The knowledge of the two Acts of Parliament which had followed that for shutting up the Port of Boston, not only provoked this undisguised resolve to resist to the death amongst the people of Massachusetts, but called up the same growing determination throughout the vast continent of America.

The new Parliament met on the 29th of November, 1774. There was an end of the agitations about Wilkes; for, having been elected for Middlesex, he took his seat without opposition. The king's speech asserted his determination "to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of this Legislature over all the dominions of my Crown." Corresponding Addresses were voted in both Houses with a large majority. In January, lord Chatham brought forward a motion to withdraw the troops from Boston. "I wish, my lords," he said, "not to lose a day in this urgent, pressing crisis. An hour now lost in allaying ferments in America may produce years of calamity. For my own part, I will not desert for a moment the conduct of this weighty business, from first to last. Unless nailed to my bed by the extremity of sickness, I will give it unremitted attention. I will

knock at the door of this sleeping and confounded ministry, and will rouse them to a sense of their important danger." Chatham knocked in vain to awaken these sleepers. His voice, whose noble utterance cannot now be read without stirring the heart, was called by George III. "a trumpet of sedition." Again, on the 1st of February, that voice was heard, when Chatham presented "a provisional Bill for settling the troubles in America." On the first occasion he had only eighteen peers to vote with him against sixty-eight; on the second occasion he had thirty-two against sixty-one. Franklin heard the great speech of the 20th January, having been conducted into the House by Chatham himself, who said to him, "I am sure your presence at this day's debate will be of more service to America than mine." This was some compensation to that eminent man for the insults of Wedderburn. Chatham's second son, the child of his hopes, then only sixteen, wrote to his mother an account of that memorable debate. It is touching to observe the young William Pitt's deep sympathy with his father's efforts: "Nothing prevented his speech from being the most forcible that can be imagined; and administration fully felt it. . . . . He is lame in one ankle, near the instep, from standing so long. No wonder he is lame; his first speech lasted above an hour, and the second half an hour—surely, the two finest speeches that were ever made before, unless by himself. . . . . I wish I had time and memory to give an account of all I heard, and all I felt." * Chatham's oratory was in vain. The ministry that night declared they would send out more troops, instead of recalling any. Chatham's conciliatory Bill made some impression upon lord North, who proposed a very weak measure, as a Resolution of the House of Commons, that if any of the American provinces, by their legislature, should make some provision for the defence and government of that province, which should be approved by the king and parliament, then it might be proper to forbear imposing any tax. This was to attempt to put out a conflagration with a bucket of water.

If the highest efforts of argument could have been availing, the speech of Edmund Burke, on the 22nd of March, would have arrested the headlong course of the government. At this moment a Bill was passing both Houses which Burke called "the great penal Bill by which we had passed sentence on the trade and sustenance of America." It was a Bill to prohibit certain Colonies from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. Great Britain was not ashamed to resort to this petty measure of retaliation against the American non-importation agreements. Burke proposed a series of conciliatory Resolutions, of a less sweeping nature than those of Chatham, and therefore more likely to be acceptable to men of temperate opinions. They were rejected on a division of two hundred and seventy against seventy eight. The speech of the great statesman presented a masterly review of the wonderful growth of the American Colonies,—their successful industry,—their commercial importance to Great Britain. The whole export trade of England, including the colonial trade, was six millions and a half in 1704. The export trade to the colonies alone was six millions in 1772. These statistical facts were suddenly illumined by a burst of oratory, perhaps unrivalled. Allen, lord Bathurst, to whom Pope addressed his "Epistle on the Use of Riches,"—

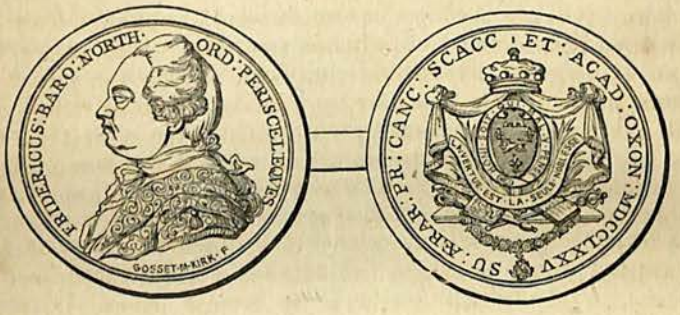
* "Chatham Correspondence," vol. iv. p. 376.

Bathurst "unspoiled by wealth," the father of the Lord Chancellor of 1775,—was cited by Burke as one that might remember all the stages of the growth of our national prosperity. He was in 1704 "of an age at least to be made to comprehend such things." "Suppose that the angel of that auspicious youth" had opened to him in vision the fortunes of his house in the twelfth year of the third prince of the line of Brunswick: "If amidst these bright and happy scenes of domestic honour and prosperity, that angel should have drawn up the curtain, and unfolded the rising glories of his country, and whilst he was gazing with admiration on the then commercial grandeur of England, the genius should point out to him a little speck, scarce visible in the mass of the national interest, a small seminal principle, rather than a formed body, and should tell him—'Young man, there is America—which at this day serves for little more than to amuse you with stories of savage men, and uncouth manners; yet shall, before you taste of death, show itself equal to the whole of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world. Whatever England has been growing to by a progressive increase of improvement, brought in by varieties of people, by a succession of civilizing conquests and civilizing settlements in a series of seventeen hundred years, you shall see as much added to her by America in the course of a single life.' If this state of his country had been foretold to him, would it not require all the sanguine credulity of youth, and all the fervid glow of enthusiasm, to make him believe it? Fortunate man, he has lived to see it! Fortunate indeed, if he lives to see nothing that shall vary the prospect, and cloud the setting of his day!"

Allen, earl Bathurst, lived long enough to see the prospect clouded over, but not to behold that sun set which was predicted to follow the separation of Great Britain from her North American Colonies. It was for later times to behold the cloud passing away from the old monarchy and the young republic. In that year of 1775, when Burke was thus pointing to the remembrances of an eminent living man, to contrast "the little speck scarce visible in the mass of the national interest," with the continent which contained two millions of prosperous colonists,—in that year there came to England an American painter, with a son who would gradually comprehend the mighty changes which were then going on in the country of his birth. If the angel of this auspicious boy should have drawn up the curtain, and unfolded the glories of America when he was to be Lord Chancellor of England, would it not have required all the sanguine credulity of youth, and all the fervid glow of enthusiasm, to have made John Singleton Copley believe that the woods in which his father taught himself to paint should be covered with mighty cities, that the Republic of the United States should contain a population of twenty-three millions, and that the commerce of those States should, next to that of Great Britain, be the largest in the world?

The contrarieties of public opinion in Great Britain and Ireland upon the American question, were exhibited in petitions from various corporate bodies. Many manufacturing towns petitioned against the coercion Acts, as destructive of the commerce of the country. Other petitions called for an enforcement of the legislative supremacy of Great Britain, as the only means of preserving a trade with the Colonies. There were war-petitions and peace-petitions. Those who signed the war-petitions were held to be mere party-men known as Tories. Those who signed the peace-petitions were

discontented Whigs, or something worse. The Quakers, whilst they exhorted to peace, maintained the loyalty of all religious denominations in America to the king's person, family, and government. The citizens of London, with Wilkes at their head as lord-mayor, presented an Address and Remonstrance to the king on the throne, in which they denounced the measures of the government as deliberately intended to establish arbitrary power all over America. The king answered, that it was with the utmost astonishment that he found any of his subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which existed in some of his Colonies in America. From such different points of view did men regard this great argument. As usual in England, the most serious questions had their ludicrous aspect. Caricatures were numerous. One represented America as a struggling female, held down by lord Mansfield, whilst lord North was drenching her with "a strong dose of tea." In another, Britannia is thrown down upon her child America, whilst lord North is pumping upon both of them, looking exultingly through his eye-glass.* The partisans of the minister struck a medal in his honour.



Medal of Lord North.

The close of 1774 was, in Massachusetts, the silence before the storm. The people were arming. The Provincial Congress had formed an arsenal at Concord, an inland town. The British troops made no movements during the winter to interfere with these hostile demonstrations. In his speech of the 27th of January, Chatham alluded to the position of the royal forces: "Their situation is truly unworthy; penned up; pining in inglorious inactivity. . . . . I find a report creeping abroad that ministers censure general Gage's inactivity. . . . It is a prudent and necessary inaction. . . . This tameness, however contemptible, cannot be censured; for the first drop of blood shed in civil and unnatural war might be *immedicabile vulnus*." That incurable wound was, too soon, to be inflicted.

On the evening of the 18th of April, lieut.-colonel Smith, of the 10th foot, marched, by order of governor Gage, with a body of grenadiers and light infantry, for Concord, with the purpose of destroying all military stores collected there. "Notwithstanding," writes lieut.-colonel Smith in his dispatch, "we marched with the utmost expedition and secrecy, we found

* See Wright's "House of Hanover," vol. ii. p. 22.

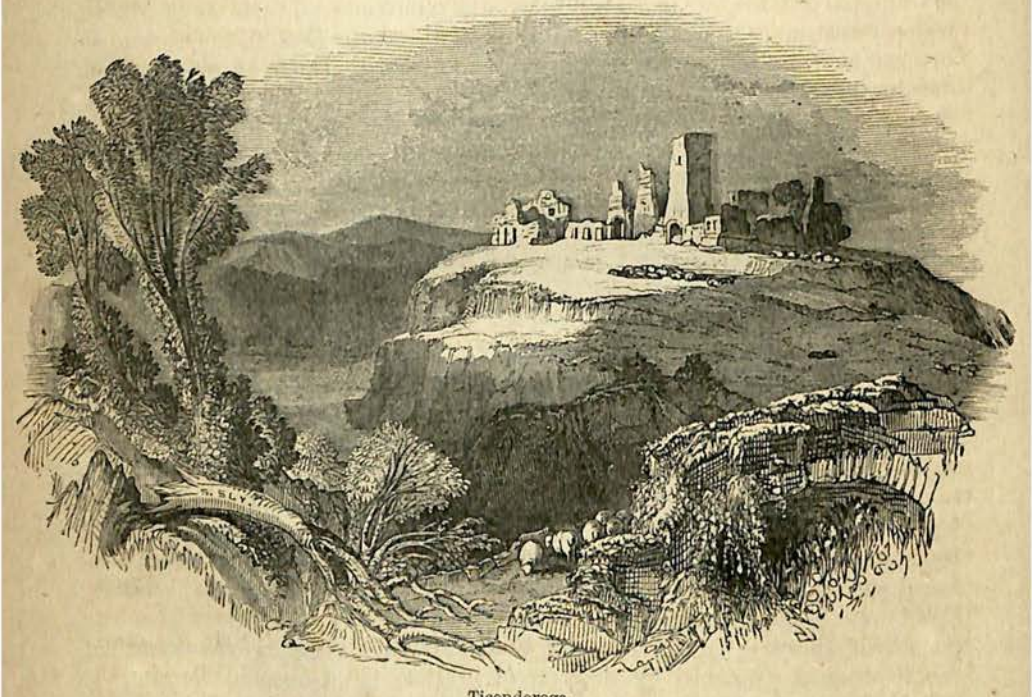
the country had intelligence or strong suspicion of our coming, and fired many signal guns, and rung the alarm bells repeatedly; and we were informed, when at Concord, that some cannon had been taken out of the town that day; that others, with some stores, had been carried away three days before, which prevented our having an opportunity of destroying so much as might have been expected at our first setting off." Six light infantry companies were dispatched to seize two bridges on different roads beyond Concord. They found country people drawn up on a green, with arms and accoutrements. The troops advanced, according to the lieutenant-colonel, without any intention of injuring the people; but, nevertheless, they were fired upon, and the soldiers fired again. When the detachment reached Concord, there was a more serious skirmish, with a very considerable body of countrymen. "At Concord," the narrative continues, "we found very few inhabitants in the town; those we met with, both major Pitcairn and myself took all possible pains to convince that we meant them no injury, and that if they opened their doors when required to search for military stores, not the slightest mischief would be done. We had opportunities of convincing them of our good intentions, but they were sulky, and one of them even struck major Pitcairn. On our leaving Concord to return to Boston, they began to fire on us from behind the walls, ditches, trees, &c., which, as we marched, increased to a very great degree, and continued without the intermission of five minutes altogether, for, I believe, upwards of eighteen miles; so that I can't think but it must have been a preconcerted scheme in them to attack the king's troops the first favourable opportunity that offered, otherwise I think they could not, in so short a time as from our marching out, have raised such a numerous body, and for so great a space of ground."* The destruction of the detachment under lieut.-colonel Smith by a large body of infuriated men, was averted by the arrival at Lexington of a reinforcement sent out by general Gage. The British continued to retreat before their resolute opponents. They did not reach their quarters till night had fallen—worn out with fatigue, and with a loss of two or three hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners. There was no open fight, for the minute-men were in ambush, and picked off the officers and men of the detachment from their secure hiding amongst trees and behind stone walls.

The news of the affair of Lexington arrived in England at the end of May. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts knew the effect that would be produced upon public opinion in the mother country when it should be learnt that the king's troops had been defeated. The day after the skirmish, this Congress dispatched a vessel to England, without freight, for the sole purpose of carrying letters detailing this triumph. Walpole has described the impression produced by the receipt of this intelligence in London:—"May 28. Arrived a light sloop, sent by the Americans from Salem, with an account of their having defeated the king's troops." He then gives details of the news received, which seems to have been free from exaggeration. "The advice was immediately dispersed, while the government remained without any intelligence. Stocks immediately fell. The provincials

* From despatch in the State Paper Office—given by Mahon, Appendix to vol. vi.

had behaved with the greatest conduct, coolness, and resolution. One circumstance spoke a thorough determination of resistance: the provincials had sent over affidavits of all that had passed, and a colonel of the militia had sworn in an affidavit, that he had given his men orders to fire on the king's troops, if the latter attacked them. It was firmness, indeed, to swear to having been the first to begin what the Parliament had named rebellion. Thus was the civil war begun, and a victory the first fruits of it on the side of the Americans, whom lord Sandwich had had the folly and rashness to proclaim cowards."

Whilst the provincials of Massachusetts and the troops of general Gage had thus been brought into a collision which had more the character of accident than of preconcerted hostilities, a bold and successful attempt was made in another quarter, which could only be interpreted as a deliberate act of warfare. Forty volunteers, well armed, had set out, at the instigation of some leading men of Connecticut, to form part of an expedition which was to attack Ticonderoga, a fort on Lake George, and Crown Point, a fort



Ticonderoga.

on Lake Champlain. If these were taken, the invasion of Canada by the American militia would be greatly facilitated. The Connecticut volunteers were joined on their march by Ethan Allen, who had many volunteers under his command; and by Benedict Arnold, who subsequently obtained a celebrity not the most honourable. Ticonderoga was garrisoned by only forty-

four soldiers, under the command of captain De la Place. On the morning of the 10th of May, the commander was roused in his bed; saw his fort surrounded by several hundred men in arms; and was required to surrender "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." The demand was not resisted. Crown Point was also surprised by the same body of adventurers.

The affair of Lexington was the commencement of the American war. More decisive encounters very speedily followed between the king's troops and many thousand Americans in arms. How this first contest was regarded by the noblest of the men who built up the independence of their country, we find in a letter from Washington to a friend in England: "General Gage acknowledges, that the detachment under lieut.-colonel Smith was sent out to destroy private property; or, in other words, to destroy a magazine, which self-preservation obliged the inhabitants to establish. And he also confesses, in effect at least, that his men made a very precipitate retreat from Concord, notwithstanding the reinforcement under lord Percy; the last of which may serve to convince lord Sandwich, and others of the same sentiment, that the Americans will fight for their liberties and property, however pusillanimous in his lordship's eye they may appear in other respects .... Unhappy it is, though, to reflect that a brother's sword has been sheathed in a brother's breast, and that the once happy and peaceful plains of America are either to be drenched with blood, or inhabited by slaves. Sad alternative! But can a virtuous man hesitate in his choice?"

On the day that Ticonderoga fell into the hands of these American partisans, the General Congress assembled for the second time at Philadelphia.

We have dealt somewhat fully with the circumstances which preceded the unfortunate contest between Great Britain and her North American Colonies. We have endeavoured to exhibit the general agreement which existed between the principles maintained by the Colonists, and those of the English statesmen who are now regarded as the true representatives of the national mind in its highest sense—the mind of the dispassionate and enlightened few of those times, and that of the more general enlightenment of our own time. Happily the day has long since past when either the citizen of the Republic of the United States, or the subject of the Monarchy of the United Kingdom, can read a narrative of the great struggle which resulted in American Independence, with any sentiment of vindictiveness. In the circumstances which preceded the actual war, and during the continuance of the war, there were noble feelings called forth in the parent country, and in the revolted provinces, which showed how truly that spirit of liberty was upheld which was common to both:—which had descended from the time of Alfred; which had never been lost under Plantagenet or Tudor; which had gone forth to colonize New England when a Stuart made Old England unsafe for free men to dwell in; which, having expelled the oppressors, drew new breath under a Bill of Rights. It was that spirit which spoke in the eloquence of Chatham; which asserted itself in the

sagacity and moderation of Washington. Looking at the other side in the great contest, whether the majority of the legislature and people of Great Britain, or the American Royalists, it would not be just to view them as assertors of arbitrary doctrines, intent upon reducing their fellow-men to slavery. They acted upon a mistaken principle, which they believed to be a constitutional right. Their errors have not been without their use, if they have led to that better understanding of the relations between a State and its Colonies which prevails in our own day.

COOK
ANSON
BYRON

Medal struck by Order of the American Congress.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Franklin's return to America—Meeting of Congress at Philadelphia—Washington elected Commander-in-Chief—Events at Boston—Battle of Bunker's Hill—Washington blockades Boston—Public opinion in England—Petition from Congress to the King—Mr. Penn, the bearer of the petition, examined in the House of Lords—Lord North's Prohibitory Bill—Invasion of Canada—Silas Deane sent to Paris—Declaration of Independence adopted by Congress.—Note: The Declaration.

At the end of March, 1775, that remarkable man, Benjamin Franklin, who, fifty years before, had been working in London as a journeyman printer, turned his back upon that England where he had received all honour as a philosopher, to become one of her most strenuous opponents in the struggle of his native country for independence. He left England—as we learn from a letter written a short time before his departure—with a firm conviction that her system of government was conducting her to ruin and disgrace. He deprecated any further attempt to restore united interests between the mother-country and her colonies: "When I consider," he writes, "the extreme corruption prevalent among all orders of men in the old rotten state, and the glorious public virtue so predominant in our rising country, I cannot but apprehend more mischief than benefit from a closer union. . . . Here, numberless and needless places, enormous salaries, pensions, perquisites, bribes, groundless quarrels, foolish expeditions, false accounts or no accounts, contracts and jobs, devour all revenue, and produce continual necessity in the

midst of natural plenty."* Making every allowance for one whose endeavours to promote peace had been met with neglect and insult, much of this severe description is undoubtedly true. But Franklin still shrunk from war. "I would try anything, and bear anything that can be borne with safety to our just liberties, rather than engage in a war with such relations, unless compelled to it by dire necessity in our own defence." On the 5th of May he arrived in Philadelphia. On the 6th he was elected by the Assembly of Pennsylvania one of the deputies to the Continental Congress appointed to meet on the 10th. In a few days came the news of the first fatal contest at Lexington; and then Franklin writes to Priestley in England: "All America is exasperated. The breach between the two countries is grown wider, and in danger of becoming irreparable."†

The Congress assembled at Philadelphia, composed of deputies from thirteen States, held at first a common agreement only upon one principle,—the determination to resist the claim of the British government to tax the American colonies without their consent. But the mode of resistance, and the probable consequences of resistance, involved great differences of opinion. The provincial Assemblies which had elected these deputies were composed of members who, in their aggregate character, represented various interests,—the agricultural and the commercial; who had varieties of national origin, Dutch, German, Swedish, as well as English; who professed various forms of religion. In the State where the Congress assembled, the majority were Quakers, who would cleave, as long as possible, to peaceful councils. The deputies from Massachusetts, on the contrary, irritated in their continual struggle with the authority of England, deprived of their charter, ruined in their commerce, would see no solution of their difficulties but in open war. There were several weeks of indecision; but, gradually, the more timid councils yielded to the bolder. The moderate—who clung to union with England, from the thought of a common ancestry, from respect to the state which had given them the model of free institutions, from commercial interests—were alienated by the obstinate refusal of the British legislature to adopt reasonable measures of conciliation. The local Assemblies were using more determined language, and were organizing their provincial forces, as if there were to be a foreign enemy to be resisted. At Boston, the military authority of the Crown, and the armed resistance of the colonists, stood face to face; and no one could doubt that a more deadly trial of strength than that of the 19th of April, would speedily be the result. On the news of that day, numerous bodies of militia-men were on the march towards Boston, under bold leaders, who left their ordinary occupations to place themselves at the head of their neighbours. Such was Israel Putnam, a farmer and tavern-keeper, who became one of the generals of the revolutionary war. For a month, the British troops, who had exclusive possession of Boston, were harassed by the incessant activity of partisans who cut off supplies from the interior. General Gage was blockaded in his stronghold, having only communication by sea. Many of the inhabitants had been permitted to leave the city with their effects. Others remained, not

* "Franklin's Works," by Sparks, vol. viii. p. 146—Letter to Galloway, February 25, 1775.
† *Ibid.*, p. 154.

being allowed to consider their merchandise as effects. On the 25th of May, reinforcements arrived from England, under the command of generals Burgoyne, Howe, and Clinton; and the force under general Gage now reached ten thousand men. Such an army, it might well be imagined, would be powerful to crush the irregular troops which were surrounding Boston. Martial law was proclaimed by the British commander, and a pardon offered to all who would lay down their arms, except John Hancock and Samuel Adams. The two proscribed men were naturally the boldest advocates for warlike measures in the Congress at Philadelphia. That body had resolved to petition the king; still clinging to hopes of pacification. But the course of events rendered such a policy hopeless. The olive branch had been sent to England; the sword had been drawn in America. The Congress passed

General Putnam.

from a deliberative assembly into an executive power. The deputies had agreed upon articles of confederation and perpetual union, under the name of "The United Colonies of North America;" with authority to determine on war and peace, and on reconciliation with Great Britain; to raise troops; to appoint all officers civil and military. They resolved to provide for munitions of war by the issue of a paper currency. They appointed a commander-in-chief of the confederate forces now to be called the Continental Army. That commander was George Washington.

The early military career of Washington has been briefly traced in a former chapter.* Twenty years before he was thus selected for the greatest trust that could be reposed in a man, he was fighting in the British ranks against the French on the Ohio. He had no subsequent military experience. Possessing ample means, he resided upon his estate in Virginia, called Mount Vernon, a plain country gentleman, managing his property with a skilful economy;

* *Ante*, p. 207.

engaging in those field sports which were agreeable to his vigorous constitution; reading and meditating upon the past and the present with intelligent curiosity; giving a month or two of the year to his public duties as a member of the House of Burgesses. He was neither learned nor eloquent; he was modest and retiring. But by the undeviating exercise of his sound judgment and his rigid integrity, he had acquired a reputation in his own colony which had extended to other States. His strongest recommendations as Commander-in-Chief came from Massachusetts. The consistent force of his character procured for him a confidence that the noisy demagogue or the dashing partisan could not obtain. On the 16th of June his appointment was officially announced to him when he took his seat in the Congress. He would enter, he said, upon the momentous duty, although he did not think himself equal to the command he was honoured with. He added, that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted him to accept this arduous employment at the expense of his domestic ease and happiness, he had no desire to make a profit by it. He would take no pay. He would keep an exact account of his expenses, and those he doubted not would be discharged. To his wife he wrote that it was utterly out of his power to refuse the appointment, although he had used every endeavour to avoid it. "But as it has been a kind of destiny that has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking it is designed to answer some good purpose."

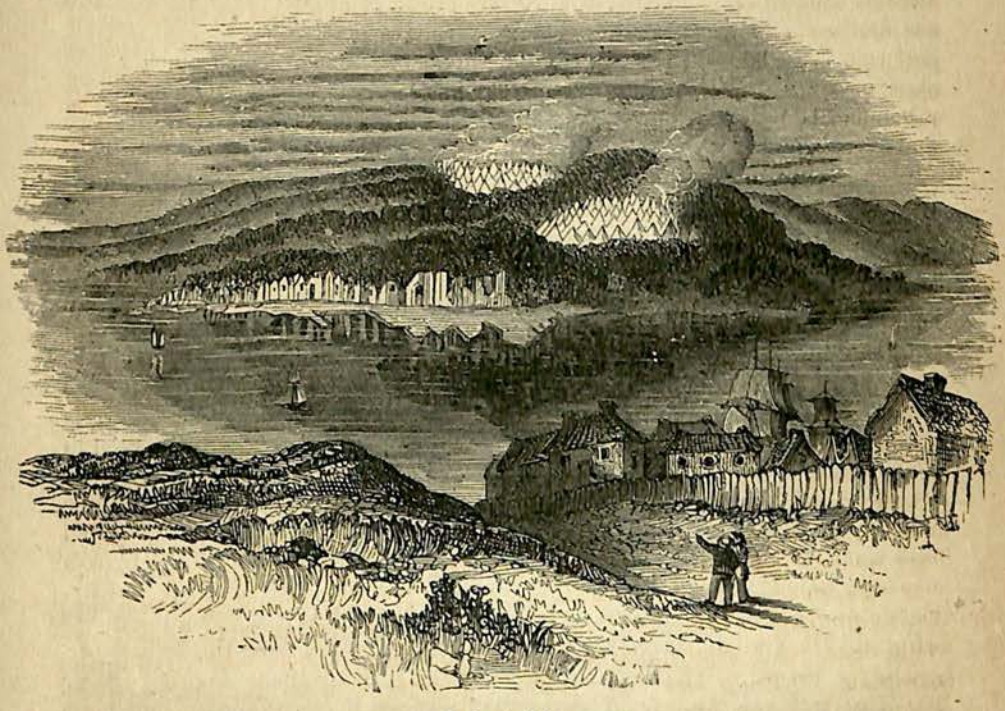
The Congress, upon the acceptance by Washington of his appointment, resolved that it was necessary that he should immediately proceed to Boston to take upon himself the command of the army round that town. That army has been described as a mixed multitude, under very little discipline or order. They wanted many of the necessaries of war, especially ammunition. The men were brave—far braver than some of the insolent dependents upon the British ministry were willing to believe. "It was romantic to think they would fight," said Rigby, one of the parliamentary jobbers who lived upon corruption. "There was more military prowess in a militia drummer." * Before Washington arrived at the camp near Boston, on the 3rd of July, the Provincials had shown how "they would fight."

Boston is built upon a peninsula. An isthmus on the south connected the peninsula with the mainland. A promontory, then called Dorchester Neck, now South Boston, had heights which commanded the town, and which are now fortified. On the east was the harbour; on the west, the Charles River. Divided from Boston on the north by this river, was Charles Town, also a peninsula. At the northern extremity, bounded by the Mystic River, is the height of Bunker's Hill; and lower down, nearer Charles Town, is Breed's Hill. An army having possession of these two hills on the north, and of Dorchester heights on the south, would have Boston at its mercy.† The British generals had seen the importance of the acclivities of Charles Town, and had determined to land a force to take possession of them on the 18th of June. This became known to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety; and it was resolved to anticipate the movement of the British, by establishing a post on Bunker's Hill. After sunset on the 16th of June, a brigade of a

* Walpole—"Last Journals," vol. i. p. 481.

† See Plan of Boston, in Maps of Useful Knowledge Society.

thousand men, under the command of William Prescott, assembled on Cambridge Common, armed mostly with fowling-pieces, and carrying their powder and ball in horns and pouches. A proclamation had been issued from the British head-quarters, that all persons taken in arms should be hanged as rebels. The rebels marched on with a determination never to be taken alive.



Bunker's Hill.

They crossed Charles Town Neck; and took up their position, not on Bunker's Hill, as the Committee of Safety had proposed, but on Breed's Hill. They had an engineer with them, and abundance of intrenching tools. The lines of a redoubt were drawn; and the troops who, in their occupations of husbandmen had useful familiarity with spades and pickaxes, worked through the night, whilst their commander anxiously listened for any extraordinary movement that would indicate they were discovered by the ships of war in the harbour. The defences were nearly completed as day dawned. Then the redoubt, which had arisen in the night as if by magic, was visible to the British naval and land officers, with throngs of men still labouring at their entrenchments. The cannon of the Lively sloop commenced a fire upon the earth-works; and a battery was mounted on the Boston side, on a mound called Copp's Hill. The Americans continued to extend their lines, whilst shot and shell were dropping around them. The cannonade was the prelude to something more serious. Two thousand soldiers, with field-artillery, embarked in boats, and landed under cover of the shipping on a north-eastern point of the Charles Town peninsula. They were under the command of major-general Howe. Prescott and his band waited for their approach. The

British halted for some time, expecting additional force. The Americans had their rear protected by a low stone wall, surmounted with posts and rails. The ground was covered with mown grass, browning under a hot midsummer sun; and there was time to interweave the hay between the rails and form a temporary shelter. When the British troops went forth in their boats from Boston, numbers also hurried from the American camp at Cambridge to share the dangers of their comrades. Howe's reinforcements at length arrived. Before they advanced to attack the irregular force that had made such a bold show of defiance, Charles Town, a mass of wooden buildings, was set on fire by a bombardment from Copp's Hill, and from the ships of war. Between two and three o'clock the British, under the command of general Pigot, advanced up the hill steadily in line, to attack the redoubt. Prescott had commanded his men not to fire till the British were within eight or ten rods. When he gave the word, there was one simultaneous discharge from the muskets and fowling-pieces of the skilful marksmen. The front rank of the British was swept away. The rear ranks advanced to meet another discharge equally fatal. The whole line staggered, and retreated down the hill. From another point Howe led up his men to attack the fence. They were met by a volley, and fell back in confusion. Their officers rallied those who had retreated; and again the columns advanced upon the redoubt and the grass-woven rails. There was the same carnage as before. Officers had fallen in unusual numbers. It was a terrible scene. The town below Breed's Hill was furiously burning. The hill was covered with the dead, "as thick as sheep in a fold." The colonists were ready to meet a third attack, when it was discovered that their ammunition was nearly spent. This final assault of the British was conducted with a better estimate of the courage of their enemy. Cannon were brought up so as to rake the breastwork of the redoubt, against which all the available force was concentrated. The fire from the breastwork gradually ceased. The redoubt was scaled. Resistance was no longer possible; and the Americans gave way, some retiring in order, but most escaping as they best might. There was little pursuit. The British lost above a thousand killed and wounded, of whom more than eighty were officers. The American loss was represented as less than half that of the royal forces. General Gage wrote home to lord Dartmouth. "The success, which was very necessary in our present condition, cost us dear. . . . . The trials we have had show the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be."

Within a week after the arrival of Washington at the camp at Cambridge, he had employed all his energies to place his troops in a position of security. The British were now entrenching on Bunker's Hill, where the bulk of their army, commanded by general Howe, were encamped. Within half a mile of the British camp the Americans had thrown up entrenchments on Winter Hill and Prospect Hill; and there were other strong works at weak points. In his letter to Congress detailing these circumstances, Washington says, "considering the great extent of line, and the nature of the ground, we are as well secured as could be expected in so short a time, and with the disadvantages we labour under. These consist in a want of engineers to construct proper works and direct the men, a want of tools, and a sufficient number of men to man the works in case of attack." Neverthe-

less, the council of war had determined to hold and defend these works as long as possible. Under such difficulties, it is easy to conceive the arduous task that was imposed upon the commander of a body of undisciplined men, imperfectly armed and wanting ammunition. He had to contend also against the constant solicitations of the Assembly of Massachusetts to send portions of his force upon detached services. These he steadily resisted; and, concentrating his army, was enabled to continue the blockade of Boston through the autumn and winter.

Public opinion in Great Britain, on what had now become a war with America, found its expression in the usual form of Addresses to the throne. The majority of these Addresses went to urge a vigorous prosecution of coercive measures against rebellious subjects. On the 23rd of August, the king issued a proclamation for the suppression of rebellion and sedition in America, and forbidding assistance and traitorous correspondence with the rebels. In the City, Wilkes being lord-mayor, the corporate authorities did not join the procession of heralds when the proclamation was read at the Royal Exchange. On the other hand, Manchester and many trading towns sent up loyal Addresses for the prosecution of the war. "The Addresses must have been dearly bought," says Walpole.* The king appears to have made a very sensible estimate of the value of these productions. He writes to lord North, on the 10th of September, "Address from Manchester most dutiful and affectionate. As you wish the spirit to be encouraged I have no objection; though I know from fatal experience that they will produce counter Petitions." Parliament met on the 26th of October. The encouragement which the ministry had given to "the spirit" of hostility was now to exhibit its fruits in the royal Speech. Conciliation was to be cast to the winds. The strongest words in the vocabulary were selected to terrify the men to whom the British bayonet brought no terror. "Desperate conspiracy"—"rebellious war"—were to be put an end to by "decisive exertions." The "unhappy and deluded multitude" were not only to be subdued by the naval and military armaments of their mother-country, but his majesty did not hesitate to inform his Parliament that he had condescended to implore the aid of other countries in this work: "I have the satisfaction to inform you that I have received the most friendly offers of foreign assistance." Hessians were indeed levied; and Hanoverians received British pay. But the king was disappointed in some of his overtures to great powers. He writes to lord North, only ten days after this boast of foreign aid: "The answer of the empress of Russia to my letter is a clever refusal, not in so genteel a manner as I should have thought might have been expected from her. She has not had the civility to answer me in her own hand." As might be expected, the parliamentary majorities in support of the views of the Court were very large. An amendment to the Address on the first night of the session was rejected by a majority of forty in the House of Lords; by a majority of a hundred and seventy in the House of Commons. The duke of Grafton, after voting with the minority, resigned his office of Privy Seal. Two months before the meeting of Parliament he had pressed upon lord North the necessity of conciliation, but had received no reply except a

* "Last Journals," vol. i. p. 502.

draft of the king's speech. When the duke waited upon the king to resign, his majesty entered upon a discussion of this most grave subject: "He informed me that a large body of German troops were to join our forces; and appeared astonished when I answered earnestly that his majesty would find too late that twice that number would only increase the disgrace, and never effect his purpose." * Lord Dartmouth succeeded the duke of Grafton as Privy Seal; and lord George Germaine (Sackville) became Secretary of State.

Lord George Germaine.

In spite of the disgrace of Minden, the military experience of the clever Secretary was now to conduct the war with the Colonies. General Gage had been previously called home, and the chief command left with general Howe.

The king, before the opening of the session, said to lord North, "I am fighting the battle of the legislature, therefore have a right to expect an almost unanimous support." After a ministerial triumph on the 1st of November, his majesty wrote to express his hope that the "very handsome majority would have the effect of shortening the debates. The House cannot possibly hear the same speeches frequently repeated, or the House of Commons must be composed of more politeness than formerly." It was difficult to treat this great question with any novelty of argument. The controversy had gone out of the region of argument into that of brute force. Nevertheless, in spite of the sanguinary conflict of the 17th of June, the Congress assembled at Philadelphia had on the 8th of July confided to Richard Penn, governor of Pennsylvania, a petition to the king, to be presented on his arrival in England. The petition, according to Mr. Jefferson, was adopted merely to please its mover, Mr. Dickinson; but "the disgust against its humility was general." This document, denominated the Olive Branch, was delivered to lord Dartmouth on the 1st of September, and in three days, Penn and his companion, Arthur Lee, were informed by letter that no answer would be given to it. This contemptuous rejection of the humble petition of Congress went upon the ground that the body petitioning had no legal existence. The Americans,—who knew that the deputies of thirteen States, who signed the petition, were real representatives of the opinions

* MS. Memoirs.

of the majority of the people,—from the time of that rejection of their last humble effort at pacification held that to British councils, and not to American, all the bloodshed and guilt of the war were to be ascribed. The British government considered, or professed to consider, that with "vague expressions of attachment to the parent state," the rebellious war was "manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent empire." * The Americans maintained, up to that period, that they entertained no such purpose. In the House of Lords, on the 7th of November, the petition of the Congress to the king was to be taken into consideration, and having been read, the duke of Richmond moved that Mr. Penn be examined. That examination, which took place on the 10th, was a very important testimony to the state of opinion in the Colonies.

The questions proposed to Mr. Penn, as he stood at the bar of the House of Lords, were chiefly those of the duke of Richmond and other supporters of the opposition; but he was subjected to a cross-examination by the earl of Sandwich and others of the ministry. He had resided four years in America; he was two years in the government of Pennsylvania. He thought the members of Congress were men of character, and capable of conveying the sense of America; they undoubtedly convey the sense of the provinces they represent, and he firmly believed the provinces would be governed by their decisions. He was acquainted with almost all the members of the Congress. "Do you think," he was asked, that "they levy and carry on this war for the purpose of establishing an independent empire?" His answer was, "I think they do not carry on the war for independency; I never heard them breathe sentiments of that nature." He was asked, "For what purpose do you believe they have taken up arms?" Brief and emphatic was his answer: "For the defence of their liberties." At the close of his examination Mr. Penn distinctly stated that the most opulent inhabitants of the American provinces would prefer freedom under this country to any other state of freedom; and that while supporting the measures of the Congress they wished at the same time a reconciliation with Great Britain.† The opinions of Mr. Penn on the subject of independence have been confirmed by those held by Washington, Madison, Franklin, and Jefferson, before the commencement of hostilities. Even after that commencement Jefferson affirms that the possibility of separation was "contemplated with affliction by all." Mr. Jay marks more distinctly the period when the notion of separation began to be received: "Until after the second petition of Congress in 1775, I never did hear an American of any class, or of any description, express a wish for the independence of the colonies. . . . Our country was prompted and impelled to independence by necessity and not by choice."

A motion that the petition of Congress brought by Mr. Penn afforded grounds for conciliation was rejected by an overwhelming majority. In vain Shelburne and Grafton in the Lords,—in vain Burke, Fox, and Barré in the Commons,—supported propositions "for composing the present troubles in America." The government carried its measures with a high hand. Chatham was again incapable through sickness of taking part in the debates of this

* King's Speech, October 26.

† "Parliamentary Debates," vol. xviii. cols. 911 to 916.

solemn period. Lord North's Prohibitory Bill, forbidding any commerce with the thirteen American Colonies, was carried, in all its severe enactments, without Chatham's voice being heard to reprove Mansfield for hounding on the people to the extremities of war. But Chatham emphatically manifested the consistency of his opinions. General Carleton, the commander in Canada, had sent home lord Pitt, Chatham's eldest son, with despatches; and in a letter to the father had expressed the most favourable opinion of his aide-de-camp. The countess of Chatham writes to general Carleton to convey the gratitude of her husband; who, from ill health, was unable fully to testify his sense of obligation: "Feeling all this, sir, as lord Chatham does, you will tell yourself with what concern he communicates to you a step that, from his fixed opinion with regard to the continuance of the unhappy war with our fellow-subjects of America, he has found it necessary to take. It is that of withdrawing his son from such a service."*

General Carleton, in his letter to Chatham from Montreal, in September, says, of lord Pitt, "I would it had been in my power to send him with more agreeable news for the public." The Congress had sanctioned an invasion of Canada, under the command of general Montgomery. Benedict Arnold had received a detachment of a thousand men from Washington's army in Massachusetts; and Ethan Allen was ready for a repetition of some such dashing exploit as his capture of Ticonderoga. Allen was marching to attack Montreal when he fell in with the British troops; was made prisoner; and was sent to England. Arnold, having surmounted great difficulties in penetrating through a country of woods and rocks,—his men sometimes wading through rapid rivers, and sometimes carrying their boats over barren heights—appeared suddenly before Quebec. Arnold was repulsed by colonel Maclean, who came in time to save the capital of Canada. But Montgomery was approaching with a larger force. Carleton, with energetic resolution, set off from Montreal disguised as a fisherman; and, passing in a whale-boat through the American flotilla on the St. Lawrence, got into Quebec, and took the command. On the 31st of December the united forces of Montgomery and Arnold climbed the heights of Abraham, and attacked the city. They were met by a formidable resistance. Montgomery was killed, and Arnold severely wounded. But the Americans blockaded Quebec throughout the winter.

From July 1775, to February 1776, Washington had continued the blockade of Boston. He was tired of what he describes as the irksomeness of his situation. The frost had formed some pretty strong ice over the river Charles, and he contemplated an assault upon the town.† He was over-ruled by a council of war. Meanwhile the British army, in camp round Boston, was suffering great privations and miseries. The small-pox had broken out among the troops. The want of fresh provisions and of fuel made sickness and cold more fatal. In March, Washington had taken possession of Dorchester Heights, and was about to secure other strong points, from which measures he hoped it would be in his power "to force the ministerial troops to an attack, or to dispose of them in some way that will be of advantage to us."‡ No attack was made by the British; and on the 19th

* "Chatham Correspondence," vol. iv. p. 420.
† "Despatch to Congress," February 18. ‡ *Ibid.*, February 26.

of March, Washington wrote to the President of Congress, "It is with the greatest pleasure I inform you, that on Sunday last, the 17th instant, about nine o'clock in the forenoon, the ministerial army evacuated the town of Boston, and that the forces of the United Colonies are now in possession thereof." General Howe sailed for Halifax to wait for reinforcements. Washington and his army marched for New York; against which city he felt assured that the British arms would be next directed. The Congress ordered a gold medal to be struck to commemorate the evacuation of Boston.*

On the 20th of February, 1776, lord North presented copies of treaties between Great Britain and the duke of Brunswick, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the count of Hanau, for the hire of troops. The prime minister said, "that the force which this measure would enable us to send to America would be such as, in all human probability, must compel that country to agree to terms of submission, perhaps without any further effusion of blood." The petty German princes made a hard bargain with the British government. Mr. Hartley, the friend of Franklin, said with a clear prospect of the future, "When foreign powers are once introduced in this dispute, all possibility of reconciliation and return to our former connection is totally cut off. You have given a justification to the Americans by your example, if they call in the assistance of foreign powers." The measure was supported by a majority of a hundred and fifty-four. On the 3rd of March, Silas Deane was dispatched by the Congress to Paris, with instructions to inform the French minister for foreign affairs, that in the event of the probable separation from Great Britain, France would be regarded as the power whose friendship it would be fittest for the United Provinces of America to obtain and cultivate.

At the beginning of 1776, the Americans had been defeated by general Carleton, and had retired from Quebec. In other engagements they had

* The obverse of the medal is given at the head of this chapter.

been equally unsuccessful; and Canada, in the summer of that year, was in the unmolested possession of the king's troops. In June, general Howe had left Halifax, and had landed his forces on Staten Island. In July, admiral lord Howe arrived with reinforcements from England. The two brothers had been authorised, as Commissioners, to receive the submission of insurgent colonists, to grant pardons, and inquire into grievances. At an earlier period the appointment of these Commissioners, who were men of sense and moderation, might have had beneficial results. But the state of feeling amongst the colonists was hurrying onward that measure of separation, which the most sagacious saw would be the inevitable result of an obstinate assertion of authority opposed to an ardent desire for independence—a desire at first timidly avowed by a few, dreaded by most, and at last matured into a sentiment which it would have been dangerous in the minority to oppose.

Silas Deane.

Whilst the British forces under Howe were taking a position on Staten Island, and the Americans, under Washington, were collecting on Long Island and in the city of New York, each preparing for hostilities, the Congress at Philadelphia took a decisive resolution which gave to the war a character somewhat different from an insurrection. In the Convention of Virginia the delegates to Congress had been instructed to propose that the Colonies should declare themselves independent of Great Britain. The proposal was submitted to the Congress at the beginning of June, and was debated for some days with slight prospect of unanimity. Six of the Colonies were opposed to the immediate adoption of such a measure. Nevertheless, a committee of five was appointed to prepare a manifesto embodying this principle. Jefferson was selected to make the draught of a Declaration of Independence. It was submitted and discussed on the 1st of July, when the delegates of Pennsylvania and South Carolina voted against it. Those of Delaware were divided in opinion; and those of New York withdrew. On the next day, by a

compromise and a change of delegates, three of the dissentient provinces gave their adhesion to the majority. The draught prepared by Jefferson was discussed during sittings of three days; and it was finally agreed to by the members present of the twelve States, with the exception of one. The delegates from New York were subsequently empowered to give their assent. Thus, on the 4th of July, was completed what has been not unjustly termed "the most memorable public document which history records." * We give the document in a note to this chapter. The long catalogue of "injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny," must be regarded, in many particulars, rather as overstrained inferences from impolitic acts, than as evidences of deliberate oppression. Like most of the manifestoes in any great conflict of principles, these charges must be viewed rather as a demonstration of temporary feeling than as incontrovertible truths. But the opening paragraphs of the Declaration are very remarkable as an exposition of doctrines which had a different origin than the Anglo-Saxon institutions upon which the American Colonies were founded. The deputies of Congress say, "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and their happiness." These were not American ideas. They were based upon the "Social Contract" of Rousseau, and reflected the popular philosophy which was destined to produce a far mightier revolution than that of the separation of America from the British Crown. In France, where inalienable rights—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—were too frequently trampled upon by the governing classes, the American Declaration of Independence was hailed as a beautiful illustration of that theory of liberty and equality which was delightful to speculate upon in the Parisian *salons*—a theory calling forth a delicious enthusiasm, provided it could be kept at a safe distance. If we look back with wonder and pity upon the obstinacy of the British government in the attempt to coerce the Americans into submission, we may regard as a stronger manifestation of political blindness, the support which the French government gave to that practical assertion of republican freedom, which was to convert the ideal democracy of which courtly aristocrats delighted to talk, into the terrible reality in which a long-suffering people roused themselves to act, in a fearful revenge of centuries of misrule.

* Tucker—"Life of Jefferson," vol. i. p. 90.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes: and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of new officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace standing armies without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us; for protecting them by a mock trial from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states; for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world; for imposing taxes on us without our consent; for depriving us in many cases of the benefits of trial by jury; for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences; for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies; for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments; for suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens taken captive on the high seas to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated addresses have been answered only by repeated injuries.

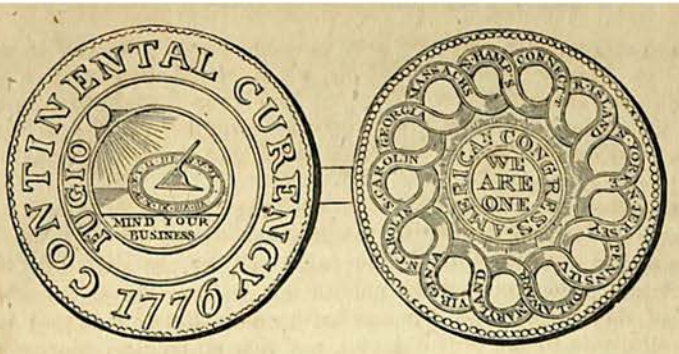
A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here, we have appealed to their native

justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which would inevitably interrupt our connexion and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must therefore acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We therefore the representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled, appealing to the supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do.

And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.



The First Coined Money issued by the United States of America.

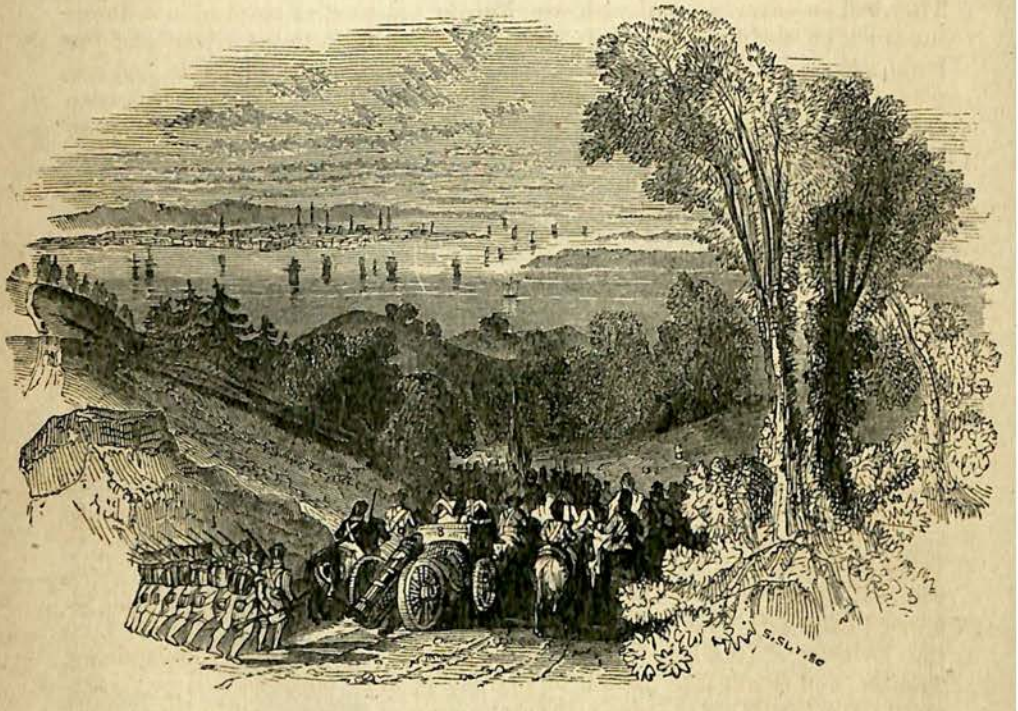
CHAPTER XXIV.

Lord Howe, as the British Commissioner, addresses a letter to Washington—The letter refused—The British on Long Island—Battle of Brooklyn—Washington retreats—His exploit at Trenton—His success at Princetown—Franklin dispatched by the Congress to Paris—Underhand proceedings of France—John the Painter, the incendiary—Manning the navy—Defences of the country—Chatham appears again in Parliament—Steuben—La Fayette—Kosciusko—Battle of the Brandywine—The British in Philadelphia—Burgoyne's army enters the United States from Canada—The convention of Saratoga—Parliament meets—Chatham's speech on the Address—On the employment of Indians—Washington in winter-quarters at Valley Forge—Steuben re-organizes the army.

THE first measures of lord Howe, upon his arrival off New York, were of a conciliatory nature. He arrived on the 12th of July. On the 14th, he sent a flag on shore with a letter, addressed "George Washington, Esquire." One of Washington's colonels told the officer who brought the letter, that there was no such person in the American army. The officer expressed great concern; and finally went back, receiving as his answer, that a proper direction would obviate all difficulties. Washington wrote to Congress, "I deemed it a duty to my country and my appointment to insist upon that respect which, in any other than a public view, I would willingly have waived." A letter of the 16th, from general Howe, similarly addressed, was similarly refused. The British adjutant-general, lieutenant-colonel Paterson, then came to Washington's quarters to explain the matter. He laid the letter on the table, and Washington refused to open it. The conversation on both sides was that of two high-minded gentlemen; but Washington was firm in declining to accept the direction of "George Washington, Esquire, &c., &c., &c.," as a proper address to himself in his public station. Colonel Paterson wished his visit to be considered as the first advance towards that accommodation of the unhappy dispute which was the object of the appointment of Commissioners, who, he said, had great powers. Washington replied that he was not invested with any powers on this subject, from those from whom he derived his authority; but from what had transpired, it appeared that lord Howe and general Howe were only to grant pardons;—those who had committed no fault wanted no pardon. Paterson departed, having

declined Washington's invitation to a collation. He had expressed his apprehension that an adherence to forms was likely to obstruct business of great moment. Washington had signified to Congress his unwillingness to sacrifice essentials to punctilio; but it is clear that he thought the maintenance of his own dignity was an essential. No further attempt was made at negotiation with Washington.

A large division of the British troops, on the 22nd of August, landed on Long Island. A portion of Washington's army was stationed near Brooklyn, a small town at the western angle of the island. Washington, with the greater number of his troops, remained in New York, an attack upon which city was not improbable. The Americans were under the command of general Putnam; the British, and their Hessian auxiliaries, were under sir William Howe. On the 27th, was fought the battle of Brooklyn, in which the Americans were defeated with great loss, and were driven back to their lines. But Howe did not follow up his advantage; and Washington, hurrying from New York, rallied his troops, and waited for two days an attack upon his position, which the British commander did not care to risk. Washington then determined to make no further attempt to hold Long Island; and with consummate prudence and ability, favoured by a dense fog,



New York from Long Island.

embarked his troops in boats, and landed them with the military stores and artillery in safety at New York. Lord Cornwallis, who had sailed from Cork in February, with seven regiments of infantry, was in the action of Brooklyn. Two of the American generals, Sullivan and Stirling, were taken prisoners. On the 15th of September, Washington evacuated New York. The reverses

in the field were not so dangerous to the cause of Independence as the want of discipline in the American troops. Their general was half-despairing, and exclaimed, "Are these the men I am to defend America with?" When the British entered New York, they were received by a large number of the inhabitants as deliverers from the plunder and oppression of the troops of the Congress. From the heights of Haarlem, about nine miles from New York, where Washington was some time encamped, he moved further up the country to White Plains. There was a serious skirmish between the two armies on the 28th of October; but Howe was deterred from following up the retiring enemy by the apparent strength of their lines. Washington was astonished that the British general did not attempt something. His own army was so disorganized and weakened by desertions that a vigorous attack might have annihilated his remnant of effective men. Fort Washington and Fort Lee, each situated on the bank of the Hudson, were captured by the British in the middle of November. They followed up their success by overrunning Jersey. Washington continued to retreat before Cornwallis. Lee, the general who had been directed to join him, was taken prisoner, through his own imprudence in lodging out of his camp.

The British generals now thought they had done enough for one campaign. They had an enemy to deal with who had the old English spirit of not knowing when he was beaten. There appeared no obstacle to the advance of the royal army to Philadelphia; and in that apprehension the Congress had dispersed to meet at Baltimore. But the passage of the Delaware had been rendered impracticable to the detachment under Cornwallis, for Washington had destroyed the boats on the river. Howe had directed that the men should go into winter cantonments, "the weather having become too severe to keep the field," as he wrote home on the 20th of December, expressing his confidence that, from the general submission of the country and the strength of the advanced posts, the troops would be in perfect security.* Washington had destroyed the boats by which the British might pass the Delaware; but the frost was setting in, and in a few days the British might pursue their way to Philadelphia over the frozen river. He had about five thousand men. On the evening of Christmas-day he embarked about half his forces on the Delaware; and continuing his passage through the night, impeded by floating ice, and struggling with snow-storms, he landed his men at Trenton at eight o'clock in the morning, surprised the outposts of the Hessians, and made the main body prisoners, with very slight loss on his own side. Washington went back to secure his prisoners; and again crossed the river, the outposts of the British being abandoned without a struggle by panic-stricken fugitives. Cornwallis, who had gone to New York, with the purpose of returning to England, hurried back with fresh troops, and collected those who had been posted on the Delaware. Washington, on the approach of Cornwallis, abandoned Trenton, and established himself in a strong position beyond the river Assanpink. It was not his purpose to hazard a general engagement. By a rapid and secret night march, whilst Cornwallis judged by the burning of the watch-fires that the enemy was before him, Washington was far away in the rear of the British, and reached Princetown on his road to Brunswick. Here he

* "Correspondence of Cornwallis," vol. i. p. 25.

encountered three British regiments and three troops of light horse marching to join Cornwallis. The 17th regiment cut its way through the American columns; the 40th and 55th were driven back to Brunswick, with the loss of three hundred prisoners. Washington was unable to follow up his advantage, for his men were exhausted by fatigue and hunger. He took up a position on the hills; and his well-timed success brought him large reinforcements, with which he held Jersey, which a month before was in the possession of the British. Washington's second campaign, although marked by great reverses—some of which the candid soldier attributed to his own inexperience—must have shown the British commanders that they were opposed by no common man; that in courage, endurance, and vigilance, this gentleman of Virginia was equalled by few whose military training had been more regular and complete. It was clear that Congress had found the right man for command. It was more than probable that if there had been no such man the event of the war would have been very different.

When lord Howe arrived off New York in July, he addressed a kind letter to Dr. Franklin as "his worthy friend," to inform him that he was sent on a mission which would be explained by the official dispatches that he forwarded at the same time. Franklin replied in a like spirit of former friendship; but said, as the dispatches only showed that lord Howe was to offer pardon upon submission, he was sure it must give his lordship pain to be sent so far upon so hopeless a business.* In September, lord Howe arranged with general Sullivan, a prisoner of war, to proceed to Congress upon his parole, to inform them that although he could not treat with that Assembly as a body, he was desirous of having a conference with some of the members. Franklin, with John Adams and Edward Rutledge, had accordingly a meeting with lord Howe; but the conference was quickly broken off when the British Commissioner was informed that the United Colonies could only treat for peace as free and independent States. Franklin was now dispatched upon a more hopeful negotiation. He was to join Silas Deane in Paris; and these two, with Arthur Lee, were appointed as Commissioners to take charge of the American affairs in Europe, and to endeavour to procure a treaty of alliance with the court of France. At the beginning of November Franklin left America. On the 8th of December he had landed in France, and wrote from Nantes to the President of Congress. He says, "I understand that Mr. Lee has lately been at Paris, that Mr. Deane is still there, and that an underhand supply is obtained from the government of two hundred brass field-pieces, thirty thousand firelocks, and some other military stores, which are now shipping for America, and will be conveyed by a ship of war."† From this period the French government is to be traced in many other "underhand" proceedings, hostile to England. On the 31st of October, in the debate on the Address at the opening of the Session, lord North and lord George Germaine expressed their reliance on the assurances of the pacific intentions of France. Franklin and Lee, early in January, saw the count de Vergennes, the French minister for foreign affairs, who received their memorial; and told them that the French and Spanish courts would act in perfect concert.

* These Letters are in the "Annual Register" for 1777.
† Franklin's Works, vol. viii. p. 191.

"Their fleets," Franklin writes, "are said to be in fine order, manned and fit for sea. The cry of this nation is for us; but the court, it is thought, views an approaching war with reluctance." Franklin, in Paris, was in a singular position to form a just estimate of "the cry of this nation." He writes to a lady in England, "Figure to yourself an old man, with gray hair appearing under a martin-fur cap, among the powdered heads of Paris." He looked with wonder upon the ladies at a ball in Nantes, with head-dresses five lengths of the face above the top of the forehead. At court the mode was less extravagant: "We dined at the duke de Rochefoucauld's, where there were three duchesses and a countess, and no heads higher than a face and a half."* Schlosser, a German historian, has described Franklin's appearance in the Paris salons: "The admiration of Franklin, carried to a degree approaching folly, produced a remarkable effect on the fashionable circles of Paris. His dress, the simplicity of his external appearance, the friendly meekness of the old man, and the apparent humility of the Quaker, procured for freedom a mass of votaries among the court circles, who used to be alarmed at its coarseness and unsophisticated truths."† During several years, when he resided at Passy, a village about three miles from Paris, the shrewd old man in the fur cap was a constant visitor in the highest society. To his exertions is to be chiefly attributed the eagerness with which the aristocracy embraced those vague notions of freedom which, misunderstood and exaggerated, were to become their own destruction.

In the letters of Franklin there is no allusion to a very remarkable series of occurrences in England in which his coadjutor, Mr. Silas Deane, was asserted to have been mixed up in a manner disgraceful to his character. On the 7th of December, 1776, the rope-house of the dockyard at Portsmouth was burnt down. With difficulty the flames were prevented from reaching other buildings. The fire was considered accidental, until, on the 15th of January, 1777, a quantity of combustibles were found in the hemp-house of the same yard. About this period an incendiary attempt was also made upon the docks at Plymouth, and then some warehouses were set on fire upon the quay at Bristol, with an evident design to burn the shipping lying alongside. Suspicion at length fell upon a man who had been seen lurking about the dockyard at Portsmouth, on the day of the fire, who was known to some persons as John the Painter. He was apprehended at Odiham early in February; and having been induced to confide in another painter, who was permitted to visit him, he at length revealed to his supposed friend the transactions in which he had been engaged. The incendiary's real name was Aitken; his native place Edinburgh; he had been in America three years, and had returned from France a short time before these fires broke out. In March he was brought to trial at the Winchester Assizes, and then, to his surprise, his confidential friend came forward as evidence against him. This suspicious testimony was, however, confirmed by a variety of circumstances proved by other witnesses; and John the Painter paid the penalty of his crimes. His own confession, of which the following is the substance, removed every possible doubt of his guilt. After his return from America he followed

* "Works," vol. viii. p. 195 and 197.
† Quoted in "Life of Steuben," p. 89. New York, 1859.

the trade of a painter at Birmingham, and also at Titchfield, in Hampshire. Here he conceived the first idea of setting fire to the dockyards. He went to France, and applied to Mr. Silas Deane, who told him, when the work was done, he should be rewarded. On his return to England, and after setting fire to the rope-yard at Portsmouth, he went to London, and waited on Dr. Bancroft, to whom he had a verbal recommendation from Mr. Deane; but the doctor gave him no countenance. He afterwards wrote to Bancroft, and the day following met him at the Salopian coffee-house, and told him he would do all the prejudice he could to this kingdom; but the doctor not approving of his conduct, he took his leave, hoping that the doctor would not inform against him, to which the doctor said, he did not like to inform against any man. At Plymouth, he twice attempted to set fire to the dockyard, and twice reached the top of the wall for that purpose; but the watchman being within hearing, he desisted. He then went to Bristol, where he attempted to set fire to the shipping in the harbour, and afterwards set fire to a warehouse in Quay-lane. These details are given in the Annual Register for 1777, so that Silas Deane had ample opportunity to deny the charges under which he laboured. Dr. Bancroft, an American by birth, was settled as a physician in London, and was favourably known as a man of science and an author. Silas Deane was instructed by the Committee of Secret Correspondence of Congress to communicate with Dr. Bancroft, who could give him a good deal of information about what was going on in England. He saw Deane in Paris, where he remained several months. "He then returned to London," says Mr. Jared Sparks, "and being attached to the interests of the United States, he rendered some valuable assistance to the American agents and ministers in Europe."*

Great Britain, at this period, was ill-prepared for a naval war. Her system of manning the navy was as inefficient as it was disgraceful to a country calling itself free. And yet, like many other evil things, it was long held essential to the safety of the nation. On the 11th of March, Mr. Temple Luttrell proposed to the House of Commons a measure for the more easy and effectual manning of the navy. In describing the horrors of impressment, he showed the tumults, fear, and confusion which arose in every town and village within ten or twelve miles of a press-gang. In Yorkshire the labourers were so terrified by a press-gang at Tadcaster, that they fled from their work like a covey of partridges. In the West of England the fishermen had deserted the coasts, and their families were reduced to poverty. Seamen had been drowned in attempting to swim from their ships to the shore, or were shot by the sentinels. Some committed suicide; some mutilated themselves. In the impress-tenders, where captive seamen were thrust together, fevers and other contagious diseases broke out. The guard-ship at the Nore was a seminary of contagion to the whole fleet. The inefficiency of the system was shown to be as palpable as its cruelty. In 1770, during five months when press warrants were in execution through the kingdom, only eight thousand persons could be added to the navy, although the refuse of the jails, and the outcasts of every town and hamlet, were of the number. The motion was of course negatived by a large majority. Any system of

* Franklin's Works, vol. viii. Note on p. 266.

rational expenditure for the defence of the country was constantly opposed by the jobbers in parliament. A plan of registry for seamen, and of bounties for enlistment, was rejected for that plan of brute force which was far more costly, and made the naval service so hateful that not a ship of the line in commission was properly manned. "You have a goodly show of pendants and streamers waving at Spithead," said Mr. Luttrell, "but so far are they from being formidable, as their appearance bespeaks, that your ships hardly ride secure against the equinoctial gales of the present season, much less are they in any condition to put to sea, and bid defiance to an enemy."* The coast defences were so neglected as to leave England equally exposed to attack. Marshal Conway writes in 1774: "The most important places in the English dominions are either left quite defenceless, or such scanty provision made, from the horror of expense, as will neither give security to the objects concerned, nor do honour to those who have the conduct of the works. I speak feelingly, when I consider that even Portsmouth is in this case."† Looking back upon many such instances of the neglect of the commonest means of national preservation, we can scarcely regard our country in any other light than as an energetic man, who, by the inherent vigour of his constitution, has survived the cruelty and folly of the silly nurses of his childhood, of the ignorant quacks who were the torment of his youth, and of the venal guardians who starved him in his adult age.

On the 28th of May, lord Camden acquainted the House of Lords that the earl of Chatham intended to move the consideration of the American war on the 30th. Two years had elapsed since Chatham had made his appearance in public. These were days of suffering and solitude. On the 17th of November, 1776, lady Chatham transmitted to Dr. Addington, "a Memorandum of that declaration concerning America which, from his confidence in your experienced friendship, he reposed, last July, in your breast." ‡ The memorandum, "expressed with due precision, and in the exact terms," in the hand-writing of lady Chatham, is a document of singular interest. It set forth, "That he continued in the same sentiments, with regard to America, which he had always professed, and which stand so fully explained in the Provisional Act offered by him to the House of Lords. Confiding in the friendship of Dr. Addington, he requested of him to preserve this in memory; that in case he should not recover from the long illness under which he laboured, the doctor might be enabled to do him justice, by bearing testimony that he persevered unshaken in the same opinions. To this he added, that unless effectual measures were speedily taken for reconciliation with the colonies, he was fully persuaded that, in a very few years, France will set her foot on English ground. That, in the present moment, her policy may probably be to wait some time, in order to see England more deeply engaged in this ruinous war, against herself, in America, as well as to prove how far the Americans, abetted by France indirectly only, may be able to make a stand, before she takes an open part by declaring war upon England." The great statesman did recover for a short period. The sensation his appearance produced is forcibly described in the speech of

* "Parliamentary Debates," vol. xix. col. 89.
† Unpublished Collection of Letters.
‡ "Chatham Correspondence," vol. iv. p. 423.

the duke of Grafton on that occasion. After Chatham had spoken, the duke congratulated the House and the nation upon the evidence that the people retained a grateful sense of the high obligation they owed to the great man who had returned to his duty in parliament. The space before the bar, he said, was filled by gentlemen of all parties; the avenues of the house were so crowded as not to leave room for the peers to come to their seats. Swathed in flannel, and tottering on his crutch, Chatham had passed through this admiring crowd, and not a sound was heard as that melodious voice, a little enfeebled, again charmed every listener. His speech is imperfectly reported; but a few passages show how the pristine vigour of his intellect survived his bodily infirmities: "America has carried you through four wars, and will now carry you to your death, if you don't take things in time. In the sportsman's phrase, when you have found yourselves at fault, you must try back. You have ransacked every corner of Lower Saxony; but forty thousand German boors never can conquer ten times the number of British freemen. You may ravage—you can not conquer; it is impossible: you can not conquer the Americans. You talk, my lords, of your numerous friends among them to annihilate the Congress, and of your powerful forces to disperse their army. I might as well talk of driving them before me with this crutch! . . . . You have been three years teaching them the art of war; they are apt scholars; and I will venture to tell your lordships that the American gentry will make officers enough, fit to command the troops of all the European powers. What you have sent there are too many to make peace—too few to make war. If you conquer them, what then? You cannot make them respect you; you cannot make them wear your cloth; you will plant an invincible hatred in their breasts against you. Coming from the stock they do, they can never respect you." The motion of Chatham was for an humble Address to the king, to advise his majesty to take the most speedy and effectual measures for putting a stop to such fatal hostilities. The motion was lost by a majority of 76 against 26. The king wrote this note the next day to lord North:—"Lord Chatham's motion can have no other use but to convey some fresh fuel to the rebels. Like most of the other productions of that most extraordinary brain, it contains nothing but specious words and malevolence."

Lord Chatham, in his declaration to his physician, conjectured rightly that France would abet the Americans indirectly only till they were able to make a stand; after which she would declare open war against England. In May, 1777, Von Steuben, who had been aide-de-camp to Frederick of Prussia, went to Paris; and had various interviews with the count de St. Germain, secretary-at-war, and with the count de Vergennes, the minister of foreign affairs. The German was sent for by St. Germain, who, spreading a map upon the the table, and pointing to America, said "Here is your field of battle; here is a republic which you must serve." Steuben was told that the Congress and the commander-in-chief wanted an officer of military experience, who would bring their army into a regular and permanent formation. He was referred to Beaumarchais, the author of Figaro, who made him acquainted with Silas Deane, and Deane introduced him to Franklin. The wary American would make no promises about money payments; but talked about presenting him with two thousand acres of land. Steuben did not relish

the prospect of these distant advantages, and went away to Germany. But he was persuaded to return to Paris, and finally determined to cross the Atlantic as a volunteer. Vergennes said to him, "You know very well it is impossible for us to make conditions with you. I can only say, Go, succeed, and you will never regret the step you have taken." The French ministers suggested to him that he should pretend to the Americans that he had been a major-general in the service of the margrave of Baden, which imposing title, says his biographer, "secured to Steuben the right place in the American army." With letters to Franklin, the self-created major-general sailed to America in September, in a ship freighted with materials of war by Beaumarchais, who lent the volunteer money to start with. Two remarkable men engaged the same year in the American cause — La Fayette, and Kosciusko. La Fayette, one of the noble subalterns of the French army, was secured before he became of age, by the promise given to him by Silas Deane that he should have the commission of a major-general in the army of the United States. Franklin gave Kosciusko a letter to Washington, describing him as "a man of experience in military affairs and of tried bravery; who had lost his family and estate in Poland by fighting there in the cause of liberty, and wishes, by engaging in the same cause, to find a new country and new friends in America."* But the old man of Passy was harassed out of his wonted equanimity by incessant applications to recommend officers for the American service. He says, in answer to an application of this nature, "I am afraid to accept an invitation to dine abroad, being almost sure of meeting with some officer, or officer's friend, who, as soon as I am put in good humour by a glass or two of champagne, begins his attack upon me."

La Fayette.

The British under the command of Howe, and the Americans under

* "Works," vol. viii. p. 221.

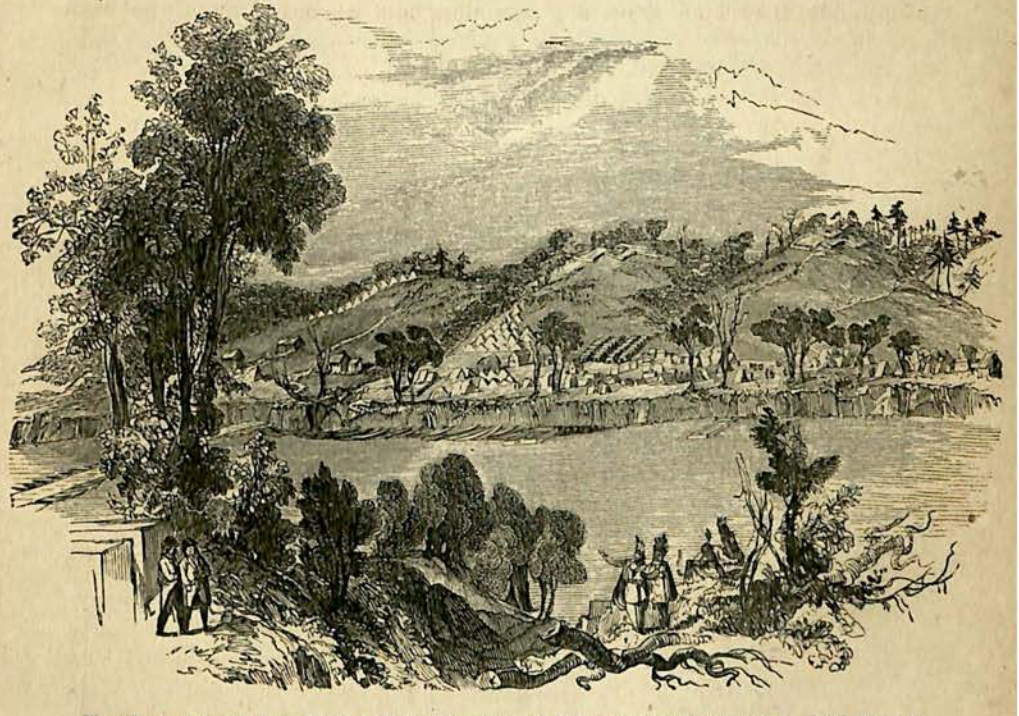
Washington, were engaged till the middle of June in watching and checking the movements of each other. After several indecisive encounters, Howe, at the beginning of July, evacuated Jersey; and leaving a part of his force at New York, embarked with a large body of infantry, and two battalions of cavalry, with the intent to reach Philadelphia by sea. Washington was at first perplexed by this sudden change of plan; and thought Howe's conduct "puzzling and embarrassing beyond measure." His first notion was that Howe would endeavour to form a junction with Burgoyne, who was preparing to enter the States from Canada; but he was at last convinced that the British general's object was Philadelphia. To reach this city Howe had employed many weeks in sailing round a great extent of coast, before he entered the Chesapeak. When he had landed his troops at the head of the Elk river he was as far from Philadelphia as if he had remained in his position on the Delaware. Washington marched to oppose him. On the 11th of September lord Cornwallis, with a strong detachment, was sent forward; and on the 13th encountered the American army on the Brandywine, a stream which flows into the Delaware. The Americans were routed with considerable loss; and on the 27th Cornwallis was in the occupation of Philadelphia. There were several smaller actions, especially that of Germantown, before the winter set in; but Washington could not be brought to a general engagement. He went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, a strong position on the banks of the Schuylkill, with an army not exceeding four thousand men, who were

Philadelphia.

wretchedly lodged. In the comfortable quarters of Philadelphia the British indulged in excesses by which all discipline was relaxed, and the sober inhabit-

ants so disgusted that the feelings of loyalty which many cherished were quickly destroyed. The success at the battle of Brandywine, and the possession of Philadelphia, were advantages that offered no compensation for a terrible blow to the royal cause in another quarter.

It had been determined to invade the United States from Canada, with an army of seven thousand troops, British and German, under general Burgoyne. Indians were engaged as auxiliaries; and a co-operation with general Clinton's forces from New York was expected. At the end of June Burgoyne marched. His first exploit was the re-capture of Ticonderoga. He next secured Fort Edward, which the Americans abandoned on his approach. Before he accomplished this last success, he had to encounter the most formidable interruptions to his march, from the nature of the country, and the artificial obstacles which the enemy had created. There were no adequate supplies to be obtained as they proceeded; and the army depended upon salt provisions brought by the lakes from Canada. The Indians who had joined Burgoyne committed atrocities without rendering any effectual aid; and their employment by the British provoked a determined resistance in the New England States. To encounter invaders, whose cruelties were proclaimed with violent exaggerations throughout every town and hamlet, a large irregular army was speedily collected. The command



West Bank of the Hudson River, with the Encampment of General Burgoyne's Army. Sept. 20, 1777.

was given to general Gates and to general Arnold. Burgoyne too soon found the enormous difficulties of his enterprise. "In all parts," he wrote home,

"the industry and management in driving cattle, and removing corn, are indefatigable and certain." He could obtain no intelligence of general Howe. With stores for thirty days, which he had collected during a month, he crossed the Hudson to Saratoga. The army of Gates was encamped on a range of hills called Behmus's Heights. On the 19th of September a battle was fought, in which the victory of the British secured no real advantage, for the Americans retired to their lines. The two armies continued in front of each other till the 7th of October. The stores of Burgoyne were rapidly diminishing; and on that day he sent out a detachment of fifteen hundred men for the purpose of covering a foraging party. Arnold attacked them, and compelled a retreat, with a loss of six cannon. He then assaulted Burgoyne's lines; and was repulsed where the British occupied them, but succeeded in forcing the entrenchments defended by a German reserve. The royal army quitted their encampment in the night, and sought a safer position on some higher ground. The next day Burgoyné saw the necessity of retreating to Saratoga, leaving his sick and wounded behind him. He was now encompassed with enemies on every side; and, worst of all, his provisions were nearly exhausted, though for some days the troops had been upon short rations. Three thousand five hundred men were all that remained. The general called a council of war; and it was determined to treat with the enemy. A message was sent to the American head-quarters with a flag of truce. The answer of general Gates was, that as the army of general Burgoyne was reduced in force, their provisions exhausted, their horses and baggage taken or destroyed, their retreat cut off, their camp invested, they could only be allowed to surrender as prisoners of war, and were required to ground their arms within their lines. The unanimous resolve in the British camp was to reject the terms. It was finally agreed that the army should march out of the camp with the honours of war, and pile their arms at the command of their own officers; that a free passage should be granted to Great Britain, upon the condition that the troops should not serve again in North America during the war. On the 17th of October the Convention was signed; and the small and disheartened army received a supply of fresh provisions, and commenced their march to Massachusetts. The conduct of the American army towards the vanquished was marked by the utmost delicacy and consideration. The conduct of the Congress was very different. They refused to permit the embarkation of Burgoyne and his men from Boston till the court of Great Britain had ratified the Convention; and under various pretences the British were detained for so long a period as to justify the indignation of contemporary statesmen and of future historians, against this signal instance of bad faith on the part of the American government.

The Session of Parliament was opened on the 18th of November. There was no change in the tone of the royal speech. The "obstinacy of the rebels —a deluded and unhappy multitude—called for a steady pursuit of measures for the re-establishment of constitutional subordination." It was known that Chatham, greatly restored in health, intended to move an amendment upon the Address. By general consent, the great orator, in all the fire of his youth and all the majesty of his maturity, never exceeded this almost last effort of his genius. The duke of Grafton says, "in this debate he exceeded all that I had ever admired in his speaking." This speech was admirably

reported by Hugh Boyd, and thus, taken altogether, gives the most correct idea of Chatham's peculiar powers. He set forth the encouragement which France was giving to the ministers and ambassadors of those who are called rebels. "Can there be a more mortifying insult? Can even our ministers sustain a more humiliating disgrace? Do they dare to resent it?" He foreshadowed the fatal event of Saratoga. "My lords, you can not conquer America. What is your present situation there? We do not know the worst; but we know that in three campaigns we have done nothing and suffered much. Besides the sufferings, perhaps total loss of the Northern force, the best appointed army that ever took the field, commanded by sir William Howe, has retired from the American lines. . . . As to conquest, therefore, my lords, I repeat, it is impossible. You may swell every expense and every effort still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every pitiful little German prince that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign prince; your efforts are for ever vain and impotent—doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates, to an incurable resentment, the minds of your enemies, to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never—never—never." He then exclaimed, Who is the man who has dared to authorize and associate to our arms the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage? and dwelt on this stain on the national character. Though the orator was indignant at the manner in which the war was carried on, the statesman did not give his approval to the object which the Americans now proposed to themselves. "The independent views of America have been stated and asserted as the foundation of this address. My lords, no man wishes for the due dependence of America on this country more than I do. To preserve it, and not confirm that state of independence into which your measures hitherto have driven them, is the object which we ought to unite in attaining. The Americans, contending for their rights against arbitrary exactions, I love and admire. It is the struggle of free and virtuous patriots. But, contending for independency and total disconnection from England, as an Englishman, I can not wish them success; for in a due constitutional dependency, including the ancient supremacy of this country in regulating their commerce and navigation, consists the mutual happiness and prosperity both of England and America."

Chatham having moved his amendment to the Address, lord Sandwich replied, and was succeeded by lord Suffolk, one of the Secretaries of State. One passage of his lordship's speech was as follows: "The noble earl, with all that force of oratory for which he is so conspicuous, has charged administration as if guilty of the most heinous crimes, in employing Indians in general Burgoyne's army; for my part, whether foreigners or Indians, which the noble lord has described by the appellation of savages, I shall ever think it justifiable to exert every means in our power to repel the attempts of our rebellious subjects. The Congress endeavoured to bring the Indians over to their side, and if we had not employed them, they would most certainly have acted against us; and I do freely confess, I think it was both a wise and

necessary measure, as I am clearly of opinion, that we are fully justified in using every means which God and Nature has put into our hands." The duke of Grafton thus describes the reply of Chatham to this position: "He stood up with a degree of indignation that added to the force of the sudden and unexampled burst of eloquence which must have affected any audience, and which appeared to me to surpass all that we have ever heard of the celebrated orators of Greece or Rome." Having denounced the horrible notion of attributing the sanction of God and Nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife, he thus proceeded: "These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand the most decisive indignation. I call upon that right reverend bench, those holy ministers of the Gospel, and pious pastors of our Church—I conjure them to join in the holy work, and vindicate the religion of their God. I appeal to the wisdom and the law of this learned bench, to defend and support the justice of their country. I call upon the Bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn; upon the learned Judges to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution. I call upon the honour of your lordships, to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own. I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country, to vindicate the national character. I invoke the genius of the Constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble lord frowns with indignation at the disgrace of his country. In vain he led your victorious fleets against the boasted Armada of Spain; in vain he defended and established the honour, the liberties, the religion—the Protestant religion—of this country, against the arbitrary cruelties of popery and the Inquisition, if these more than popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are let loose among us—to turn forth into our settlements, among our ancient connections, friends, and relations, the merciless cannibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child! to send forth the infidel savage—against whom? against your Protestant brethren; to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war—hell-hounds, I say, of savage war! Spain armed herself with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of America, and we improve on the inhuman example even of Spanish cruelty; we turn loose these savage hell-hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion, endeared to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity." . . . . . "My lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head on my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such preposterous and enormous principles."

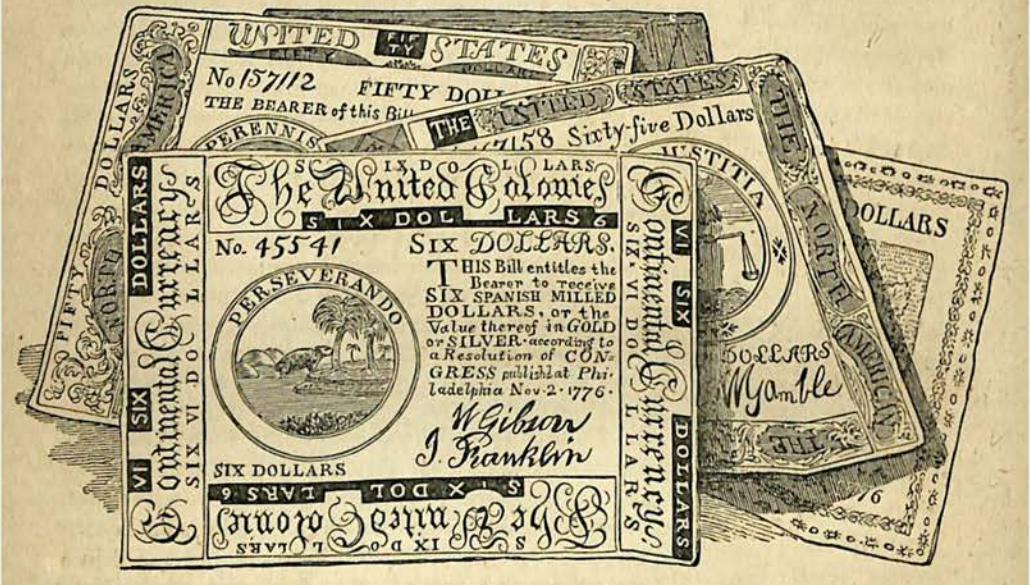
On the 3rd of December, colonel Barré, having called upon lord George Germaine "to declare, upon his honour, what was become of general Burgoyne and his brave troops," he admitted that he had received a piece of very disastrous intelligence from Quebec. Furious was the indignation against the ministry. Charles Fox declared that an army of ten thousand men, destroyed through the obstinate wilful ignorance and incapacity of the noble lord, called loudly for vengeance. A gallant general was sent like a victim to be slaughtered. He was ordered to make his way to Albany, to wait the

orders of sir William Howe; but general Howe knew nothing of the matter, for he was gone to a different country, and left the unhappy Burgoyne and his troops to make the best terms for themselves. Fox moved for copies of instructions to Burgoyne, which motion was negatived.

Washington's position in his winter quarters of Valley Forge was such as to demand the utmost exercise of his energy and fortitude. His commissariat department was in a frightful state of incapacity. He wrote to Congress on the 23rd of December, "Unless some great and capital change suddenly takes place in that line, this army must inevitably be reduced to one or other of these three things—starve, dissolve, or disperse, in order to obtain subsistence in the best manner they can." In answer to some presumptuous remarks of members of Congress, reprobating his going into winter quarters, he says, "I can assure these gentlemen that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow, without clothes or blankets." Steuben arrived in Washington's camp at this period of suffering. He found the military administration entrusted to departments having separate powers—quartermaster-general, war-commissary, provisions'-commissary, commissary of the treasury, paymaster of forage,—"bad copies of a bad original,—that is to say, they had imitated the English administration, which is certainly the most imperfect in Europe. . . . . The English system, bad as it is, had already taken root. Each company and quarter-master had a commission of so much per cent. on all the money he expended. It was natural, therefore, that expense was not spared." * In the condition of the troops he found disorder and confusion supreme. The men were only engaged for three, six, or nine months, so that it was impossible to have a regiment or a company complete. "I have seen a regiment consisting of thirty men, and a company of one corporal." A general would have thought himself lucky to find a third of the men ready for action whom he found upon paper. "The arms at Valley Forge were in a horrible condition, covered with rust, half of them without bayonets, many from which a single shot could not be fired." The men were literally naked. Officers mounted guard in a sort of dressing-gown made of an old blanket. The formation of the regiments was as varied as their mode of drill, which only consisted of the manual exercise, each colonel having a system of his own. They could only march in files, after the manner of the Indians. Such, according to Steuben, was the condition of an army that was to resist the regularly disciplined troops of England, provided with necessaries of war at an unbounded expense. It may be instructive to see how the Prussian officer set about bringing this irregular force into something like military order, with the sanction of Washington. He drafted a hundred and twenty men from the line, as a guard for the chief-in-command. He drilled them himself twice a day. "In a fortnight my company knew perfectly how to bear arms, had a military air, knew how to march, deploy, and execute some little manœuvres with excellent precision." In the course of instruction he departed altogether from the general rule. "In our European armies a man who has been drilled for three

* "Steuben's Life," p. 114—Extracts rom his MS. papers.

months is called a recruit; here, in two months, I must have a soldier. In Europe, we had a number of evolutions very pretty to look at when well executed, but in my opinion absolutely useless so far as essential objects are concerned." He reversed the whole system of eternal manual and platoon exercises, and commenced with manœuvres. He soon taught them something better than the pedantic routine which was taught in manuals of tactics. To the objectors against Steuben's system it was answered, "that in fact there was no time to spare in learning the minutiæ—the troops must be prepared for instant combat." The sagacious German had his men at drill every morning at sunrise; and he soon made the colonels of regiments not ashamed of instructing their recruits.



American Paper Dollars.

Monument to Chatham in Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER XXV.

Public opinion on the American War—Measures of conciliation proposed by lord North—France concludes a treaty of amity with America—Chatham's last speech in Parliament—His sudden illness in the House of Lords—His death—Propositions of lord North rejected by Congress—French fleet under d'Estaing arrives in America—Attack on Rhode Island impeded by fleet under lord Howe—Admiral Keppel takes the command of the Channel Fleet—Engagement off Ushant—Court-martial on Keppel—Burgoyne's defence of himself in Parliament—Destruction of Wyoming—Spain declares war against Great Britain—Apprehensions of invasion—The national spirit roused—Enterprises of Paul Jones—Military operations in America in 1779.

THE voice of Edmund Burke was rarely heard in parliament on the subject of America during the two Sessions of 1777. In his remarkable "Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol," he says: "It is some time since I have been clearly convinced, that in the present state of things, all opposition to any measures proposed by ministers, where the name of America appears, is vain and frivolous. . . . . Everything proposed against America is supposed, of course, to be in favour of Great Britain. Good and ill success are equally admitted as reasons for persevering in the present method. Several very prudent, and very well-intentioned, persons were of opinion, that, during the

prevalence of such dispositions, all struggle rather inflamed than lessened the distemper of the public counsels. Finding such resistance to be considered as factious by most within doors, and by very many without, I cannot conscientiously support what is against my opinion, nor prudently contend with what I know is irresistible." The tone of this letter sufficiently indicates the conviction of one who sagaciously watched the course of public opinion, that the contest with America had reached such a stage, that those who continued to advocate principles of conciliation were not supported by the majority of the British nation. Burke saw the injury that the prevailing sentiment was producing upon the national character: "Liberty is in danger of being made unpopular to Englishmen. Contending for an imaginary power, we begin to acquire the spirit of domination, and to lose the relish of honest equality. The principles of our forefathers become suspected to us, because we see them animating the present opposition of our children." At the commencement of the war this state of public opinion was wholly irrational and almost base. In 1776, the American Declaration of Independence turned aside many friends of pacific measures, to regard the conflict as one which it became the dignity of Great Britain to carry on to a successful assertion of national rights. But in 1778, when France was ostensibly preparing to support the cause of the revolted colonies, there could be little doubt that the advocates for recognizing the claim to independence, thus enforced by a power systematically hostile to British interests, would form a very inconsiderable portion of the people;—that continued opposition to the government upon this question would be "considered factious by most within doors, and by very many without."

At the beginning of 1778 Manchester and Liverpool came forward in a marked display of loyalty. Each community offered to raise a regiment of a thousand men at their own expense. Edinburgh, Glasgow, and parts of the Highlands, exhibited a similar spirit. Large subscriptions were provided in London for raising men for his majesty's service. These proceedings took place during the recess; and when the Houses met in January, strong objections were taken to what was held to be the unconstitutional measure of levying troops by private subscription without the consent of parliament. Lord North rejoiced in the manifestation of public spirit, which he regarded as a tribute to the conduct of the administration. But the prime minister, whilst thus exulting that "a very loyal part of his majesty's subjects had expressed their abhorrence of an unnatural rebellion," was about to depart very widely from the principle on which the contest had been hitherto conducted. On the 17th of February lord North brought in two Bills,—the first of which was entitled, "For removing all doubts and apprehensions concerning Taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain in any of the Colonies." This was a complete and utter renunciation of the right of Great Britain to impose any tax upon the American Colonies, except only such duties as it might be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce, the net produce of which was always to be applied to the use of the Colony in which the duties were levied. The second Bill was to enable the king to appoint commissioners with ample powers to treat upon the means of quieting the disorders in America; and they were authorized to treat and agree with any body or bodies politic; or any person or persons whatsoever. The commissioners were thus empowered

to treat with the Congress as if it were a legal body, and as if its acts and concessions would bind all America. The Congress, said lord North, had raised a difficulty with the former commission, on pretence of the non-admission of their title to independent States. "As the Americans might claim their independence in the outset, he would not insist on their renouncing it till the treaty should receive its final ratification by the king and parliament of Great Britain." The minister, in recapitulating the circumstances of this unhappy contest, from the period of the Stamp Act, maintained that, from the beginning, he had been uniformly disposed to peace. In the historical part of the Annual Register, written no doubt by Burke, the temper of the House is thus recorded: "A dull melancholy silence for some time succeeded to this speech. It had been heard with profound attention, but without a single mark of approbation to any part, from any description of men, or any particular man, in the House. Astonishment, dejection, and fear, over-clouded the whole assembly. Although the minister had declared, that the sentiments he expressed that day had been those which he always entertained, it is certain, that few or none had understood him in that manner; and he had been represented to the nation at large, as the person in it most tenacious of those parliamentary rights which he now proposed to resign, and the most remote from the submissions which he now proposed to make. It was generally therefore concluded, that something more extraordinary and alarming had happened than yet appeared, which was of force to produce such an apparent change in measures, principles, and arguments."

The "something more extraordinary and alarming than yet appeared," was soon to be manifested. On the 17th of March, a royal message was presented to both Houses, stating that his majesty had been informed, by order of the French king, "that a treaty of amity and commerce had been signed between the court of France and certain persons employed by his majesty's revolted subjects in North America;" and that in consequence of this offensive communication the king had sent orders to his ambassador to withdraw from the French court. The communication was made to the British secretary-of-state, by the French ambassador in London, on the 13th of March. On the 14th, lord North earnestly pressed the king to accept his resignation, and to send for lord Chatham. The letters of the king sufficiently manifest the strong aversion which his majesty had taken to the statesman who, in this crisis of his country's fate, was looked up to as the only Englishman who was likely to conciliate America whilst he alarmed France. The king, on the 15th of March, declared that he did not object to lord North applying to lord Chatham to support his administration; but adding, "that no advantage to my country, nor personal danger to myself, can make me address myself to lord Chatham or to any other branch of opposition. Honestly, I would rather lose the crown I now wear than bear the ignominy of possessing it under their shackles." In another letter of the same day he says, "I don't expect that lord Chatham and his crew will come to your assistance." Lord North continuing to press for a more complete change of ministers than the king contemplated, the correspondence continued for several days in the same determined exhibition of the sovereign's implacability. Chatham he terms "that perfidious man." He would not have him, "as Dictator, planning a new administration." Lord North at length consented to go on as the head

of a ministry till the Session of Parliament was closed. A few official changes were made, the most important of which was the appointment of the Attorney-General, Thurlow, to be Lord Chancellor. The national feeling, with regard to Chatham, was expressed in a letter to lady Chatham, by Thomas Coutts, the eminent banker. He said that lord Chatham's health "becomes every day more interesting, in the present desponding state of the people. Every rank looks up to him, with the only gleam of hope that remains." In a few weeks a higher power than courts or senates decided that Chatham should be at rest—indifferent to the hatred of a king, or the veneration of a people.

The duke of Richmond had given notice in the House of Lords of a motion which he intended to make on the 7th of April, "for an address to the king upon the state of the nation." On the 5th the duke sent to lord Chatham the draft of his proposed Address; which Chatham returned the next day, expressing his concern "to find himself under so wide a difference with the duke of Richmond, as between the sovereignty and allegiance of America."* Chatham was slowly recovering from a fit of the gout; but he determined to go to town from Hayes, and take his place in Parliament. Lord Camden, in a letter to the duke of Grafton, describing the closing scene of the great earl's public life, says, "he was not in a condition to go abroad; and he was earnestly requested not to make the attempt." Camden saw him in the Prince's Chamber before he went into the House; and remarked "the feeble state of his body, and the distempered agitation of his mind." An eye-witness has recorded his appearance. "Lord Chatham came into the House of Lords, leaning upon two friends, lapped up in flannel, pale, and emaciated. Within his large wig, little more was to be seen than his aquiline nose and his penetrating eye. He looked like a dying man; yet never was seen a figure of more dignity."† The two friends were his son, William Pitt, and lord Mahon, his son-in-law. The duke of Richmond had made his motion for an Address. Viscount Weymouth had opposed the motion. The earl of Chatham, continues the narrative of the eye-witness, "rose from his seat with slowness and difficulty, leaning on his crutches, and supported under each arm by his two friends. He took one hand from his crutch, and raised it, casting his eyes towards heaven, and said, 'I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day, to perform my duty, and to speak on a subject which has so deeply impressed my mind. I am old, and infirm—have one foot, more than one foot, in the grave—I am risen from my bed, to stand up in the cause of my country, perhaps never again to speak in this House.'" He rejoiced that he was still able to lift up his voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy. "My Lords, his majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions? Shall this great kingdom, which has survived whole and entire the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, and the Norman conquest—that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish armada—now fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon? Surely, my lords, this nation is no longer what it was.

* "Chatham Correspondence," vol. iv. p. 518.
† "Seward's Anecdotes," vol. ii. p. 383. Fifth edit.

Shall a people that, fifteen years ago, was the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell its ancient inveterate enemy, Take all we have, only give us peace?" Lord Camden describes the words of Chatham as "shreds of unconnected eloquence, and flashes of the same fire which he, Prometheus-like, had stolen from heaven; and were then returning to the place from whence they were taken." That withering sarcasm which occasionally found its place in his impassioned harangues, was not absent in this last effort. Speaking of the probability of invasion, he said, "Of a Spanish invasion, of a French invasion, of a Dutch invasion, many noble lords may have read in history; and some lords may perhaps remember a Scotch invasion." He looked at lord Mansfield. The duke of Richmond replied; and then Chatham made an effort again to address the House. "He fell back upon his seat," writes Camden, "and was to all appearance in the agonies of death. This threw the whole House into confusion. Every person was upon his legs in a

Chatham's fit in the House of Lords.

moment, hurrying from one place to another, some sending for assistance, others producing salts, and others reviving spirits; many crowding about the earl to observe his countenance; all affected; most part really concerned; and even those who might have felt a secret pleasure at the accident yet put on the appearance of distress, except only the earl of M., who sat still, almost as much unmoved as the senseless body itself." There was one who, though "born and bred a Briton," felt no regret that one of the noblest vindicators of Britain's honour had, in all human probability, concluded his

eventful career. The king the next day wrote to lord North, "May not the political exit of lord Chatham incline you to continue at the head of affairs?" The political exit was quickly followed by the close of the "last scene of all." Chatham died at Hayes on the 11th of May. On the day after his decease, the House of Commons unanimously resolved to honour his memory by a public funeral and a public monument. The king was "rather surprised," he said in a note to lord North, at such a testimony; but trusted it would be merely an expression of gratitude for Chatham's having roused the nation at the beginning of the late war, and his conduct as Secretary of State. "This compliment, if paid to his general conduct," added his majesty, "is rather an offensive measure to me personally." The funeral in Westminster Abbey was attended by few of the party in power. The monument, by Banks, "erected by the King and Parliament as a testimony to the virtues and abilities of William Pitt, earl of Chatham," records that during his administration, "Divine Providence exalted Great Britain to an height of prosperity and glory unknown to any former age." The cenotaph erected by the Corporation of London has an inscription of higher import. The monument to William Pitt is placed in the Guildhall of the City of London, "that her citizens may never meet for the transaction of their affairs without being reminded, that the means by which Providence raises a nation to greatness are the virtues infused into great men; and that to withhold from those virtues, either of the living or the dead, the tribute of esteem and veneration, is to deny to themselves the means of happiness and honour."

The news of the French alliance being concluded reached Washington's camp at Valley Forge on the 4th of May. The biographer of Steuben records that "suddenly the public distress seemed to be forgotten amidst universal joy." Many supposed that immediate peace would be the natural consequence of this change of circumstances. Steuben wrote to Henry Laurens, then President of Congress, to offer his congratulations "in seeing the independence of America established on so solid a basis." The cautious President replies, "It is my opinion that we are not to roll down a green bank and toy away the ensuing summer. There is blood, much blood, in our prospect. Britain will not be hummed by a stroke of policy. She will be very angry, and if she is to fall, her fall will be glorious. We, who know her, ought to be prepared." *

The pacific measures of the British government produced not the slightest change in the policy of the leaders of the American revolution. Washington held that the propositions and the speech of lord North must have proceeded from despair of the nation's succeeding against the United States. When the Commissioners under lord North's bill arrived at Philadelphia, they found the army about to evacuate the town; having received positive orders to that effect from home. Howe had resigned his command, which had been transferred to sir Henry Clinton. The abandonment of Philadelphia; the certainty of the French alliance; the contempt which was felt at the vacillating policy of the ministry, emboldened the Congress to treat the royal Commissioners with little ceremony. That body refused to hold a conference with them, unless they should withdraw the naval and military power of Great Britain,

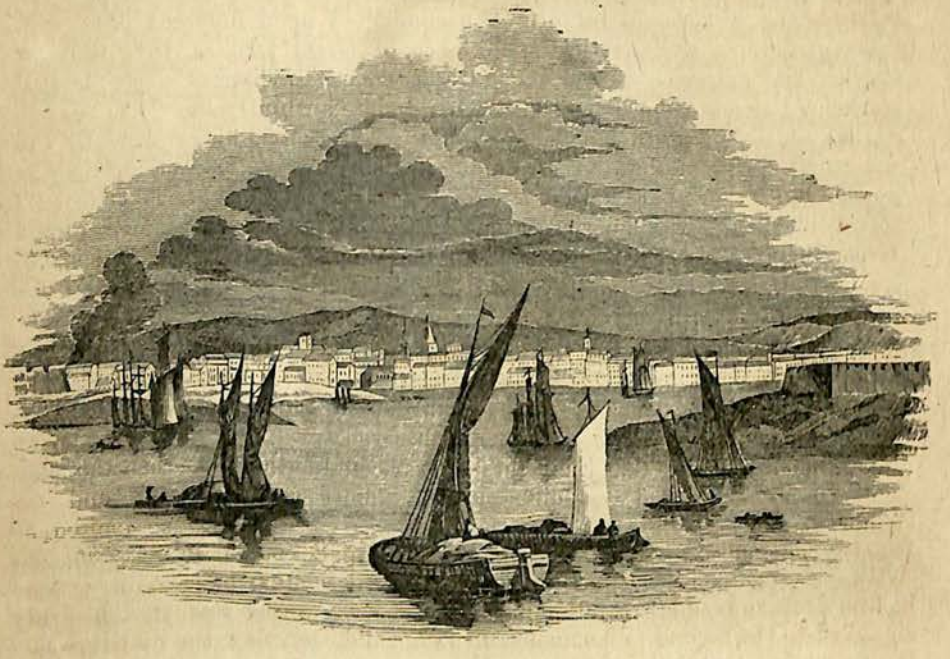
* "Life of Steuben," p. 138.

or acknowledge the Independence of America in direct terms. No reply was given to the explanatory offers of the Commissioners—offers which, if made in the early days of the contest, would have commanded not only willing obedience but fervent gratitude. The Commissioners determined to return to England; but they first took the somewhat dangerous step of addressing a Manifesto to the American people, remonstrating against the decision of the Congress, and holding out the threat that if peace and union were refused, the war would in future be conducted upon different principles. "The policy, as well as the benevolence, of Great Britain, have thus far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to distress a people still considered as our fellow subjects, and to desolate a country shortly to become again a source of mutual advantage; but when that country professes the unnatural design, not only of estranging herself from us, but of mortgaging herself and her resources to our enemies, the whole contest is changed." Upon this plea, it was affirmed that the laws of self-preservation called upon Great Britain, if her colonies were to become an accession to France, "to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy." When this Manifesto was brought before Parliament at the end of the year, there were different opinions as to the meaning to be attached to such a threat; but most men, not wholly subservient to the ministry, agreed with Burke, that "if the war was to be changed,—if the lenity, the humanity, the toleration, which had been hitherto observed, was to be foregone,—and we had forebore nothing that the rights of war could authorize,—then the plan now to be prosecuted was different from lenity and toleration, and was different from the laws of war; for war was constantly to be limited by necessity, and its calamities and ravages to be bound in by that plea alone. . . . . The extremes of war, and the desolation of a country, were sweet sounding mutes and liquids, but their meaning was terrible; they meant the killing of man, woman, and child, burning their houses and ravaging their lands, annihilating humanity from the face of the earth, or rendering it so wretched, that death would be preferable." *

The war of Great Britain against France and America at once became a fierce struggle by land and sea. When sir Henry Clinton had marched through Jersey with Washington following him, and a partial battle had been fought on the 28th of June, the British army was at last established at New York, with a large garrison at Rhode Island. A French fleet from Toulon, under the count d'Estaing, had appeared off New York on the 5th of July. It consisted of twelve sail of the line and six frigates, with a large number of troops on board. It was determined to attack the British on Rhode Island, by a combined army of four thousand French and ten thousand Americans. The garrison of five thousand retired within their lines at Newport. The Americans had crossed the narrow strait called the Seaconnet Channel; and d'Estaing was about to land his troops on the west side of the island, when the fleet under lord Howe appeared in sight, and the French admiral put to sea to offer battle, leaving his allies to pursue the siege of Newport alone. The fleets were prevented engaging by a violent storm, by which they were both dismantled. Each went into port to refit; the British

* "Parliamentary Debates," vol. xix. col. 1400.

to New York, the French to Boston. The abandonment of the Americans by d'Estaing compelled them to relinquish their enterprise upon Rhode Island; and bitter was their indignation against their allies. The French admiral finally sailed to pursue his own plans of attacking the British West Indian Islands, or defending those of France. The island of St. Lucia was taken by the British, and Dominica by the French.



Newport, Rhode Island.

In the House of Commons, on the 5th of May, Thomas Townshend noticed the sailing of the French fleet from Toulon, whilst our fleet was merely exhibited as a pageant at Portsmouth—a "puppet-show," as Walpole terms it. Lord North said the utmost exertions had been made. Though no fleet had sailed, the ministers were not to be accused of incapacity; for the French at all times, by their mode of supply of seamen from their registers, could man a fleet sooner than England. Admiral Keppel, an experienced officer, and highly popular with the navy, had been appointed to the command of the Channel fleet. This appointment was creditable to the ministry, for Keppel was, as a member of Parliament, strongly opposed to their policy. When he first accepted the command he found only six ships of the line fit for service; but before the middle of June the number was increased to twenty. He sailed from St. Helen's on the 17th of June. Two French frigates, reconnoitring, were attacked by his squadron; one of which was captured and the other driven on shore on the coast of France. Amongst the papers of the Lecorne thus captured, he discovered that anchorage was ordered at Brest for an immense fleet, with which he thought his own unable to contend. He sailed back to Portsmouth. The public feeling is expressed

in a letter of Gibbon:—"Keppel's return has occasioned infinite and inexpressible consternation, which gradually changed into discontent against him." The Admiralty made great exertions; and Keppel, on the 9th of July, again put to sea with a reinforcement of ten ships. The French fleet, consisting of thirty-two sail of the line, and a considerable number of

Thomas Townshend, Junior.

frigates, had come out from Brest, under the command of count d'Orvilliers. After four days' manœuvring, an engagement took place off Ushant, which had no decisive result. Night was coming on with a heavy squall. Keppel signalled to the second in command, sir Hugh Palliser, to come up to renew the fight; but that admiral was unable to obey the order, from the damage which his ship had sustained. The French admiral got back to Brest, and Keppel sailed to Plymouth. The conduct of the two admirals became the subject of warm debates when the Parliament met in November. Attacks and recriminations were conducted with all the heat of party; Keppel being upon terms of friendship with the leading members of the Opposition; Palliser a supporter of the ministry, and a lord of the Admiralty. Each admiral blamed the other; and, finally, upon charges made by Palliser against Keppel for misconduct and incapacity, a court-martial was ordered. The trial lasted thirty-two days, and ended in a unanimous verdict of the Court, that Keppel had acted with bravery and judgment, and that the charges were ill-founded and malicious. This court-martial has been rendered illustrious by a passage of Burke, in which he describes "with what zeal and anxious affection I attended him through that his agony of glory. . . . . If to the eternal disgrace of this nation, and to the total annihilation of every trace of honour and virtue in it, things had taken a different turn from what they did, I should have attended him to the quarter-deck with no less good will, and more pride, than I partook of the general flow of national joy that attended the justice that was done to his virtue." * The popular enthusiasm in

* "Letter to the Duke of Bedford."

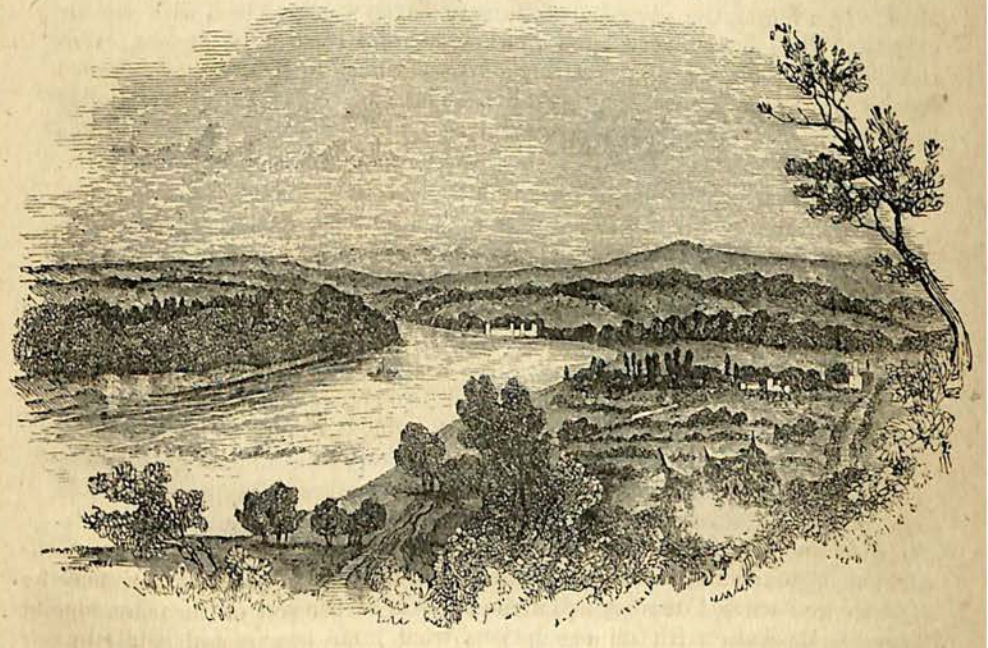
favour of Keppel was indeed remarkable. It may be attributed, in part, to a conviction that the government was unequal to the conduct of the war. The people could not be supposed to feel with Burke that Keppel was "one of the greatest and best men of his age;" but they illuminated and rioted for his acquittal; and his portrait became a favourite sign in town and country. Palliser demanded a court-martial upon himself, and received an acquittal of a very qualified character. The extravagant admiration of Keppel, and the proportionate depreciation of Palliser, may suggest the opinion that admirals and generals may receive a more impartial judgment from their contemporaries by withholding their support from extreme parties in politics.

Admiral Keppel, after Sir Joshua Reynolds.

General Burgoyne returned to England in the spring of 1778, Congress having consented to give him passports, upon the condition that he would go back to America, and abide the fate of the rest of the army, should their embarkation continue to be prevented. He was treated coldly by our government, and refused admission to the royal presence. A court of inquiry into his conduct was refused, upon the ground that he was a prisoner on parole to the Congress. As a member of Parliament, he had an opportunity of vindicating the Convention of Saratoga. The blame that had been attached to him for the employment of Indians in his campaign appears to have wounded him very deeply. He stated that he always believed the Indian alliances to be, at best, a necessary evil. He had declined their offers and solicitations to be employed separately. He had presided at one of the greatest councils with the Indians that had been held at Montreal. It was their custom to offer the pipe of war to the representative of the power they meant to serve. It was pressed upon him by the chiefs present; and it was at his option, by a single whiff of tobacco, to have given flame and commotion to a dozen nations. He had acted in this matter under the instructions of sir

Guy Carleton in 1776; and when he came to England in that year he found the system of restraining the impetuous passions of these people unpopular with those official persons who had adopted the reasoning, in their zeal against the colonists, that partial severity was general mercy. He returned to Canada, determined to be the soldier, not the executioner, of the State. The eloquent invective of Chatham, we thus see, had in view the ministerial directors of the war rather than the commander who succumbed to unavoidable difficulties.

Connected with the subject of the barbarities of the Indians, there is an event of the year 1778, which has been rescued from the possible oblivion of History by the more enduring associations of Poetry.* Wyoming, on the Susquehanna, consisting of eight townships, was a new settlement. The soil was fertile; the climate genial; the inhabitants unusually prosperous.



Vale of Wyoming.

Happy they were not, for a minority amongst them was bitterly opposed to those who resisted the British government. The people were removed from the scene of hostilities; yet the greater number took a deep interest in the contest for independence, and had sent a large proportion of their adult male population to the army of the Congress. The infant settlement was comparatively defenceless; although four forts had been constructed to resist the inroads of the savages. The right to the soil was a disputed point between the States of Connecticut and Pennsylvania; and in the absence of a central control those who were loyalists, or Tories, were exposed to rigorous treat-

* Campbell's "Gertrude of Wyoming."

ment. The mutual hatred between the two parties of Americans was too often marked by persecution; and political differences became the justification for rapine and revenge. Many of the Tories of Wyoming had abandoned the settlement. Some strangers had come amongst the inhabitants of the townships under suspicious circumstances, and had been arrested and sent to Connecticut. At the beginning of July, a body of armed men, amounting to sixteen hundred, appeared on the Susquehanna. One fourth of these were Indians. The whole force was commanded by a partisan known as colonel Butler; and according to the accounts of the time, by one Brandt, half Indian by blood, ferocious and cruel beyond example—"the Monster Brandt."* One of the smaller forts was first taken by storm, and all the men were massacred. The commander of another fort was induced to march out with four hundred men to hold a parley; and after a murderous struggle only seventy escaped. In a third fort the men were slaughtered, or burnt alive. In a fourth the same indiscriminate havoc was pursued, with similar cruelty. Then commenced such a wholesale destruction of houses, corn-ricks, standing corn, as the terrible devastations of what some have called regular warfare could scarcely parallel. The sufferings of those who fled from the scenes of devastation, to endure all the miseries of inhospitable woods, were almost as great as those of the victims of the Indian tomahawk. Other such scenes of havoc took place in back settlements.

The Annual Register of 1779, opens with a sentence that can scarcely be held as founded merely upon vain apprehensions: "The year of which we treat presented the most awful appearances of public affairs, which this country had perhaps beheld for many ages. . . . . Mankind seemed to wait, with an aspect which at best bespoke indifference, for the event of that ruin which was expected to burst upon us." The writer proceeds to say, that "the expected evil and danger were less dreadful in the encounter than in the distant appearance." In that year Spain joined France in the alliance against Great Britain. On the 16th of June the king sent a message to parliament announcing that the Spanish minister had delivered a state-paper which amounted to a declaration of war. Invasion was expected; and a proclamation was issued, charging all civil and military authorities to remove horses, cattle, and provisions from the coast in case of a descent. An extraordinary measure was carried through parliament, by a suspension of the Standing Orders, to do away with all exemptions from impressment into the royal navy. Ships of the line were rotting in the harbour for want of sailors, it was affirmed—"Will you trust the existence of this country to the fate of a battle on shore?" An encampment of large bodies of militia was formed on Cox Heath. The spirit of the country was again roused, as when Spain threatened England in days of yore. Her fleet, combined with that of France, rode in the Channel, with as mighty a display as when Drake went out from Plymouth to encounter the galleons. The united fleet consisted of sixty-six sail of the line, with a large number of frigates, and smaller vessels. Sir Charles Hardy left Portsmouth with thirty-eight ships; and although the combined armament was insulting the coast, he could not

* "Gertrude of Wyoming." Mr. Campbell, in a note to the later editions of his poem, says he was misled by popular accounts, and that Brandt was not present at Wyoming.

venture on an action with a force so superior. But in avoiding an engagement he did good service by leading the enemy to pursue him; and thus diverting their object of landing an invading army. The stormy season was approaching whilst time was thus gained. The ships of both the hostile nations were in bad condition. A malignant disease had broken out amongst their crowded sailors and troops. The Spanish admiral declared to the French admiral, that he must return to his own ports. The French admiral chose the same prudent course. When the king opened the parliament in November, he exulted that the designs and attempts at invasion had, by the blessing of Providence, been frustrated. Lord North in the debate on the Address, spoke with a British spirit that found a response in the national feelings. The combined powers of France and Spain "had fitted out a powerful armament; they appeared upon our coasts, it is true; they talked big, threatened a great deal, did nothing, and retired. It should be remembered that the enemy professed themselves to be acting on the offensive; we were as professedly acting on the defensive. They came with a declared intention to invade, we to resist such an attempt; they were therefore foiled, for they had not dared even to make the attempt. Their immense armaments paraded to no purpose; and their millions were spent in vain. Had they landed, and indeed he almost wished they had, their reception, he was confident, would have been such as would have added to their disgrace; and would have convinced them, that a British militia had spirit enough to defend their country, and repel invaders."

In May, 1779, Benjamin Franklin was accredited by the Congress as the sole representative of the United States at the court of France—their Minister Plenipotentiary. In a letter from Passy he describes his gracious reception by Louis XVI. at Versailles; and his constant weekly attendance at the royal levée. To a friend in America he says, "Perhaps few strangers in France have had the good fortune to be so universally popular."* The society and conversation of the French ladies he describes as extremely agreeable. But the energetic old man was occupied in more serious affairs than the enjoyment of a brilliant society, in which his brown cloth coat was a remarkable contrast to the velvet and embroidery of all around him. His abilities were constantly directed to the difficult task of raising money upon American credit; and of employing it to organize attacks upon the coasts of Britain. Franklin's correspondence shows that he was the active agent in the employ and direction of John Paul Jones, who, with a little squadron in the American service, did considerable damage to British commerce, and produced no small amount of alarm, in 1779. The first notion was to fit out an expedition, in which the sea forces should be commanded by Jones, and the land forces by La Fayette. Franklin's instructions to his American captain refer to this expedition "as an introduction only to greater trusts and more extensive commands." The French government hesitated about this joint adventure; and finally Paul Jones sailed with three ships and a brigantine, and did surprising feats which justified his selection as a bold captain and a skilful seaman. What he was encouraged to do may be collected from Franklin's letters. "It was intended to send him with some transports and

* "Correspondence," vol. viii. p. 401

troops to make descents in England. Had not the scheme been altered by a general one of a grand invasion, I know he would have endeavoured to put some considerable towns to a high ransom, or have burnt them. He sailed without the troops, but he nevertheless would have attempted Leith, and went into the Firth of Edinburgh with that intention, but a sudden hard gale of wind forced him out again." Franklin adds, that the burning of Fairfield and other towns by the British in America had demolished all his moderation. We may consider that Leith and perhaps Edinburgh were providentially saved by the "sudden hard gale of wind" from the fate which this unscrupulous rover had prepared for them. Sir Walter Scott, when a boy, was in Edinburgh when Jones came into the Firth; and "the capital of Scotland was menaced by three trifling sloops or brigs, scarce fit to have sacked a fishing-village." An old Highland chief, Stuart of Invernahyle, was the only man who thought of a feasible plan of resistance. "A steady and powerful west wind settled the matter." But Paul Jones had better work before him

Paul Jones. From a French Print.

than sack and plunder. "Going north about," writes Franklin, "he fell in with a number of ships from the Baltic, convoyed by a fifty-gun ship and a twenty-four-gun frigate, both of which he took." These vessels were the Serapis and the Scarborough. The engagement was a desperate one; and the largest vessel of the American squadron, the Bonhomme Richard, sank two days after the action. "The three trifling sloops, or brigs," described by Scott, were in truth large vessels, formidably armed and well-manned. His two prizes were carried by Jones into a neutral port in Holland. The English captains, Pearson and Piercy, fought their vessels with the most desperate courage. The colours of the Serapis were not struck till two-thirds of her men were killed or wounded. Paul Jones, a native of Scotland, had been bred to the sea; had settled in Virginia; and had received a commission from Congress on the breaking out of the war.

The military operations in the Northern States of America, during 1779, were not of much importance with reference to the superiority of either army. There were successes on either side which are scarcely necessary to be detailed in our brief general history. Washington was doing every thing that a prudent commander could accomplish in the face of great difficulties. He was more apprehensive of the consequences of corrupt and evil management than of any struggle in the field. He writes in March to general Warren, "Our conflict is not likely to cease so soon as every good man could wish. The measure of iniquity is not yet filled; and, unless we can return a little more to first principles, and act a little more upon patriotic ground, I do not know when it will, or what may be the issue of the contest." He complains of speculation, peculation, engrossing, which afford too glaring instances of its being the interest and desire of some to continue the war. He laments the depreciation of the currency. This depreciation had now gone beyond any example of European history in which the promises to pay of a government were treated as little better than waste-paper. "A waggon-load of money," wrote Washington, "will now scarcely purchase a waggon-load of provisions." He held that this depreciation, with the manifest proofs of speculation, stock-jobbing, and party-dissensions, kept the arms of Britain in America, and led the British government and their friends to believe that the Americans would be their own conquerors.

The inactivity of the British army in the Northern States was compensated by successes in the South. Towards the end of 1778, sir Henry Clinton despatched an expedition by sea to Georgia. Savannah was taken; and the province was reduced to submission. Georgia and South Carolina were occupied through the winter by British troops; the fertility of these countries affording a plentiful supply of stores. This occupation materially facilitated the success of the Southern campaign of 1780.

The London Riots.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Associations for redress of grievances—Meetings in Yorkshire and other Counties—Burke's proproposals for Economical Reform—Dunning's motion on the influence of the Crown—Decreasing strength of the Opposition—Protestant Associations in Scotland—They extend to England—Lord George Gordon—Procession to Parliament—Roman Catholic chapels burnt—Newgate set on fire—Lord Mansfield's House sacked—The library burnt—Continued riots—A council called—Wedderburn's opinion on the employment of military—The riots stopped by military force—Naval affairs—The war in America—Charleston taken by the British—Lord Cornwallis—His severities—French armament under Rochambeau—Treachery of Benedict Arnold—Major André seized—Verdict of a Council of Officers—His execution.

THE internal affairs of the country in the year 1780 are, in many respects, as interesting and instructive as those of any year in our annals. England was, unquestionably, distinctly threatened with some great political convulsion. The obstinate persistence in the war with America had brought upon the country its natural consequences,—excessive taxation, and interruption to the usual course of profitable industry. Twenty years only had elapsed since the nation looked back upon a period of unexampled prosperity, and of signal triumph; of victory abroad and of tranquillity at home. The

nation had then confidence in the directors of its affairs; regarded the parliament as the true representative of public opinion; and viewed the sovereign power, according to the principles of the Revolution, as the especial guardian of the freedom and happiness of the people. A young prince had come to the crown, with every apparent disposition to rule righteously and constitutionlly; and yet, from the first year of his accession, a system of favouritism had surrounded the throne with a host of placemen, who were chosen to assert an invidious distinction between the interests of the king and the measures of the responsible servants of the State. During these twenty years a great change had come over the popular convictions. The parliament had become opposed to the people; and the executive power had grown out of harmony with the theory of the constitution, through the tendency to govern by the corruption of the parliament. The preponderating influence of a great aristocratic party had indeed been weakened, and in many essentials destroyed; but with that weakness had come a proportionate weakness of the democratic element of the constitution. The time had arrived when the minority in parliament, whether Peers or Commoners, saw that, to renew their strength as a governing power, they must identify themselves more distinctly with the people. The abuses consequent upon the excessive number of sinecure offices, and of large pensions unsanctioned by parliamentary authority, called for Economical Reform. The scandalous proportion of members of the House of Commons returned for rotten boroughs demanded Reform in Parliament. A vast amount of public opinion was brought to bear upon these two points, in the form of Associations for the redress of grievances. During the Christmas recess a spirit burst forth in many of the most influential counties of England, to which there had probably been no parallel since the days of Hampden. Had the gross ignorance of large masses of the populace not taken the form of brutal riot, in a direction opposed to the progress of tolerant opinions, this spirit might have produced some great change in our representative system,—a change dangerous, because premature; unsubstantial, because an extended suffrage required a solid foundation of popular intelligence. Burke, in vindicating the scheme of Economical Reform which he advocated at that time, as a moderate concession to a just public demand, says of "the portentous crisis from 1780 to 1782," that "it was one of the most critical periods in our annals. . . . . Such was the distemper of the public mind, that there was no madman, in his maddest ideas, and maddest projects, who might not count upon numbers to support his principles and execute his designs." *

On the 8th of February, sir George Savile, the respected member for Yorkshire, presented to the House of Commons the Petition of a great meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of his county, which was signed by eight thousand persons. "It was first moved," said sir George, "in a meeting of six hundred gentlemen and upwards. In the hall where this petition was conceived there was more property than within the walls of this House." He said that there was a committee appointed to correspond on the subject of the petition with the committees of other counties. The Yorkshire petition set forth, as the consequences of a most expensive and

* Letter to a Noble Lord."

unfortunate war, a large addition to the national debt, heavy accumulation of taxes, a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of the kingdom. It then came to the chief grievance: "Alarmed at the diminished resources and growing burdens of this country, and convinced that rigid frugality is now indispensably necessary in every department of the State, your petitioners observe with grief, that notwithstanding the calamitous and impoverished condition of the nation, much public money has been improvidently squandered, and that many individuals enjoy sinecure places, efficient places with exorbitant emoluments, and pensions unmerited by public service, to a large and still increasing amount; whence the Crown has acquired a great and unconstitutional influence, which, if not checked, may soon prove fatal to the liberties of this country."

The great meeting in Yorkshire gave an example to the rest of England. Twenty-three counties adopted similar petitions, and appointed their corresponding committees. Motions for Economical Reform had been brought forward in the House of Lords before the recess; and Burke had given notice of the measure which he intended to propose. On the 11th of February he accomplished this intention, in the delivery of a speech which is amongst the master-pieces of English composition,—unsurpassed in lucidness of detail, force of reasoning, historical research, and gleams of wit and poetry, by any example of parliamentary rhetoric. The perusal of this speech will show how many gross abuses have been corrected during the eighty years that have elapsed; and, what is better, how much wiser and honester a spirit has arisen to govern the public expenditure in every department,—making it shame to fill an office without its duties, or to receive a pension without desert. Many of the details of reform treated of in this speech are now, happily, things of a past time. The royal household, whose manifold offices were derived from the feudal principle and the system of purveyance, is now conducted upon the same plan as that of a nobleman's establishment. The turnspit in the royal kitchen is no longer a member of parliament. The number of covers on the royal table is no longer determined by a Board of Green Cloth. Offices, whose very names sound strange to us, were then kept up for parliamentary influence alone. They are gone. Some great officers are attached to the royal person, as of old; though they are not perhaps retained upon the principle laid down by Burke, that, because "kings are fond of low company," it is of importance to provide such an establishment as will bring about the royal person a great number of the first nobility. General principles too often fall short in their practical application. Burke proposed to abolish the offices of master of the buck-hounds and harriers, as they answered no purpose of utility or of splendour. "It is not proper that great noblemen should be keepers of dogs, though they were the king's dogs." Many other courtly appointments are vanished. The master of the buck-hounds remains; and if the office is filled by a courteous gentleman and a bold rider, its utility is not too curiously investigated. Though some of the details of Burke's bill present evils no longer unreformed, his general principles of reform will always remain as a guide to honest administrators. Out of seven fundamental rules which he lays down, three, especially, will apply to all time; and, it may be feared, will never cease to require a vigilant application.

"That all jurisdictions which furnish more matter of expense, more temptation to oppression, or more means and instruments of corrupt influence, than advantage to justice or political administration, ought to be abolished.

"That all offices which bring more charge than proportional advantage to the State; that all offices which may be engrafted on others, uniting and simplifying their duties, ought, in the first case, to be taken away; and in the second, to be consolidated.

"That it is right to reduce every establishment, and every part of an establishment (as nearly as possible), to certainty, the life of all order and good management."

Burke, in his truly statesmanlike speech upon Economical Reform, argued that a temperate reform is permanent, because it has a principle of growth. "Whenever we improve, it is right to leave room for a further improvement." It is the recognition of this principle which has enabled us gradually to effect many improvements which Burke did not think ripe for advocating in his own day. He proposed to reform the crying abuses of the offices of Paymaster of the Forces, and Treasurer of the Navy, each of which officers had a separate treasury, and derived large profits from the use of the money which they retained in their hands. The first William Pitt, as we have seen, disdained such an irregular addition to the profits of place. His rival, Fox, and his successors, were not so scrupulous. Burke proposed to reduce the enormous profits of the Auditors of the Exchequer. In our own times such profits of patent places were made odious by the disinterested renunciation of lord Camden. Public opinion in our country is ultimately potential in effecting what corrupt influences resist. The philosophical reformer did not suggest depriving the Crown of its constitutional right of granting pensions. He proposed to limit the amount to a sum which would now be considered extravagant. He abstained from attempting even the reduction of exorbitant emoluments to efficient offices. He did not think the great efficient offices of the State overpaid. They were paid at a much higher rate than in our own time; and the question may now sometimes present itself to dispassionate minds, whether they are not underpaid. The reasons which Burke then gave for not putting the service of the public to auction, and knocking it down to those who will execute it cheapest, is of wider application now, when larger expenses are attached to the holders of office with comparatively small salaries, than in days when statesmen in power might accumulate fortunes out of the profits of place. It is an honourable characteristic of public service in England that ambition and the lucre of gain have ceased to go together in rendering power attractive. An honourable and fair payment for service is grudged by none but the wildest self-styled reformers. Burke did not go too far when he said, that "if men were willing to serve in such situations without salary, they ought not to be permitted to do it. Ordinary service must be secured by the motives to ordinary integrity."

Burke's proposals were so temperate, and so incapable of being refuted by argument, that lord North offered no opposition to the reception of the first Bill which was founded upon them. Other members were ready to go further than Burke. Sir George Savile, on the 15th of February, moved for an account of all places for life or lives, whether held by patent or otherwise

and also for an account of all subsisting pensions, granted by the Crown, during pleasure or otherwise. The motion was opposed by lord Nugent, upon the ground that many reduced gentry enjoyed his majesty's private bounty, and would not like their names to be made public—"many lady Bridgets, lady Marys, and lady Jennys." Lord North proposed an amendment, limiting the account to pensions payable at the Exchequer. The whole amount payable under the name of pensions, he said, did not exceed £50,000. To publish a list would "prepare a feast for party-writers, and furnish materials for magazines and newspapers." Happy is the government that does not shrink from the eye of magazines and newspapers! Lord North carried his amendment only by a majority of two in a full House. The Session was a series of parliamentary conflicts, some conducted with personal acrimony which involved the ridiculous arbitrement of duelling. A Bill was carried in the House of Commons against contractors sitting in Parliament, which was rejected in the House of Lords. Burke's own Bill encountered every obstruction in its progress through Committee; and the Session was concluded without any practical result of the great statesman's incontrovertible exposition of abuses which agitated the minds of a whole people.

The 6th of April is described as a day which "was to distinguish the present Session from every other since the Revolution."* It was a day that might have brought back to some persons, whether of those who dreaded or those who hoped for change, recollections of the Long Parliament. Another, and perhaps a fiercer, conflict between prerogative and the people might have appeared at hand. Charles Fox harangued the petitioners of Westminster in the Hall; and resolutions were carried for annual parliaments, and an addition of a hundred knights of the shire to the representation. Tumults were expected; and bodies of guards were in readiness in the neighbourhood of the Houses. Tumult there was none. The Order of the Day was for taking into consideration the petitions of the people of England—petitions which were so numerously signed as to occupy "such an immense quantity of parchment, as seemed rather calculated to bury than to cover the Speaker's table."† In a Committee of the whole House Mr. Dunning rose. The general prayer of the petitions was for a reform in the public expenditure; and for limiting and restraining the increasing influence of the Crown. He passed a splendid eulogium upon Mr. Burke's Bill, which, when first proposed, received the approbation of every individual in that House. A different feeling was soon indicated—a temper and disposition which originated out of the House, and not within those walls. Ministers have now said that the influence of the Crown is not too much; that it is not competent for the House to inquire into the expenditure of the Civil List. He would bring both these points fairly to issue. He first moved, "That it is the opinion of this Committee that the influence of the Crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." The resistance offered to the motion was feeble and indirect. One of its immediate consequences was to disturb lord North from his usual placidity. He accused the Opposition of pursuing measures likely to overturn the Constitution. There was immense confusion, amidst the cry of "take down the words." The motion was carried by 233 against

* "Annual Register," 1780, p. 164. † *Ibid.*

215. Another motion, that it is competent to the House to examine into and correct abuses in the expenditure of the Civil List, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, was agreed to without a division. A third motion, that it was the duty of the House to provide a remedy for the abuses complained of in the petitions, was also agreed to. Contrary to the ordinary usage, the resolutions were reported before the House adjourned. Only nine county members voted with the government. "The exultation and triumph on one side of the House was only equalled by the evident depression and dismay which prevailed on the side of administration. . . . . The system of the Court was shaken to its foundations." * The king the next day expressed his belief to lord North that the Resolutions could not be regarded as personal to the minister, and adds, "I wish I did not feel at whom they were personally levelled." On the 18th of April, Dunning made another motion, that it is incompatible with the independence of parliament that persons holding certain offices about the Court should sit in Parliament. This was carried only by a majority of 215 to 213. The king exults that "things begin to wear a better aspect. Lord North shall see that there is at least one person willing to preserve unspoiled the most beautiful Constitution that ever was framed." The minority rapidly gained strength, and soon became a large majority. Abstract propositions had been carried. The practical measures which were to render them of effect were rejected. On the 18th of May, the most important clauses in Burke's Bill were lost in Committee. The king has triumphed. "You cannot doubt," he writes to lord North, "that I received with pleasure the account of Mr. Burke's Bill having been defeated." His majesty was looking to a new Parliament to continue the abuses that were odious to the nation, or, as it appeared to the royal mind, "to keep the present Constitution of the country in its pristine lustre."

According to the theory of a narrow-minded king, the pristine lustre of the Constitution would have been shorn of its beams, if fifty useless places had not been held by members of parliament, to do the bidding of the Court without the slightest reference to the interests of the nation. According to the theory of a large section of a somewhat intolerant public, the Protestant succession would have lost the best part of its value, if English Roman Catholics were allowed to hold property in land; if their spiritual instructors were not subject to the penalties of treason or felony; if a Protestant son could no longer eject his Papist father from his estate. These severities of the Statutes of the tenth and eleventh of William III. had ceased to be applied; but they existed as a temptation to informers to extort money from the timid, and as a stigma upon the loyal and peaceful. In 1778, upon the motion of Savile, seconded by Dunning, these obsolete penalties were repealed, with the approbation of men of all parties. The Acts of William III., dating before the Union with Scotland, did not affect the position of Roman Catholics there; and it was subsequently contemplated to repeal a Statute of the Scottish Parliament, which was as odious to right-thinking persons as the enactments of the days when Popery was the great terror of England. The proceedings of the parliament in 1778 stirred up the fanaticism of Edinburgh and Glasgow at the beginning of 1779. Riots took place in

* "Annual Register," p. 172.

Edinburgh. Houses of reputed Roman Catholics were assailed and damaged. A house where Catholics assembled for worship was set on fire. Those who by speech or writing advocated freedom of opinion, were threatened with vengeance; the brutal zealots selecting as one of the objects of their hostility their distinguished countryman, the historian Robertson. A Protestant Association and Committee was set up in Scotland; and a silly nobleman, lord George Gordon, was chosen as its President. This fanatic had sat in Parliament for several years, raving and gesticulating when any debate excited his monomania. Contemptible as he was in intellect, he acquired some consideration from the position he had obtained as the leader of a body of people, large in numbers and dangerous in their enthusiasm. The Protestant Associations of Scotland had multiplied in England. On the first day of the Session in November 1779, lord George Gordon declared that the indulgences given to Papists had alarmed the whole country. He did not speak his own sentiments only. Government should find a hundred and twenty thousand men at his back, who would avow and support them, and whose warmth of spirit was still greater than his own.

The contempt in which the public character of lord George Gordon was regarded appears to have shut the eyes of the government to the danger of his proceedings. In the House of Commons he was viewed as a silly bore. He was complimented as being "a staunch Whig, an enemy to the American war, and a friend to the liberties of the people;" but the same laudatory member said, "he could not bear to see the noble lord render himself a laughing-stock and a make-game to the whole house. He had got a twist in his head." * He was endured, probably, from his high connexion, being the brother of the duke of Gordon; and for this, we must presume, the king had patience to hear him indoctrinate his majesty with a pamphlet, the reading of which went on till night put an end to the audience. The twist in lord George's head did not the less fit him to be a demagogue. He calculated that a display of physical force would serve his cause better than argument in Parliament. On the 29th of May he called a public meeting at Coachmaker's Hall; where he harangued a great audience about the dangers of Popery; and proposed a Resolution that the whole body of the Protestant Association should meet in St. George's Fields on the following Friday, to accompany him to the House of Commons to deliver their Petition. If less than twenty thousand persons should attend him, he would not present it. He proposed that they should assemble in four divisions—the Protestants of London the first, of Westminster the second, of Southwark the third, and the Scots resident in the metropolis the fourth; and that every real Protestant should come with a blue cockade on his hat. On Friday, the 2nd of June, a vast assemblage was gathered together in St. George's Fields—fifty or sixty thousand persons according to most accounts. Their leader marshalled them in three columns,—one to march over London Bridge, another over Blackfriars Bridge, and a third over Westminster Bridge, headed by himself. At half-past two this formidable body was assembled in Palace Yard, and intercepted all the avenues of Parliament. The quiet which had distinguished their march now took a more congenial attitude of insult to every obnoxious Peer

* Mr. Turner—April 11—"Parliamentary Debates," vol. xxi. col. 387.

or Commoner. They filled the lobbies; and twice attempted to force the doors of each House. The fanatic rose in his place, and presented the petition, praying for a repeal of the Act passed in favour of Roman Catholics. He moved that the petition be referred to a Committee of the whole House. This necessarily produced a debate. For several hours the members were unable to go out, the lobby being filled with a furious mob. Lord George went several times to the top of the gallery stairs; harangued the people, telling them that their petition was likely to meet with ill success; and pointed out to their vengeance such members as had spoken against its consideration. Expostulation was in vain. At last, colonel Gordon, a near relative, went up to him, and said, "My lord George, do you intend to bring your rascally adherents into the House of Commons? If you do, the first man of them that enters—I will plunge my sword not into him, but into your body." A party of horse-guards at length arrived, with a magistrate at their head; and eventually the lobby was cleared, and the rabble went home. The House then divided, six for the petition, and a hundred and ninety-two against it. During this scene, the terror in the House of Lords was kept up by the constant arrival of Peers announcing the insults to which some of their body were exposed in the streets, and exhibiting the outrages which had been inflicted upon themselves. Dishevelled hair, clothes covered with mud, proclaimed that the hootings in Palace-Yard were not those of a good-tempered English mob. The disgusting excesses of that day had an influence, and not altogether an unnatural influence, upon the political condition of the British people for many years. Most inopportunely, whilst the strongest evidence of popular ignorance was before the eyes of Parliament, the duke of Richmond, according to notice, rose to introduce a Bill, for declaring and restoring the natural, inalienable, and equal right of all the Commons of Great Britain (infants, persons of insane mind, and criminals incapacitated by law, only excepted) to vote in the election of their representatives in Parliament; for regulating the mode and manner of such elections; and for restoring annual Parliaments. The duke said that he found himself exceedingly unhappy that he should have to trouble their lordships with a motion in the situation in which they were at present. He made a speech, necessarily under great embarrassment; for the practical answer to his proposition was the tumult in Palace Yard. The men who were to exercise the natural, inalienable, and equal right of voting in the election of their representatives, were interrupting the freedom of debate, demanding the re-enactment of barbarous laws, at the bidding of a madman. The Houses adjourned without further violence, on that night, in the neighbourhood of Parliament. But the spirit of bigotry took another direction. The ministers of Sardinia and Bavaria had their chapels sanctioned by law and the custom of nations. These were set on fire, and their fittings plundered and destroyed. Thirteen of the rioters were apprehended, upon the arrival of the military, and were taken to Newgate.

Saturday, the 3rd, was a day of comparative tranquillity. But busy agents of mischief were at work; and on Sunday afternoon, Catholic chapels in Moorfields were beset, and their altars and pulpits were torn down and burnt. On the Monday, the supineness of the magistrates, and the want of any efficient system of police, encouraged the No-Popery fanatics—joined

by the idlers, the drunkards, and the thieves that congregate in a great city—to renewed attacks upon religious edifices and private houses. The indifference of men high in office to these continued outrages was incomprehensible. Dr. Johnson writes to Mrs. Thrale: "On Monday, Mr. Strahan, who had been insulted, spoke to lord Mansfield, who had, I think, been insulted too, of the licentiousness of the populace; and his lordship treated it as a very slight irregularity." * On that Monday the house of sir George Savile was gutted. The king writes to lord North that he had given directions to the two Secretaries of State to take measures for preventing riot on the morrow. His majesty does not appear to have contemplated any immediate danger; for he says, "This tumult must be got the better of, or it will encourage designing men to use it as a precedent for assembling the people on other occasions." On Tuesday, the two Houses again met. Detachments of guards prevented any great outbreak in the neighbourhood of Parliament; though one of the ministers, lord Stormont, was injured by the mob. Burke got into their hands; but his courageous remonstrances produced the effect by which a high spirit generally secures its ascendancy over an English multitude, ignorant but not blood-thirsty. The House of Commons agreed in a Resolution that they would take the petitions into consideration as soon as the tumults should subside. There was no appearance that they would subside quickly. The more lawless and desperate now came forth in greater numbers; and began to regard London as a city to be sacked. About six o'clock on that summer evening a fierce multitude appeared in front of Newgate, and demanded of Mr. Akerman, the keeper of the prison, the release of the rioters who had been committed for the destruction of the chapels of the foreign ambassadors. Their demand was firmly refused; and then Mr. Akerman's private house was set on fire. The present building of Newgate was then only partially completed. The greater number of the prisoners were confined in the wretched cells of the old prison, which had existed in the time of Charles II. It was, therefore, easily assailed by a furious mob, who thundered at the entrances with sledge hammers and pickaxes; and then dragged out the furniture of the keeper's house, to pile the tables and chairs against the prison-doors and set them on fire. A way was thus soon forced. The whole building was quickly in a blaze. The felons without rushed through the flames to release the felons within; and that night there were three hundred criminals loose in the streets. The prison of Clerkenwell was also broken open, and the prisoners released. The character of the riots was now altered. The objects of attack were the administrators of the law. The houses of three metropolitan magistrates were sacked. Midnight came; when a yell of havoc was raised before the house of the Chief Justice in Bloomsbury Square; and, leaving scarcely time for lord and lady Mansfield to escape, the frantic miscreants broke in, threw furniture, pictures, books, manuscripts, into the street, where they made a fire which they fed with these valuables, many of them too precious for any money estimate of their value. There perished the law library of the greatest lawyer of his age; enriched with his own notes; and with that library was destroyed the correspondence of half a century. The mansion

* Boswell's "Life," ed. 1848, p. 648.

itself became a ruin in this fiery havoc. A detachment of guards was at hand; but the officer did not dare to act without the orders of a magistrate; and the magistrates, it was given in evidence, had all run away.

"Wednesday, the 7th, was the fatal day." * Walpole writes to a friend, "You may like to know one is alive, after a massacre, and the conflagration of a capital—the most horrible sight I ever beheld, and which, for six hours together, I expected to end in half the town being reduced to ashes." † The first great operation of the morning was to attack the Bank of England. Two attempts were made to force an entrance; but the building was well guarded by parties of soldiers, and the assailants retreated upon the first volley. The shops were shut. The terrified inhabitants of the great thoroughfares chalked "No Popery" on their shutters. The mob appeared to have the lives and property of a population of a million wholly in their power. Yet their numbers were not everywhere formidable in comparison with the mischief they effected. Johnson observed not more than a hundred men plundering the Sessions-House in the Old Bailey—leisurely, in full security, as men lawfully employed. This "full security," which Johnson imputes to "the cowardice of a commercial city," was really to be ascribed to the extraordinary timidity of the king's responsible advisers. London and the neighbourhood were full of soldiers, who had been sent for from distant parts. But there was hesitation about their employment. There was a prevailing notion—a very proper scruple under ordinary circumstances—that the military could not act except under the direction of a magistrate; and there was a mistaken belief that they could not fire until an hour had expired after the reading of the Riot Act. The king himself called a Council on Wednesday; and submitted the question to them as to the construction of the Riot Act. In 1768 verdicts had been found by juries against officers and soldiers who had put down riots with the loss of life. The Council would not decide upon a doubtful point of law. The king turned to Wedderburn, the attorney-general, and desired his opinion. He immediately declared that military force might be exercised, if no other means of restraint are effectual, when a tumultuous assemblage are engaged in committing a felony, such as setting fire to a house. This opinion was subsequently confirmed by lord Mansfield in the House of Lords, upon a debate as to the employment of that military power which had saved the capital: "The military have been called in, and very wisely called in, not as soldiers but as citizens: no matter whether their coats be red or brown, they have been called in aid of the law." The opinion of Wedderburn satisfied the doubts of the Council. The king declared that to have been his own opinion; and a Proclamation was immediately issued, commanding all householders to keep within doors, with their servants and apprentices, and announcing that the king's officers were now authorized to repress the riots by an immediate exercise of force. The decision did not come an hour too soon. On that evening, when every decent citizen was hurrying home to obey the proclamation, London was on fire in thirty-six different places. "One might see," says Johnson, "the glare of conflagration fill the sky from many parts. The sight was dreadful." The most terrible scene was in Holborn, where the distillery of Mr. Langdale, a Roman

* Walpole's "Last Journals." † Letter to Cole.

Catholic, was set on fire; and the unrectified spirits pouring into the streets were lapped up by the wretched crowds of men, women, and children, who perished in helpless drunkenness amidst liquid fire or falling timbers. The military poured into every street where there was tumult. If the command of the officer to disperse was not obeyed, they fired at once. Through that terrible night sleep was banished from a metropolis wholly unused to scenes of anarchy. The next morning all were quiet. Nothing remained to do but to bury the dead, to attend the wounded, and to fill the remaining gaols with miserable prisoners.

It is unnecessary for us to pursue the painful history of these disgraceful riots into the subsequent details, which afforded abundant matter for the meagre newspapers of the time. Lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason; and, being tried early in the following year, was so successfully defended by Erskine, then rising into high reputation, that the jury returned a verdict of acquittal. Of the miserable rioters, a hundred and thirty-five were tried in Middlesex and Surrey, of whom about half were convicted, and twenty-one were executed. The Session of Parliament was approaching to a close. Matters of the greatest importance had been agitated without any practical results. Proposals for Economical Reform, which had been welcomed at the beginning of the Session, were rejected or frittered away during its progress. Parliamentary Reform came to be regarded as an impossible theory. The contemporary historian describes this period with a calm judgment: "It may be said with confidence, that so great a number of important affairs were never agitated in any one Session. The riot, in the close, threw a general damp upon all endeavours whatever for reformation, however unconnected with its particular object. Popular fury seemed, for that time at least, the greatest of all possible evils. Administration then gathered, and afterwards procured, no small degree of power, from a tumult which appeared to threaten the subversion of all government." * The Parliament was prorogued on the 8th of July; and on the 1st of September it was dissolved.

During the domestic excitement that had lasted through the Session of Parliament, the external affairs of the country were regarded with comparative indifference. The dread of invasion had passed away. The war with America appeared to drag on without any decisive results. Gibraltar was invested by the Spaniards; but the siege had not as yet assumed the interesting character which the resolute defence of the key of the Mediterranean subsequently commanded. The naval ascendancy of Great Britain was, however, manifested in a way that gave the nation confidence that its ships could be well manned and bravely led to battle. Sir George Rodney, on the 16th of January, engaged the Spanish admiral off Cape St. Vincent, and obtained a complete victory, having captured four ships of the line, and destroyed four others. He then proceeded to the relief of Gibraltar. Sailing to the West Indies, he there encountered a combined French and Spanish fleet, but was unable to bring them to a general engagement. But the vigilance of the Spanish government inflicted a severe blow upon our mercantile marine. Knowing when the East India and West India fleets would be off the Azores,

* "Annual Register," 1780, p. 280*.

with a convoy of only two ships of war, a powerful squadron intercepted them, and carried sixty sail, laden with valuable merchandize, as prizes into Cadiz. The Dutch and English governments were beginning to squabble about violations of neutrality, which the next year gave occasion to a war with Holland. The maritime claims of England produced also an "Armed Neutrality" between Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, which threatened danger. At this period it would have been difficult to affirm that the government of George III. had a friend in Europe.

We have now to return to the events of the war in America. At the end of December, 1779, general Clinton, with a force of five thousand men, sailed from New York in the fleet of admiral Arbuthnot, for the purpose of investing Charleston, in South Carolina. The American forces within this important place were under the command of general Lincoln; who, with the assistance of French engineers, had constructed some formidable defences. The progress of the expedition was delayed by bad weather. It was the first of April before the British army broke ground before Charleston. The siege was pursued with great vigour and ability, under the direction of Clinton, who had detached lord Cornwallis, with a large force, to cut off the communication between the garrison and the interior. An assault was contemplated; but on the 12th of May, Lincoln capitulated. The surrender of six thousand men, with four hundred pieces of cannon, and large magazines, was an important triumph for the British commanders, and gave a renewed spirit to the war. General Clinton in June returned to New York, leaving lord

General Clinton. From a Picture by J. Smart.

Cornwallis in command. He had only four thousand regular troops to defend Charleston, to contend against a probable invasion of the province, and to repress a spirit of disaffection amongst the inhabitants. It is to be regretted that he considered it within the line of his duty to make severe examples of those Americans who, from those shifting influences of fear and hope which

mark such contests, deserted the royal cause for which they had engaged their services. The laws of war certainly justified the punishment of desertion; but the peculiar circumstances of this war called for the exercise of great forbearance, except in cases of signal treachery. The American army which was approaching Charleston was under the command of general Gates. The vanguards of the two armies became engaged at Camden on the 16th of August, when the Americans sustained a complete defeat. Some of the prisoners taken in this battle were hanged, they having manifested their change of opinion by having British protections on their persons. Death was denounced against all militia-men who, having served in the British armies, had joined the revolutionists. Estates were threatened to be sequestered of those who had opposed the British interests in the province. American citizens of Charleston were forcibly removed on board ship to St. Augustine, in Florida. Complaint was made of this proceeding; and Cornwallis thus defends it: "I have only to say that the insolence of their behaviour, the threats with which they, in the most daring manner, endeavoured to intimidate our friends; the infamous falsehoods which they propagated through the town and country, and the correspondence which they constantly kept up with the enemy, rendered it indispensably necessary that they should be either closely confined or sent out of the province." * In a letter to Clinton of the 29th of August, Cornwallis details how he had ordered militia-men, who had been enrolled

Lord Cornwallis. From a Painting by Hamilton.

and then revolted, to be hung up.† He makes constant complaints to American generals of their severities. Washington writes a letter of remonstrance against the severities of Cornwallis, which he addresses to Clinton; and Clinton replies, that it has been his invariable desire to soften the horrors of war, as it was the desire of every officer in his majesty's service; "but proper punishments upon guilty persons may become sometimes necessary." ‡ Sir

* "Correspondence of Cornwallis," vol. i. p. 72. † *Ibid*, p. 61. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 58.

Henry takes rather a high tone at the notion of any remonstrance being addressed to him: "I desire to conclude this subject by informing you, sir, that I esteem myself accountable for my public conduct to his majesty the king, to my country, and my own conscience." Lord Rawdon, afterwards lord Moira, who commanded a post in connection

Lord Rawdon. From a Picture by Shee.

with the main army, appears to have gone somewhat beyond the proper bounds of punishment for guilty persons. He offered a reward of ten guineas to the inhabitants of the country if they would bring in the head of any deserter, and five guineas if they would bring him in alive. He justifies his measure as being merely intended to terrify. During the war in the Southern States, the severities practised by both parties were a proof that embittered feelings on both sides would endure far too long for the restoration of a cordial amity, whatever might be the issue of the war. The word "retaliation" was of too frequent use by those in command; and Cornwallis himself saw that the contest was assuming a character in which it would "become truly savage." After various encounters, each of the Southern armies went into winter-quarters.

Until the summer of 1780 the British and American armies in the Central States were comparatively inactive. Washington had to encounter the greatest difficulties in the maintenance of his troops. During the absence of Clinton the royalist forces were not strong enough to attempt any important movement. The prospect was changed by the arrival in July, off Rhode Island, of a French armament of six thousand men, under the command of the comte de Rochambeau. A commission of lieutenant-general in the French service had been sent to Washington, and the French troops were to be under his orders. This great reinforcement of the Americans landed in Rhode Island. There were various delays which prevented Clinton attacking them. But a considerable addition to the fleet under admiral Arbuthnot having arrived from England, the French troops were effectually blockaded in their position at Newport, and their purpose of combined operations with Washington was prevented. The two generals, however, arranged a meeting at Hartford, in Connecticut; Greene having the command of the American army during the temporary absence of Washington.

Benedict Arnold, who had done such signal service against the British in

Canada, had, in his capacity of chief in Philadelphia, after that city had been evacuated by Clinton, been guilty of some irregularity for which he had been reprimanded by a court-martial. He was dissatisfied with Congress; and the French alliance was distasteful to him. Washington recommended his appointment to the charge of West Point, and other important posts, commanding the Hudson; and at West Point he was stationed in August. He had, long previously, opened a secret correspondence with sir Henry Clinton; in which he proposed to join the royal army, and give possession of the forts and their garrisons under his orders. The treacherous overture was accepted, and all honour and advantage promised to the traitor. The correspondence was conducted on the part of Clinton by major John André, the adjutant-general of the army, who signed his letters "John Anderson." Arnold adopted the signature of "Gustavus." A meeting between the correspondents was proposed to take place during the time when Washington had gone to confer with Rochambeau. Clinton consented, warning the ardent young officer against entering the American lines, carrying papers, or assuming any disguise.

General Arnold. From a French Portrait.

On the night of the 21st of September, André went up the Hudson in the Vulture sloop of war, and was conveyed in a boat to the place appointed for his rendezvous with Arnold. It was on the western bank, on the neutral ground. The conference lasted till the dawn; when, to complete their arrangements, André was persuaded to accompany Arnold to a house within the American lines. When his business was finished, and he went to the river to be conveyed on board the sloop, he found that it had been compelled to drop down the Hudson nearer New York. He returned; received a pass from Arnold, under his assumed name of John Anderson; changed his uniform for plain clothes; and did the other dangerous thing against which he was expressly cautioned—he received papers from Arnold, explaining the state of the fort at West Point. Having crossed the river, with the intention of proceeding on horseback to New York, he had passed securely through the American lines, and was again on neutral ground, when he was seized by three men of the American militia. He was conducted to their commander,

colonel Jameson. The mode in which Arnold was informed of the capture of André does not very clearly appear, the narratives being somewhat conflicting; but, upon learning the event, Arnold saw the immediate necessity of his own escape; and getting on board the sloop which was to have secured safety to André, he reached the British quarters at New York. Two days after, Washington arrived at Arnold's house, and learnt the news of his absence and his defection.

Major André. From a Picture painted by himself.

On the return of Washington to his camp on the 28th, he found André there under arrest. He had previously received a letter from the prisoner, avowing his name and rank. The case was immediately referred to a court of general officers, fourteen in number. Twelve of these were Americans, with whom La Fayette and Steuben were associated. The deportment of the prisoner was altogether consistent with the manliness of a British officer, and his own sense of honour. He would commit no other person. He would resort to no subterfuge to defend himself. Steuben, it is reported, was exceedingly afflicted at what he considered the inevitable result. "It was impossible," said the old German, "to save him. He put us to no proof; but in an open, manly manner, confessed everything but a premeditated design to deceive." * The verdict of the council of officers was that major André ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy; and that, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, it was their opinion he ought to suffer death. Before the inquiry took place, Clinton had addressed a letter to Washington demanding André's release, on the ground that he had gone ashore with a flag of truce sent by Arnold, and when arrested was under the protection of a pass which Arnold had authority to give. Washington informed sir Henry of the decision to which the court had come. A deputation was then sent to the American head-quarters, who were received by

* "Life of Steuben," p. 290.

Greene, the president of the court; but their arguments, and offers to exchange any prisoner that might be selected, were unavailing. Washington confirmed the sentence that the brave, enthusiastic, accomplished officer should die the death of a felon. André requested to die as a soldier. To that request no answer was given. He made up his mind, as expressed in a touching letter to sir Henry Clinton, for any fate to which an honest zeal for the king's service might have devoted him. On the 2nd of October that execution took place under the warrant of Washington, which is held by a very just and right-minded historian, as "by far the greatest, and perhaps the only, blot in his most noble career."* We are constrained to dissent from this opinion; but we prefer to rest our judgment upon another authority than our own. We extract the following passage from a brief memoir of André, published in one of the earliest miscellanies that was addressed to the growing power to read amongst the humbler classes:—

"At the period when the event took place, a torrent of indignation burst forth against Washington, who was charged with cold malignity, in thus sacrificing a meritorious officer, in a manner so unworthy of his character. This is the tone of feeling which dictated Anna Seward's monody to his memory, and filled the newspapers of the day with every violent epithet. It is to be regretted that some of our historians have adopted this view of the transaction. But highly as we estimate the claims of our lamented countryman to the gratitude of this nation, we must acquit Washington of all injustice towards him. Major André fell a sacrifice to that ardent zeal which animated his whole conduct, and to the ill-advice which he received from Arnold. Against his own better judgment and intentions, he assumed a disguise in name and dress, and took charge of secret papers within the enemy's lines, which distinctly fixed upon him the character of a spy, and subjected him to all the perils of discovery. His letter to sir Henry Clinton bears witness to the personal kindness he received from Washington, who doubtless gave no reply to his last request, in order to save his feelings the pain of a refusal. Had that general consented to change the mode of his death, he would have abandoned the principle upon which his fate was determined. The critical posture of affairs at that moment compelled the American chief to avail himself of an event so important to his future success. The strong measure he adopted was designed to show that the contest must be decided by force of arms—that he had thrown away the scabbard—and that he was resolved to extinguish at a blow those intrigues by which his former operations had been betrayed. As the success of major André's confederacy with Arnold would probably have destroyed the last hope of the Revolutionists, so the terror produced by his execution, and the timely discovery of Arnold's defection, ultimately led to the independence of the United States."†

* Lord Mahon's "History," vol. vii. p. 106.

† "Plain Englishman," vol. ii. 1821. This periodical was jointly conducted by Mr. Locker, the secretary of Greenwich Hospital, and by the author of the "Popular History." Mr. Locker was selected, as the friend of the three sisters of major André, to attend on the 28th of November, 1821, as their representative, when the remains of their brother, disinterred in America, were placed in a vault in Westminster Abbey, near the cenotaph which had been erected to his memory by command of George III. The memoir of André, containing the passage we quote, was written by Mr. Locker immediately after the ceremony which he had attended.

Elizabeth Castle, Jersey. 1780.

CHAPTER XXVII.

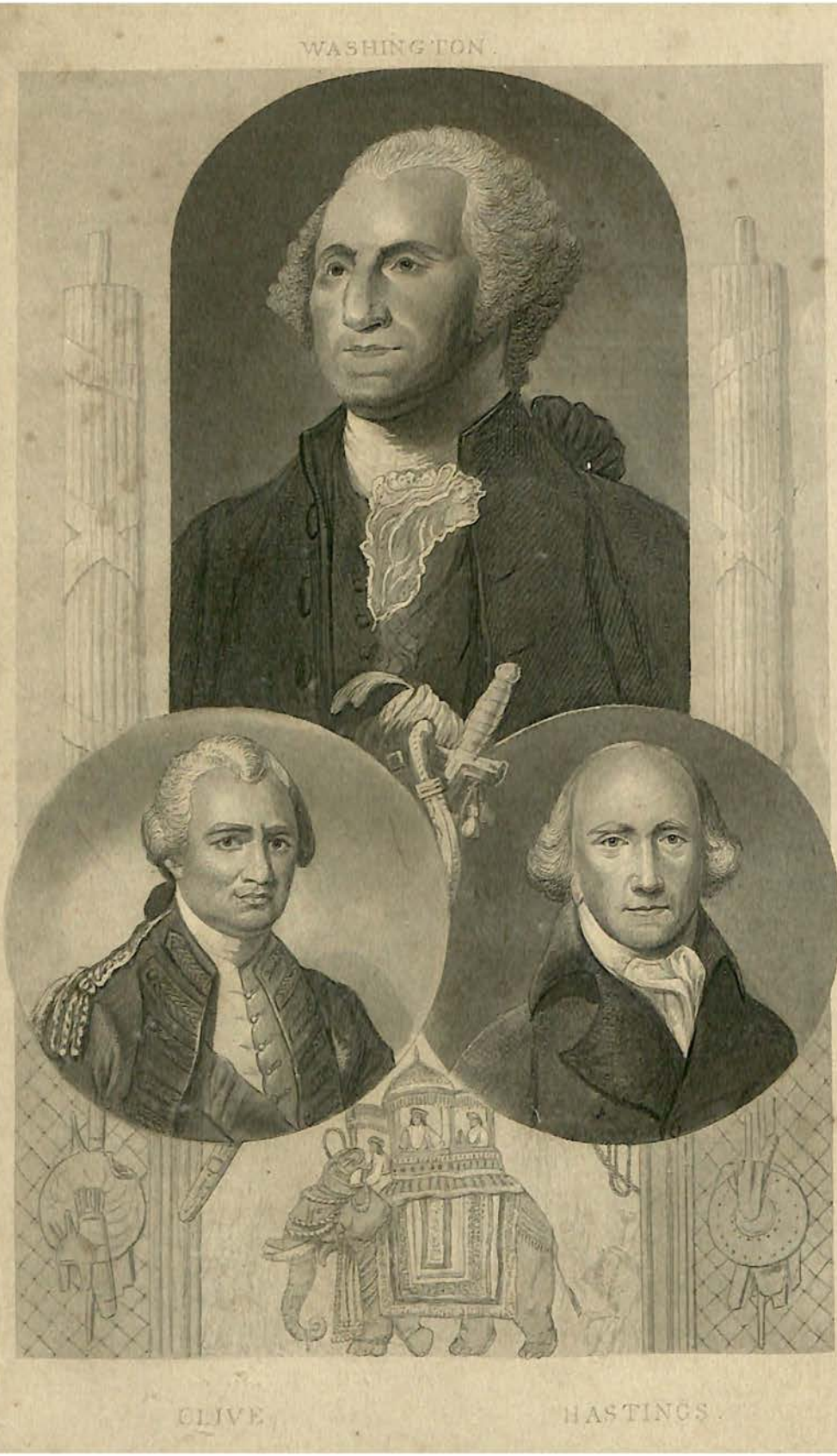
Elections of 1780—Burke rejected for Bristol—War with Holland—French attack upon Jersey—Capture of St. Eustatius by Rodney—Privateering—Action off the Dogger Bank—Difficulties of Washington's army—Mutinies—Cornwallis in the Carolinas—He is defeated at Cowpens—His victory at Guilford—Cornwallis marches into Virginia—Fleet of De Grasse arrives in the Chesapeake—Washington's march to Virginia—Cornwallis fortifies York Town—He is besieged, and his supplies cut off—He capitulates—Surrender of the British army—The disastrous news received in London.

The new Parliament assembled on the 1st of November, 1780. The elections had, in some degree, furnished a test of the popular feeling, in the choice of their members by large communities. They had certainly not manifested that the opinion of commercial cities, represented by that very ill-compounded body of voters called freemen, was favourable to the growth of a just and liberal policy. Edmund Burke was rejected by Bristol, after having served that flourishing emporium of trade for six years. The sentiment against him was so decided that he could not even venture to go to the poll. What were the public crimes imputed to him? First, that he had voted for Bills which removed some of the barbarous restrictions upon the trade of Ireland. It was in vain that he had told his constituents, whilst this measure of relief was depending in 1778, that "trade is not a limited thing; as if the objects of mutual demand and consumption could not stretch beyond

the bounds of our jealousies;"* that England and Ireland might flourish together; that everything that is got by another is not taken from ourselves. Secondly, it was charged against the member for Bristol, that he had supported a Bill for reforming the law process concerning imprisonment for debt; and thus had endeavoured to mitigate some of the frightful evils of a system under which a debtor might be imprisoned for life at the bidding of an inexorable creditor, unless relieved by those occasional acts of grace "which turned loose upon the public three or four thousand naked wretches, corrupted by the habits, debased by the ignominy, of a prison."† It was in his speech to the electors, in defending his maintenance of the principle that "the counting-house has no alliance with the gaol," that Burke pronounced his splendid eulogy on Howard: "He has visited all Europe,—not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, or the stateliness of temples; not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the curiosity of modern art; not to collect medals, or to collate manuscripts;—but to dive into the depths of dungeons; to plunge into the infection of hospitals; to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression, and contempt; to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to visit the forsaken, and to compare and collate the distresses of all men in all countries." The third charge of the citizens of Bristol against their representative was his support of sir George Savile's Bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics from the penal laws—that wise and politic measure which produced the riots of 1780. Burke's manly exposure of the cowardice which argued that the Act of Relief ought not to have been passed, in deference to Protestant prejudices, is an example of the mode in which honest statesmen ought to encounter popular delusions. The spirit which dictated the peroration of his speech to the electors is worthy of the imitation of the highest and the humblest in rank or talent who aspire to be legislators: "I do not here stand before you accused of venality, or of neglect of duty. It is not said, that, in the long period of my service, I have, in a single instance, sacrificed the slightest of your interests to my ambition, or to my fortune. It is not alleged, that to gratify any anger, or revenge of my own, or of my party, I have had a share in wronging or oppressing any description of men, or any one man in any description. No! The charges against me are all of one kind, that I have pushed the principles of general justice and benevolence too far; further than a cautious policy would warrant; and further than the opinions of many would go along with me. In every accident which may happen through life,—in pain, in sorrow, in depression and distress—I will call to mind this accusation; and be comforted."

The elections were generally favourable to the Court. The riots of London had spread terror through the country. Opposition to the measures of government, conducted legally and peacefully, was regarded by many of the rich and most of the timid as encouragement to the outrages of ignorant multitudes. Although a hundred and thirteen new members were returned to this Parliament, there were few expensive contests, especially for counties. Of the new members, there were several young men whose names afterwards became famous. Wilberforce was returned for Hull, by a corrupt expenditure

* "Two Letters to Gentlemen in Bristol." † "Speech at Bristol."


WASHINGTON.
CLIVE.
HASTINGS.

of eight or nine thousand pounds.* Pitt sat for the close borough of Appleby, having unsuccessfully contested the University of Cambridge. Sheridan was elected for Stafford.

The ministry, as might be expected from the result of the elections, had acquired a firmer position. On the 25th of January a royal message announced a rupture with Holland, the reasons of which were set forth in a manifesto. An amendment to the Address in support of the war was rejected by large majorities in both houses. Burke, having been returned for the borough of Malton, brought forward his motion for the regulation of the Civil List, which had been rejected in the previous Session. It again met with the same fate. Pitt made his first speech on this occasion, in support of the Bill. Two more efforts put the young orator upon a level with the most influential members of the party that advocated retrenchment and reform, and were opposed to the American war—a war described by the son of Chatham as "a most accursed, wicked, barbarous, cruel, unnatural, unjust, and diabolical war!" Of these displays of his friend, Wilberforce thus prophesied: "He comes out, as his father did, a ready-made orator; and I doubt not but that I shall one day or other see him the first man in the country."†

At the beginning of 1781, the French made a desperate effort to secure the most important of the Channel Islands—the last possession of the duchy of Normandy which remained to the English crown. During the American war two previous attacks had been made upon Jersey, without success. The baron de Rullecourt had sailed from Granville, in Normandy, in a season of tempest, with a fleet of small vessels carrying two thousand troops. About half his force was driven back to the coast of France. But on the night of the 5th of January he landed eight hundred men at the Violet Bank, about three miles from St. Helier; and before daybreak was in possession of that town. The lieutenant-governor and the magistrates being seized, Rullecourt terrified them into signing a capitulation. The officers in Elizabeth Castle declared that they were not bound by such an act, and refused to surrender the fortress. Meanwhile a spirited young officer, major Pierson, of the 99th regiment, had collected the militia of the island, with some other troops; and, in answer to a demand from Rullecourt to capitulate, replied that if the French commander did not himself surrender in twenty minutes he should be attacked. Pierson led his columns into the town; drove the enemy from street to street; and finally compelled the whole body to surrender in the market-place. The gallant Englishman was shot through the heart at the moment of his triumph; and the French invader was mortally wounded.

Great Britain had now to encounter the hazards of a maritime war with France, Spain, and Holland. For two years this somewhat unequal battle was most vigorously fought, wherever there was a hostile flag to be encountered. The ancient supremacy of the seas was again maintained, single-handed, against four allied powers. Whatever were the misfortunes of the British army that terminated the conflict in America, the close of the war was marked by maritime successes, which had an important influence upon the conclusion of a peace; and whose example stimulated that heroic spirit in

* "Life of Wilberforce," by his sons, vol. i. p. 15.

† *Ibid.* p. 22.

our naval commanders which was the chief safety of our country in another war of even greater peril.

The first signal event of the war with Holland was the capture of St. Eustatius, one of the Leeward Islands. This small possession, which had been colonized by the Dutch for a hundred and eighty years, was especially valuable to them as the seat of a great commerce—"as the grand free port of the West Indies and America, and as a general market, and magazine, to all nations." * This rock was in itself a natural fortification. Its one landing-place is now so fortified as to be considered impregnable. On the 3rd of February, 1781, when admiral Rodney, having been apprised of the declaration of war, appeared before St. Eustatius with a large fleet, and demanded an immediate surrender, the governor deemed all resistance unavailing. The riches in merchandise obtained by this success were beyond all previous conception. The whole island was one vast emporium of sugar and tobacco, and all the richer products of the West Indies. In the bay two hundred and fifty trading vessels were captured. All the valuable property belonging, not only to the Dutch West India Company and the traders of Amsterdam, but to the merchants of Great Britain and the residents of our West Indian Islands, was indiscriminately seized. Rodney, who had the command of the West India station, was beset with remonstrances and applications for redress. The merchants of St. Christopher's had been great sufferers, and the legislature of that island supported their claims to compensation, on the ground that they had lodged their property at St. Eustatius under the guarantee of several Acts of Parliament. They were told that the island was Dutch, everything in it was Dutch, was under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it should be treated. Jews, Americans, French, and native Dutch, were successively transported from the island. Their property was sold by public auction; and merchandise, to the amount of three millions, was disposed of at a terrible depreciation, and found its way chiefly to the French and Danish islands. May we not hope that such a barbarous mode of conducting warfare has passed away; and that, although merchants cannot expect to be wholly exempted from loss and suffering, it will cease to be an object with a great naval power such as Britain, so to time its declaration of hostilities, as to rush upon unprepared and unsuspecting commercial communities "like thieves who break through and steal." Rodney, in his official despatch, disclaimed any hope of private advantage. Lord North, in a debate in the House of Commons upon the question of the confiscation of the property at St. Eustatius, stated that he had received a letter from the admiral in which he had said he did not consider the property as belonging to himself but to the Crown; and Rodney, in his place as a member, declared he had no other idea at the time when he seized all the property in the island than that it belonged of right to his country. "He had not received intelligence, till long after the confiscation, of his majesty's gracious intentions of relinquishing his rights in favour of the fleet and army to whom the island was surrendered." Litigation in the courts of law left little to the captors of what had been saved from recapture by the French in its conveyance home. The nation had to endure a great amount of opprobrium in Europe; and the English flag

* "Annual Register," 1781, p. 101.

came to be regarded in the West Indies as an ensign almost as much to be dreaded as the black flag of the pirate. The piratical flag was really raised by a squadron of privateers from Bristol, who set sail upon hearing of the rupture with Holland, without waiting for those letters of marque and reprisal under which their acts would have been legalised. The Dutch settlements in Guiana offered tempting prizes to these adventures. To plunder the rich Hollanders appeared to be an object worthy of British enterprize, whether lawful or unlawful. The present age has grown ashamed of the system of privateering, however regularly conducted under the recognized forms. Enlightened men were always averse to this mode of private plunder under the pretence of national advantage. Franklin, in the negociations for the peace of 1783, proposed that Great Britain and America, as well as the other belligerent powers, should agree not to grant any commissions to private armed vessels, empowering them to take or destroy trading ships. In 1856, after the close of the war with Russia, the Conference at Paris recommended the entire abolition of the system of privateering, and the acknowledgment of the rights of neutrals, as desirable and necessary changes for bringing the system of war into harmony with the ideas and principles of modern civilization. There was one dissentient power whose ministers thought it politic to forget the recommendation of their illustrious countryman.

It was made a charge against sir George Rodney that he lingered at St. Eustatius from February to May, for the purpose of looking after his own interests, when he might during that time have carried on offensive operations at Martinique, where the French had an inferior force to oppose him. He was busy, it was said; about the captured merchandise, while the French fleet was reinforced, and Tobago was taken. Rodney defended himself by alleging that he had sent sir Samuel Hood, as he believed with an adequate force, to oppose the armament under De Grasse that had sailed from France. The force was not adequate; for five ships came out of Port Royal harbour to join the French admiral; and although there was a partial action, the English operations were wholly inefficient. The next year Rodney nobly vindicated himself from any imputation of want of zeal and daring. It was, indeed, then time that some great effort should be made to assert the maritime eminence of England; for lord Mulgrave, according to a report of his speech in November, 1781, maintained an opinion very strangely opposed to the prevailing belief: "We are not, nor ever were, equal to France in a naval contest, where France applied all her resources and strength to the raising of a navy." * An engagement off the Dogger Bank between a squadron under admiral Hyde Parker and a Dutch squadron, recalled the memory of "those dreadful sea-fights between England and Holland which the last century witnessed." † Like many of those sea-fights, there was no result but mutual destruction and prolonged animosity. The bravery and endurance of a British garrison were never more signally displayed than in the defence of Gibraltar during this year. Of that memorable siege we shall have to relate the continuous story in a subsequent chapter.

At no period of the contest between Great Britain and the United States

* "Parliamentary History," vol. 22, col. 711. † "Annual Register," 1782, p. 120.

were the two principals in the war in a condition in which peace was more necessary to each than at the beginning of the year 1781. Washington, looking at the extensive confederacy against England, thought, towards the end of the campaign of 1780, that it would not be in her power to continue the contest. But he was soon convinced that, however menaced on every side, England was entering upon another campaign without manifesting any sign of exhaustion. The American commander looked at his own resources, and saw little to inspire him with the hope of any decisive success. At this period he writes, "I see nothing before us but accumulating distress. We have been half our time without provisions, and are likely to continue so. We have no magazines, nor money to form them. We have lived upon expedients until we can live no longer."* The Congress, at the end of 1780, transmitted a letter to Franklin, addressed to the king of France, urgently requesting arms, ammunition, clothing, and a loan of money. Franklin writes to the French minister of foreign affairs, to express his opinion "that the present conjuncture is critical; that there is some danger lest the Congress should lose its influence over the people, if it is found unable to procure the aids that are wanted; and that the whole system of the new government in America may therefore be shaken."† Franklin at this crisis, when the immediate prospect was so obscure, predicted of a more remote future, if America should fail in asserting its independence, and "if the English were suffered once to recover that country." He prophesied "that the possession of those fertile and extensive regions, and that vast sea-coast, will afford them so broad a basis for future greatness, by the rapid growth of their commerce and breed of seamen and soldiers, as will enable them to become the terror of Europe, and to exercise with impunity that insolence which is so natural to their nation."‡ Franklin, amidst the blandishments of Paris, had become half a Frenchman. John Adams, who at this period was the American envoy at Amsterdam, reports how some of the Dutch prophesied after another fashion—"that America has the interest of all Europe against her; that she will become the greatest manufacturing country, and thus ruin Europe; that she will become a great and an ambitious military and naval power, and consequently terrible to Europe."§ Without regarding the possible effect of the establishment of American independence upon the future stability of the monarchy of France, the government of Louis XVI. resolved to make one more effort in this strange alliance between liberty and despotism. Six millions of livres were granted to America as a free gift. The king of France wanted to borrow money himself to support the war, and could not injure his own credit by being associated with an American loan, for the depreciation of the paper of Congress had closed the pockets of European capitalists.‖ To add to the gloom of the republican leaders, on new year's day thirteen hundred of the troops raised by Pennsylvania mutinied for redress of grievances to which Congress had given no heed. They would serve no longer without pay, without food, without clothing. They marched away from their encampment at Morristown, and were reduced to obedience with great difficulty, but without severities.

* Ramsay, "Life of Washington," p. 162. † "Works," vol. viii. p. 534.
‡ *Ibid.* § *Ibid.*, p. 494, Letter to Franklin, August, 1780. ‖ *Ibid.*, vol. ix. p. 2.

A similar mutiny in the brigade of New Jersey was quelled by a superior force, and by military executions.

The capture of Charlestown in May, 1780, and the victory of Camden in the following August, had led the English government to believe that another campaign would produce a favourable termination of the war. Lord George Germaine, in a letter to lord Cornwallis, takes the same high tone about the restoration of the constitution, and the punishment of rebels, as in the early stages of the conflict. He approves of the severities of Cornwallis towards traitors: "The most disaffected will now be convinced that we are not afraid to punish, and will no longer venture to repeat their crimes in the hope of impunity should they be detected; and those who are more moderate will be led to withdraw from a cause which is evidently declining, before it becomes desperate, and they expose themselves to the consequences they may reasonably apprehend will fall upon such as persist in rebellion to the last." * With such an adviser, we can well understand how the king could have no other notion of three or four millions of Americans in revolt, than that they were mere traitors to be conquered, and then to be wholly dependent upon his royal mercy. The people of England were now, to a certain extent, in unison with the government as to the necessity of continuing the war. Mr. Hartley writes to Franklin, "I verily believe so great is the jealousy between England and France, that this country would fight for a straw to the last man, and the last shilling, rather than be dictated to by France." † The unfortunate union of common cause between America and France had turned aside the wish of the people of England for peace. This opinion of Mr. Hartley is confirmed—as far as a general sentiment can receive confirmation from the expression of opinion in particular localities—by the tone of public meetings and the words of addresses to the crown.

Lord Cornwallis, in his camp at Wynnesborough, amidst the flooded rivers and creeks of South Carolina, was not so sanguine as the secretary at Whitehall. The whole country, he writes to sir Henry Clinton at the beginning of January, is kept in continual alarm by perpetual risings in different parts of the province, and the invariable success of these parties against the royalist militia.‡ On the 7th of January, Cornwallis began his march for North Carolina. He sent forward lieut-colonel Tarleton, with seven hundred infantry and three hundred and fifty cavalry, "to endeavour to strike a blow at general Morgan." Heavy rains swelled the water-courses, and impeded the progress of the army. On the 17th Tarleton came up with Morgan; and the battle of Cowpens resulted in the total defeat of the British. The American line had given way, and the British were in disorderly pursuit, when Morgan's corps faced about and poured in a heavy fire upon the pursuers. A general panic ensued, in spite of the exertions, entreaties, and example of colonel Tarleton. More than one-half of the royalist forces were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, by an enemy not superior in numbers. This defeat is described as "the most serious calamity which had occurred since Saratoga—and crippled lord Cornwallis for the remainder of the war." §

* "Cornwallis Correspondence," vol. i. p. 81.
† "Franklin's Works," vol. ix. p. 119. ‡ "Cornwallis Correspondence," vol. i. p. 81.
§ *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 84.

Morgan, after his victory at the Cowpens, was enabled, though closely pursued by Cornwallis, to unite his forces with those of Nathaniel Greene, a meritorious officer, who was appointed to succeed Gates as commander of the American army in North and South Carolina. By the judicious arrangements of general Greene he was enabled to avoid a battle with the superior force of Cornwallis, and entered Virginia. Jefferson was the governor of that State.

Thomas Jefferson.

At the beginning of January, Arnold, who was now in full activity in the British service, landed about nine hundred men at James Town. They burnt all the public property at Richmond and other places, and having marched more than thirty miles into the interior, regained their vessels. This incursion occupied only forty-eight hours. Virginia had at that time a population of more than half-a-million, and there were fifty thousand enrolled militia. But these were scattered over the country; and Richmond, the capital, was a town, or rather village, of only eighteen hundred inhabitants. The militia was a force upon paper, with few men called into the field; and without money or arms it would have been useless to collect and embody them. This was the defence made by Jefferson, when his enemies accused him of neglect, and threatened impeachment.* Arnold made a second irruption in April, and again destroyed much property. General Greene had been reinforced with all the available militia from Virginia at the beginning of March; and on the 15th he was approaching Guilford, in North Carolina, with an army of seven thousand men. On that day lord Cornwallis attacked him, and after an action of an hour and a-half routed the American army, and took their cannon. The British sustained a heavy loss. "The great fatigue of the troops," writes Cornwallis to Rawdon, "the number of wounded, and the want of provisions, prevented our pursuing the enemy." † Greene, who had fled twenty miles from Guilford, soon became the pursuer. By his incessant activity he cut off supplies from the British army, which was compelled to fall back to Wilmington, on the Cape Fear River. He arrived there on the 7th of April. On the 10th he wrote to major-general Phillips, "I have had a most difficult and dangerous campaign, and was obliged to fight a battle, two hundred miles from any communication, with an enemy seven times my number. The fate of it was long doubtful. We had not a regiment or corps that did not at some time give way." He adds, "I am quite tired of marching about the country in quest of adventures. If we mean an offensive war in America we must abandon New York, and bring our whole force into Virginia; we then have a stake to fight for, and a successful battle may give us America." ‡ Cornwallis wrote home to lord George Germaine to recommend "a serious attempt upon Virginia." On the 23rd, without waiting for instructions from the ministry, or receiving orders from sir Henry Clinton, his

* Tucker's "Life of Jefferson," vol. i. p. 150.

† "Cornwallis Correspondence," vol. i. p. 86.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 88.

superior officer, he resolved, upon his own responsbility, as he expressed in another letter to the Secretary of State, "to take advantage of general Greene's having left the back of Virginia open, and march immediately into that province, to attempt a junction with general Phillips." He apologizes to Clinton for deciding upon measures so important, without his direction or approbation; alleging "the delay and difficulty of conveying letters, and the impossibility of waiting for answers." * The opinions of Clinton and Cornwallis upon the conduct of the war were not in accord. Clinton thought the main object was to defend New York, and merely maintain the posts held in the Southern provinces. Cornwallis held that if a defensive war was the plan to be adopted, mixed with desultory expeditions, it would be best to abandon the Carolinas, which could not be held defensively whilst Virginia could be so easily armed. "Let us quit the Carolinas, and stick to our salt-pork at New York, sending now and then a detachment to steal tobacco." Whilst Cornwallis was setting forth on an undertaking which, he says, "sits heavy on my mind," Rawdon, on the 25th of April, won a battle near Camden. He sallied from that post to attack general Greene, whose force doubled his own. The Americans quitted the field; but the victory had no eventual benefit for the British cause.

Lord Cornwallis crossed James River, into Virginia on the 26th of May. General Phillips had died whilst his friend was on his march to join him. Cornwallis was, however, now strengthened by reinforcements, and proposed to dislodge La Fayette from Richmond. But La Fayette moved to the upper country, and though the English general wrote "the boy cannot escape me," the boy was too alert to be captured. The legislature of Virginia was sitting at Charlottesville, and colonel Tarleton was very near surprising the whole body. Jefferson himself had a narrow escape, having only quitted his own house at Monticello ten minutes before the British entered it. "His property, books, and papers, were all respected; with the exception of the waste which was committed in his cellars by a few of the men, without the knowledge of their commanding officer." † The Virginians bitterly complained of the mischief committed upon their plantations by the invading army,—crops of corn and tobacco destroyed, barns burnt, horses carried off. The damage of six months was estimated at three millions sterling.‡

On the 2nd of August Cornwallis was in possession of York Town, on the peninsula between the river York and the river James. "The position," he writes to his friend, brigadier O'Hara, "is bad, and of course we want more troops, and you know that every senior general takes without remorse from a junior, and tells him he has nothing to fear." § Clinton was urging him to send men to New York. During the month of August, Cornwallis was busily employed in fortifying York Town, and also Gloucester on the opposite side of the York River. On the 29th of August, the French West India fleet, under De Grasse, entered the Chesapeake, and landed a large force at James Town. Cornwallis wrote to Clinton, to apprise him of this event, and to announce that Washington "is said to be shortly expected." Clinton

* "Cornwallis Correspondence," vol. i. p. 94, 95.
† Tucker, "Life of Jefferson," vol. i. p. 160.
‡ *Ibid.*
§ "Cornwallis Correspondence," vol. i. p. 112.

replied that he had no doubt that Washington was "moving with six thousand French and rebel troops" against Cornwallis; and that all the force that could be spared from New York should be sent to him.

At the beginning of August, Washington, encamped in the neighbourhood of New York, was anxiously expecting the arrival of the fleet under De Grasse. He had conceived hopes, more than usually sanguine, that a combined attack upon New York by land and sea might have given a decisive turn to the war. The despatches of Clinton to Cornwallis show how anxiously the British general looked to the defence of this important place, which had so long been the scene of hostilities. On the 14th of August Washington received intelligence that De Grasse had sailed to the Chesapeake. He instantly determined to abandon all idea of attacking New York, and to march for Virginia. On the 21st of August, the troops destined for the South were in motion, no attempt having been made by Clinton to interrupt their march.

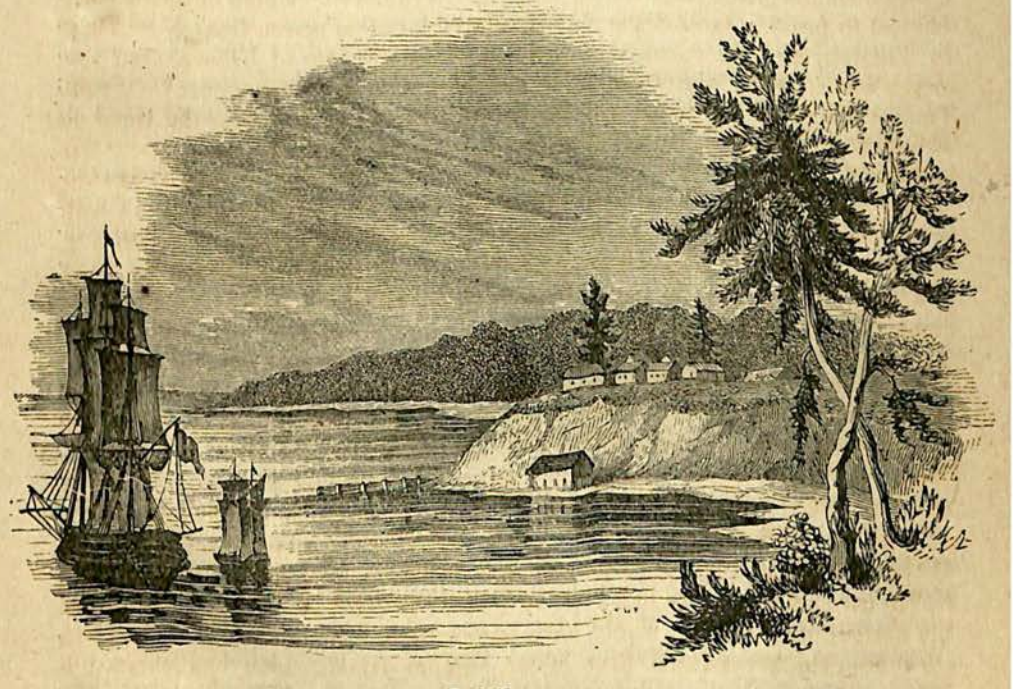
Those qualities of a commander which are, at the least, as important, if not so dazzling, as his ability to "set a squadron in the field," have been rarely displayed more signally than in the provident care of Washington that no disorder should ensue from the sudden change in his whole plan of operations. He had to provide against the chance of attack on his march from New York to Trenton, and he adroitly managed to lead Clinton to believe that the march was a feint, and that he would return to his encampment. From Trenton his army had to be transported to Christiana, and from the Head of Elk down the Chesapeake. He had to make arrangements that, upon the instant of his arrival, all the craft fit for the navigation of the Delaware should be ready to embark his troops. He had to ensure a supply of salt provisions, flour, and rum, at the Head of Elk, to satisfy weary and grumbling men during their long river passage. They were grumblers because for some time they had received no pay. He arranged for "a douceur of a little hard money to put them in proper temper." He regarded the object of his movement as one of the greatest importance; and urged upon the authorities of the various States to provide the means for prosecuting a siege with rapidity. On the 6th of September, Washington was at the Head of Elk, and had put himself into communication with De Grasse. On the 10th he was for a few hours in his own home at Mount Vernon,—"a modest habitation, quite in keeping with the idea that we have of Cincinnatus, and of those of the other great commanders of the Roman republic." * The troops had been embarked at the Head of Elk, but their general suddenly commanded them to stop. He had heard that De Grasse had gone to sea on the 5th, and he doubted whether the navigation of the bay would have been secure. De Grasse had set sail to encounter the West India fleet of sir Samuel Hood, which had effected a junction with six ships under admiral Graves, who, as senior officer, took the command. On the 5th a general engagement ensued, in which both fleets were damaged, but no vessels on either side were taken or destroyed. The French being reinforced by the squadron from Rhode Island, Graves returned to New York, and De Grasse remained master of the Chesapeake.

On the 17th of September, Cornwallis wrote somewhat despairingly to

* Steuben, p. 346.

Clinton: "I am just informed that since the Rhode Island squadron has joined, they have thirty-six sail of the line. This place is in no state of defence. If you cannot relieve me very soon you must be prepared to hear the worst."* He was promised relief, and the co-operation of a force of five thousand men, which was to be conveyed by the whole fleet on the 5th of October. On the 8th of September, Cornwallis had provisions for six weeks. The French fleet in the Chesapeake entirely cut off any chance of further supplies. On the 14th of October, then, according to this calculation, the British army would be in peril of starvation. But, according to one account, Cornwallis subsequently thought that he might hold out to the middle of November.†

On the 19th of September, Steuben, who had been appointed to a regular command in the siege of York Town, writes, "Cornwallis is fortifying himself like a brave general who must fall; but I think he will fall with honour."‡ Steuben was the only American officer who had ever taken part in a regular siege, and his assistance in the siege of York Town appears to have been especially valuable. On the 30th of September the besieging army broke



York Town.

ground, and constructed redoubts about eleven hundred yards from the British works. On the evening of the 9th they opened their batteries, and, writes Cornwallis on the 11th, "have since continued firing without intermission with about forty pieces of cannon, mostly heavy, and sixteen

* "Cornwallis Correspondence," vol. i. p. 120.
† *Ibid.*, p. 123.—Letter of Brodrick to Townshend.
‡ "Life," p. 466.

mortars." On the 12th their second parallel was opened. Cornwallis now began to lose hope: "Nothing," he says, "but a direct move to York River, which includes a successful naval action, can save me." On the 15th he apprised Clinton that his two advanced redoubts had been carried by storm; that his situation was very critical; that his first earthen works could not resist powerful artillery; and, his numbers being weakened, he concludes by saying, "the safety of the place is therefore so precarious, that I cannot recommend that the fleet and army should run great risk in endeavouring to save us." The catastrophe was close at hand. On the 20th of October, Cornwallis wrote to inform Clinton that, on the previous day, he had been forced to give up the posts of York and Gloucester, and to surrender the troops under his command, by capitulation, as prisoners of war to the combined forces of America and France. In this letter he describes the difficulties he had encountered, since he withdrew within the works in expectation of the promised relief. He dwells on the diminution of his numbers by the fire of the enemy and by sickness; on the exhaustion of the strength and spirits of those that remained. "Under all these circumstances I thought it would have been wanton and inhuman to the last degree to sacrifice the lives of this small body of gallant soldiers, who had ever behaved with so much fidelity and courage, by exposing them to an assault, which, from the numbers and precautions of the enemy, could not fail to succeed."* The garrison, at the time of the surrender, consisted of 363 officers, of whom some were sick; of 4541 non-commissioned officers and rank and file fit for duty; and of 2089 sick and wounded.

The Articles of Capitulation did not involve any degrading conditions. The garrisons of York and Gloucester were to march out to an appointed place, with shouldered arms, colours cased, and drums beating a British or German march; then to ground their arms, and return to the place of their encampment. The imagination might fill up a picture from this indistinct outline. But a very graphic representation of an extraordinary scene exists in the diary of an Anspach serjeant, who served in the British army.† We necessarily take only the prominent points of a lengthened detail. On the afternoon of the 19th of October, all the troops marched on the road to Williamsburg, in platoons, through the whole American and French army, who were drawn up in regiments. In front of each regiment were their generals and staff-officers. The French generals were attended by richly dressed servants in liveries. Count de Rochambeau, marquis de Lafayette, count de Deuxponts, and prince de Lucerne were there, wearing glittering stars and badges. The French formed the right wing. The left wing of the line was formed of the Americans. In front were their generals, Washington, Gates, Steuben, and Wayne. They were paraded in three lines. The regulars, in front, looked passable; but the militia, from Virginia and Maryland, were ragged and ill-looking. The prisoners were quite astonished at the immense number of their besiegers, whose lines, three ranks deep, extended nearly two miles. They passed through this formidable army to a large plain, where a squadron

* "Cornwallis Correspondence," vol. i. p. 129.

† First published in the "Life of Steuben," from the manuscript of John Conrad Doehla in the possession of Friedrich Kaap, the author of that life, p. 459.

of French hussars had formed a circle. One regiment after another had to pass into this circle, to lay down their muskets and other arms. The honest narrator says, "When our colonel, baron Seybothen, had marched his men into the circle, he had us drawn up in a line, stepped in front of it, and commanded first, 'Present arms,' and then, 'Lay down arms—put off swords and cartridge-boxes,' while tears ran down his cheeks. Most of us were weeping like him." All the officers, English and German, were allowed to keep their swords. All marched back in utter silence to the camp. Their courage and their spirit were gone; "the more so," says the serjeant, "as in this our return march the American part of our conquerors jeered at us very insultingly." Upon their return to their lines and tents, they enjoyed full liberty. The French are described as behaving very well towards the conquered—altogether kind and obliging. Cornwallis, in his dispatch, makes no complaint of the Americans, but he clearly draws a distinction that seems expressive of no very cordial feeling towards those of the same race with himself: "The treatment, in general, that we have received from the enemy since our surrender has been perfectly good and proper; but the kindness and attention that has been shown to us by the French officers in particular —their delicate sensibility of our situation, their generous and pressing offer of money, both public and private, to any amount—has really gone beyond what I can possibly describe, and will, I hope, make an impression on the breast of every British officer whenever the fortune of war should put any of them into our power." * The abbé Robin noticed that there was a much deeper feeling of animosity between the English and Americans, than between the English and French. As the English officers passed through the lines they saluted every French officer, but they showed no such courtesy to the American officers.† There was no wisdom or equity in this unmerited contempt of men who were fighting for a far higher cause than their French allies. There was only a paltry display of military pride against irregulars, and a servile imitation of the temper of the English Court towards "rebels." An article of capitulation proposed by Cornwallis was rejected by Washington :—"Natives or inhabitants of different parts of this country at present in York or Gloucester are not to be punished on account of having joined the British army." It was rejected upon this principle :—"The article cannot be assented to, being altogether of civil resort." But Washington did not refuse his consent through any vindictive feeling. He allowed an article to stand, by which the Bonetta sloop of war should be left entirely at the disposal of lord Cornwallis, and be permitted to sail to New York without examination. The Anspach serjeant records that Tories of the country who were in the British army, and the French and American deserters who had joined during the siege, thus passed unmolested. This fact was probably unknown in England when Cornwallis was bitterly blamed for consenting to the refusal of the tenth article. "He ought," says Walpole, "to have declared he would die rather than sacrifice the poor Americans who had followed him from loyalty against their countrymen." ‡

* "Cornwallis Correspondence," vol. i. p. 130.
† Quoted by Lord Mahon, vol. vii. p. 181.
‡ "Last Journals," vol. ii. p. 475.

On the day that Cornwallis signed the capitulation, Clinton despatched the auxiliary force for his relief. When Cornwallis and his superior officer met at New York, their differences of opinion became a matter of serious controversy, which was subsequently taken up in parliamentary debates, and in pamphlets not devoid of personal acrimony. These charges and recriminations were soon forgotten, in the more important political events that were a certain consequence of a calamity through which the war would very soon come to an end. There can be no doubt that the government felt the capitulation as an irremediable disaster. Wraxall, in his "Memoirs of his Own Time," has related a conversation which he had with lord George Germaine, as to the mode in which lord North received the intelligence. Wraxall, a very slovenly and inaccurate writer, has confounded the official account of the surrender with a French Gazette that reached London on Sunday, the 25th of November. Clinton's despatch did not reach lord George Germaine till midnight of the 25th, as is shown by a minute on the back of the letter; and therefore Wraxall's statement that lord George read the despatch to him and others at dinner, between five and six o'clock, is certainly incorrect.* But nevertheless we cannot, in common fairness, accuse the gossiping memoir writer of having invented the conversation which he alleges took place at this dinner. He asked the Secretary how lord North took the communication when made to him. The reply was, "As he would have taken a ball in his breast; for he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the apartment during a few minutes, 'Oh God! it is all over,'—words which he repeated many times, under emotions of the deepest consternation and distress." † Lord George Germaine appears to have had very little official reticence, if Wraxall is to be believed, for he read to the same mixed company a letter from the king, in reply to the communication of the disastrous news: "I trust that neither lord George Germaine, nor any member of the Cabinet, will suppose that it makes the smallest alteration in those principles of my conduct which have directed me in past time, and which will always continue to animate me under every event, in the prosecution of the present contest." ‡

* Note by Mr. Ross, in "Cornwallis Correspondence," vol. i. p. 135.
† "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 103. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 108.

Monument of Lord Rodney in St. Paul's Cathedral.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The king announces to Parliament the capitulation of Cornwallis—Debates on the Address very hostile to the ministry—Strong expressions of Fox—More prudent language of Pitt—Differences in the Cabinet—Lord G. Germaine retires—Losses of West India Islands and Minorca—The government in a minority—Lord North announces that his administration is at an end—The Rockingham ministry—Rodney's victory over De Grasse—Breaking the Line—Capture of the Ville de Paris—Change of costume in the House of Commons—Burke's Bill for Economical Reform—Bills on Revenue Officers and Contractors—Pitt's motion for Parliamentary Reform—Arming the People—Retrospect of the state of Ireland—Irish Parliament—Grattan—His efforts for legislative independence—The Volunteers of Ireland—The king's message to the British and Irish Parliaments—The Statute of George I. asserting the dependence of Ireland repealed.

The Session of Parliament was opened on the 27th of November. The Royal Speech had been prepared before the news of the capitulation of Cornwallis had reached London on the 25th. The mover of the Address had been appointed, and had got by heart the echo of the speech. The ministers had little time to prepare or alter the speech, says Walpole. They were obliged to find another mover of the Address; for the young lord Feilding, originally chosen, "avoided making himself as ridiculous as the Royal Speech." * The inconsistency of the production is manifest. The beginning and the end declare the king's resolution to persevere in extinguishing the spirit of rebellion amongst his deluded subjects in America, precisely in the same tone as if Cornwallis had sent Washington a prisoner to London. But

* "Last Journals," vol. ii. p. 474.

one little sentence creeps in, which renders these words of sound and fury of no significance: "It is with great concern I inform you that the events of war have been very unfortunate to my arms in Virginia, having ended in the loss of my forces in that province." It was to be expected that the calamity of Yorktown would give new effect to the efforts of the Opposition to put an end to the war; but the temper which was evinced in this royal communication was calculated to raise hostility to a ministry into bitterness against the sovereign. Lord Shelburne talked of the greatness of mind with which his majesty could rise superior to the dreadful situation of his affairs. "He was not surprised that ministers should take advantage of the noble sentiments of their monarch, and contrive and fabricate such a speech as should best flatter his personal feelings; but it was to be remembered that those ministers had never governed long for the people's advantage, in any country, who had not fortitude to withstand the mere impulse of their master's sentiments." * Upon this point, it is curious to note the difference of opinion between two eminent statesmen of our own times. Lord Holland laments the weakness, while he enters into the chivalrous feelings, of lord North, which induced him, in opposition to his better judgment, not to abandon a master who expressed for him such confidence, affection, and regard. Lord John Russell holds that the king's opinion that the independence of America would be tantamount to the ruin of the country, was the opinion of Chatham and others of the most eminent of his subjects; that the king was only blameable for the obstinacy with which he clung to this opinion; but that lord North, who was disposed to conciliate America, and was quite ready to consent to peace, by remaining in power to carry into effect the personal wishes of the sovereign, which he preferred to the welfare of the state, exhibited a conduct which might be Toryism, but was neither patriotic nor constitutional.†

The debates in the House of Commons at this crisis, as developing the characters of the two men who were to become the great leaders of rival parties for twenty years, are singularly interesting. Charles Fox, now in his thirty-third year, by the force of his parliamentary abilities had obtained the highest position in popular estimation. He was the recognized leader of opposition; the most accomplished debater in either House. His notorious contempt for some of the decencies of life, unquestionably of evil example to younger men,—and therefore particularly offensive to the king,—his reckless spirit of gambling, which involved the ruin of his fortune, and all the humiliating exposures of irretrievable debt,—these defects could not abate the love and admiration which he commanded by his frank and generous nature, and by his wonderful powers. But his capacity of winning friends was often neutralized by his rashness in making enemies. Lord North, a man of the most imperturbable good-nature, could readily forgive all the bitter things which Fox could say of him, and even smile at his threats of bringing him to the block. George III. treasured up in his memory the strong expressions of Fox, as he had treasured up those of Chatham; and his hatred of these two amongst the most influential of his subjects was never

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxii. col. 644.
† "Memorials of Fox," vol. i. p. 247.

subdued, and rarely concealed. Fox might naturally look to take a high place in the government when the administration of lord North should come to an end, as was clearly inevitable; but he could scarcely expect to propitiate the sovereign by the language which he used on the 27th of November, in moving an Amendment to the Address. The speech from the throne may be considered as the speech of the ministers. But if men, he said, were unacquainted with the nature of our Constitution, what would they pronounce that speech to be? "What! but that it was the speech of some arbitrary, despotic, hard-hearted, and unfeeling monarch, who, having involved the slaves, his subjects, in a ruinous and unnatural war, to glut his enmity, or to satiate his revenge, was determined to persevere in spite of calamity and even of fate;—that it was the speech of a monarch incapable of feeling his own misfortunes, or of sympathising with the sorrows of his people, when the high prerogative of his despotic will was disputed; for despotic monarchs were the most tenacious of their rights, as they called them, and allowed nothing to the feelings or to the comforts of their fellow-creatures."* Burke, on this occasion, used a forcible image, which passed into a proverb. Denouncing the "miserable and infatuated men" who claimed a right of taxing America, without the power of enforcing the claim, he employed this illustration: "Oh! says a silly man, full of his prerogative of dominion over a few beasts of the field, there is excellent wool on the back of a wolf, and therefore he must be sheared. What! shear a wolf? Yes. But will he comply? Have you considered the trouble? How will you get this wool? Oh, I have considered nothing, and I will consider nothing, but my right: a wolf is an animal that has wool; all animals that have wool are to be shorn, and therefore I will shear the wolf."† The Amendment of Fox was lost.

William Pitt did not speak in support of the Amendment; but the next day, on the motion for bringing up the report of the Address, he made, according to Walpole, "a most brilliant figure, to the admiration of men of all sides." Fox praised him in the warmest terms. Mr. Courtenay, although he supported the government, said, "No man could be more affected by what fell from Mr. Pitt than he was. His splendid diction, his manly elocution, his brilliant periods, his pointed logic conveyed in a torrent of rapid and impressive eloquence, brought strongly to his recollection that great and able statesman, whose memory every grateful and generous Briton reveres." The son of Chatham, then in his twenty-third year, was a striking contrast to Fox, in the rigid decorum of his life. But he was not an unsocial young man. There was a club known as Goostree's, where he regularly supped with old University companions. He was the wittiest and most amusing amongst a party of professed wits, who spent an evening in memory of Shakspere at the Boar's Head in East Cheap.‡ But his ambition entirely subdued any disposition to surrender himself to such pleasures as those which interfered with the power and influence of Fox. Ambition was his master-passion, and it once betrayed him, in this stage of his career, when North was expected to resign, into a declaration that he would accept no subordinate post in a new administration. Walpole, who held that this arrogance proved

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxii. col. 689. † *Ibid.*, vol. xxii. col. 722.
‡ "Life of Wilberforce," vol. i. p. 18.

that "he was a boy, and a very ambitious and a very vain one," states that the moment that Pitt had sat down he was aware of his folly, and said he could bite his tongue out for what it had uttered.* There was one imprudence from which this ambitious youth carefully refrained. He gave vent to those sentiments of indignation which he found it impossible to repress, against those ministers who were running headlong into measures which could end only in the ruin of the State; but he was especially careful not to say one word that could imply any disrespect to the sovereign. Dundas, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, though a ministerial officer, made a speech on this occasion which practically supported the arguments of the Opposition. Did the future follower of William Pitt already recognize his natural and rightful leader?

There were differences in the Cabinet on the question of continuing the war with America which soon became manifest. Lord George Germaine had declared in Parliament that he would never sign a treaty which should give independence to America. Lord North had felt it necessary to declare that for the future the war in America would be confined to an endeavour to retain certain posts which were necessary even for the conduct of the war against France and Spain. Lord George Germaine retired from office, and was created a peer. The naval management of lord Sandwich was vigorously assailed; for he had sent admiral Kempenfeldt to intercept a French fleet sailing from Brest to reinforce their squadrons in the West Indies, and the British admiral was forced to return to England, after taking some transports, finding himself likely to be opposed by a very superior force. In the West Indies the prospect was not encouraging to a falling ministry. St. Eustatius, Demerara, and Essequibo had been re-taken by the French and restored to their original possessors. Our own colonies of St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat, had fallen into the hands of our enemies. To complete the sum of national misfortunes, Minorca, that noble harbour of the Mediterranean, which was lost in 1756, and regained at the peace of Paris, was surrendered to the French on the 5th of February, after a long siege and gallant defence.

Thus, with disasters on every side, the administration of lord North was in no condition to stand up against the repeated attacks of a powerful opposition, and the manifest defection of alarmed supporters. On the 22nd of February, general Conway, having expressed an opinion that there was a disposition in America to treat for peace, moved that an Address be presented to the king that "he will be pleased to listen to the humble prayer and advice of his faithful Commons, that the war on the continent of North America may no longer be pursued for the impracticable purpose of reducing the inhabitants of that country to obedience by force." Mr. Ellis, the new Secretary of State, resisted the motion; which was finally rejected by a majority only of one, in a House of three hundred and eighty-seven members. On the 27th, general Conway renewed his motion in another form; and the government was then in a minority of nineteen, in a House of four hundred and forty-nine members. The king's reply to the Address then voted was cold and sullen: "You may be assured that, in pursuance of

* "Last Journals," vol. ii. p. 514.

your advice, I shall take such measures as shall appear to me to be most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies." On the 9th of March, lord John Cavendish moved a vote of censure on the ministers for the conduct of the war, which was only rejected by a majority of ten. On the 15th, after another bare majority, the king wrote to lord North, "I am resolved not to throw myself into the hands of opposition at all events; and shall certainly, if things go as they seem to tend, know what my conscience as well as honour dictates as the only way left for me." In his Diary of the 18th of March, Walpole says, that the king "not only talked of retiring to Hanover, but it is certain that for a fortnight together the royal yacht was expeditiously preparing for transporting him." This idle threat of the king is properly ascribed by Walpole to "moody peevishness, which had not looked for, nor fixed on, any system." The king could not retain his old ministers; he threw every difficulty in the way of treating with the formidable leaders who had now the command of the House of Commons. But there was no possibility of escape, except by some course which the king knew would end in that confusion which he had the sense at last not to risk. On the 20th of March, lord North announced in Parliament that his ministry was at an end. Lord Holland's relation of the scene on this occasion is a relief to Walpole's tedious narrative of negotiations between lord Thurlow and lord Rockingham, which have lost the interest they might once have possessed:—"I have heard my uncle Fitzpatrick give a very diverting account of the scene that passed in the House of Commons on the day of lord North's resignation, which happened to be a remarkably cold day, with a fall of snow. A motion of lord Surrey's, for the dismissal of ministers, stood for that day, and the Whigs were anxious that it should come on before the resignation of lord North was officially announced, that his removal from office might be more manifestly and formally the act of the House of Commons. He and lord Surrey rose at the same instant. After much clamour, disorder, and some insignificant speeches on order, Mr. Fox, with great quickness and address, moved, as the most regular method of extricating the House from its embarrassment, 'that lord Surrey be now heard.' But lord North, with yet more admirable presence of mind, mixed with pleasantry, rose immediately, and said, 'I rise to speak to that motion;' and, as his reason for opposing it, stated his resignation and the dissolution of the ministry. The House, satisfied, became impatient, and after some ineffectual efforts of speakers on both sides to procure a hearing, an adjournment took place. Snow was falling; and the night tremendous. All the members' carriages were dismissed, and Mrs. Bennet's room at the door was crowded. But lord North's carriage was waiting. He put into it one or two of his friends, whom he had invited to go home with him, and turning to the crowd, chiefly composed of his bitter enemies, in the midst of their triumph, exclaimed in this hour of defeat and supposed mortification, with admirable good humour and pleasantry, 'I *have* my carriage. You see, gentlemen, the advantage of being in the secret. Good night.'" * On the 27th of March, the king wrote to lord North, "At length the fatal day is come, which the misfortunes of the times, and the sudden change of sentiments in the House of Commons, have

* "Memorials of Fox," vol. i. p. 295.

driven me to, of changing my ministers, and a more general removal of other persons, than I believe ever was known before." The king refused to have any personal communication with lord Rockingham until his administration was completed, and he was admitted to an audience as First Lord of the Treasury. Thurlow was continued as Chancellor. Shelburne and Charles Fox became Secretaries of State. Burke, Thomas Townshend, and Sheridan held minor offices. Burke felt somewhat mortified at that exclusiveness in the party that "almost avowedly regarded power as an heir-loom in certain houses."* He wrote to an applicant for place, "I make no part of the ministerial arrangement. Something in the official line may possibly be thought fit for my measure."

Sheridan. From a Portrait of Sir J. Reynolds.

At the precise period when the successors of lord North were entering upon their tenure of office, a signal triumph of the British navy was taking place, which, had it occurred earlier, might have somewhat altered the course of party movements and of national feeling. Sir George Rodney, at the beginning of the year, had left England to resume his command on the West India station. He arrived at Barbadoes on the 19th of February, with twelve sail of the line. He would learn that the surrender of St. Christopher's had taken place a week before his arrival. He would find that of all the West India possessions of Great Britain only Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Antigua remained. The united naval force of France and Spain in the West Indies amounted to sixty ships of the line; and it was known that a formidable armament was preparing to attack Jamaica. Fortunately Rodney was enabled to form a junction with the squadron of sir Samuel Hood, whose efforts had been unavailing to prevent the surrender of St.

* Lord Mahon, vol. vii. p. 211.

Christopher's. With a reinforcement of three sail of the line from England, Rodney had now thirty-six sail of the line, although several ships were in bad condition. His cruisers were watching the movements of De Grasse in the harbour of Port Royal, where he was re-fitting and taking troops on board. On the 8th of April signal was made that the French fleet had put to sea, with thirty-three sail of the line. It was the obvious policy of Rodney to engage De Grasse before a junction could be effected with the Spaniards. His fleet, which had been anchored at St. Lucia, was immediately under weigh, and in pursuit of the enemy. In the French fleet there were vessels of very heavy metal, especially the Ville de Paris, the flag-ship, of 110 guns, considered the pride and bulwark of their navy. In the English fleet there were five ninety-gun ships. On the 9th of April, the van under Hood became engaged with a superior number of the French ships; but the disproportion was remedied by Rodney coming up with a few ships of his division. The baffling winds prevented a general engagement, which De Grasse was evidently desirous to avoid. But on the evening of the 11th, Rodney, after a continued chase, in the endeavour to cut off two of the French ships that had made signals of distress, found himself in face of the main fleet of De Grasse, which had borne down to the assistance of the disabled vessels. It was manifest that a general battle on the next day was inevitable.

The scene of action on the memorable 12th of April has been described "as a moderately large bason of water, lying between the islands of Guadaloupe, Dominica, Saintes, and Mariegalante; and bounded both to windward and leeward by very dangerous shores." * At seven in the morning the battle commenced. It was sunset before it was finished. As the British ships came up, having received the signal for close fighting, they ranged closely along the enemy's line—so close that every shot that was given or received told with fatal effect. The slaughter was tremendous in the French ships that were crowded with troops. It was about noon when Rodney, in the Formidable, led the way in the daring manœuvre of breaking the enemy's line. He was followed by the Namur, the Duke, and the Canada. They broke the French line, about three ships from the centre, where De Grasse commanded in the Ville de Paris. Rodney was followed by the ships astern of his division; and then wearing round, doubled upon the enemy and completed the separation of their line. It is difficult, if not impossible, to show in words the precise effect of such a manœuvre. Rodney himself, in 1789, wrote some marginal notes in a copy of a book which we shall presently notice, in which he said that it was the duty of an admiral, "to bring, if possible, the whole fleet under his command to attack half, or part, of that of his enemy." He further said that, in the engagement with De Grasse, his own ship, the Formidable, "began a very close action within half musket-shot, and continued such action close along the enemy's lines under an easy sail, till an opening appeared at the third ship astern of the enemy's admiral, which gave an opportunity of breaking their line, and putting their rear in the utmost confusion." The French fleet was indeed thrown into confusion by a movement so wholly unknown in maritime warfare. Rodney

* "Annual Register," 1782.

furnished an example which was gloriously imitated by Duncan at Camperdown, by Howe, and by Nelson. There have been pages of controversy on the question whether Rodney is entitled to the merit of the idea of breaking the line, for the first time carried into effect on this 12th of April. About the period that Rodney left London to take the command in the West Indies, was printed "An Essay on Naval Tactics," by Mr. John Clerk, of Eldin. This treatise contained a very able exposition of the different principles of maritime warfare pursued by the English and the French—the one making an attack from windward, the other courting a leeward position; which difference, the author contended, had produced many of our failures in general engagements, where the results were indecisive and totally inadequate to the bravery of our sailors and commanders. He compared the meeting of two fleets, on contrary tacks, to a rencounter of horsemen, where the parties pushed their horses at full speed, in opposite directions, exchanging only a few pistol shots as they passed; and thus two great armaments had often engaged and separated, without any serious damage or loss on either side. But Mr. Clerk held that if an enemy's line be cut in twain, that portion which is separated from the rest can more readily be destroyed. He alleged, in a later edition of his book, that before its publication he had communicated his views to Mr. Atkinson, a friend of Rodney; and that the admiral himself, before quitting London in 1782, said he would bear them in mind in engaging an enemy. On the other hand, sir Charles Douglas maintains, by a comparison of dates, that Rodney could not have acquired this information before he left to take his command at the beginning of 1782; and that his father, the captain of the Formidable, made the suggestion to the admiral in the heat of the engagement, when he saw a favourable opportunity of breaking the line.* In these rival claims to what has in some degree the character of an invention, most persons will be inclined to consider that the greater merit rests with the man who first gives a practical value to a theory, and especially so in the case of a naval or land commander, who, in the hurry and tumult of a battle, seizes the right moment for carrying a principle into operation.

The engagement of the 12th of April terminated in the most signal success. The admiral held that it was the severest sea-fight on record. The great triumph of the day was the capture of the Ville de Paris. De Grasse continued the fight in this mighty vessel—mighty as compared with the usual size of seventy-fours, and even ninety-gun ships, in that day—till the victory was decisive over the other portions of his fleet. The last broadside from the Barfleur, commanded by Hood, compelled him to strike. Five large ships were captured, and one sunk. Those that escaped fled to various ports, and were not again united for any continuance of the naval warfare. Jamaica was saved from the joint attack of the French and Spanish; for which vast preparations had been made in the trains of artillery that were found on board the captured vessels. Lord Cranston, an officer who was sent, after the Ville de Paris had struck, to receive De Grasse's sword, described the carnage which he beheld on board the great ship as altogether terrible. Only

* Clerk's claims are advocated in the "Edinburgh Review," vol. vi. p. 301. The pretensions of Clerk and Douglas are minutely examined in the "Quarterly Review," vol. xlii. p. 50

De Grasse himself, with two or three others, remained on the quarter-deck. The French admiral was only slightly wounded, though the fire of so many hours had swept away most of his officers. De Grasse could scarcely recover from his astonishment at seeing his vessel taken, and himself a prisoner—that vessel which, on the news arriving at Plymouth, provoked an exclamation from some French officers, of "Impossible! Not the whole British fleet could take the Ville de Paris." It was held that Rodney ought to have followed up his success by chasing the ships that escaped. But in those latitudes total darkness comes on immediately after sunset. He attempted a pursuit the next morning, but his fleet was becalmed for three days off Guadaloupe. On the 19th of April, Hood came up with five French vessels, in the Mona Passage, and captured two seventy-fours, and two frigates. Two of the French ships taken in this action never came as trophies to England. The Ville de Paris, and the Glorieux, went down in a great storm off the banks of Newfoundland in September, when three English vessels of a fleet from Jamaica also perished; leaving only two remaining of those that had sailed homeward with admiral Graves.

On the 8th of April the Parliament met after a short recess, during which the re-elections had taken place of those members who had accepted office in the new ministry. An eye-witness describes the change of costume which the House of Commons presented, when lord North and his friends took their seats on the opposition benches, in great coats, frocks, and boots; and their successors, having thrown off the Whig livery of blue and buff, appeared in all the dignity of swords, lace, and hair-powder. One tenacious holder of office, Mr. Welbore Ellis, appeared on that 8th of April, for the first time in his life, in an undress.* The new ministers came from the Levée and the Drawing-room in their unfamiliar and uncomfortable finery; and Fox and Burke had to hear the whispered joke circulating amidst the joke-loving Commons, that lord Nugent, whose house had been robbed of many articles of dress, fancied that he saw some of his laced ruffles on the hands of the gentlemen who now occupied the Treasury bench. The change of measures was far more remarkable than the change of costume. The opportunity for carrying those plans of salutary reform which were once so hateful to the Court, appeared to have come. George III. did not even look frowningly upon the men whose advent to office was to have been the signal for his abdication. "The king appears more and more good-humoured every day," writes Fox on the 12th of April. "I believe he is really pleased with the full levées and drawing-rooms which he sees every day, and which he thinks flattering to him." † But the administration had the elements of decay and dissolution in its own bosom. Thurlow, who had continued on the woolsack because "the Tiger," as he was called, growled so ominously that the hunters were afraid to disturb him in his lair, began at the very onset to give trouble to his coadjutors. On the 12th, a royal message on the subject of Burke's measure for economical reform was discussed in the Cabinet. Thurlow was decidedly opposed to the Bill; Fox as resolute that it should be carried. The king's counsellors were wraugling till the 15th, when it was

* Wraxall's "Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 172.
† Russell—"Memorials of Fox," vol. i. p. 315.

arranged that Fox should that day carry a message to the House of Commons, "which looks and points to Burke's Bill." *

The royal message was very indefinite. It recommended the consideration of an effectual plan of economy through all the branches of the public expenditure, "towards which important object his majesty has taken into his actual consideration, a reform and regulation in his civil establishment, which he will shortly lay before the House." Burke declared to the Commons that the message was the genuine effusion of his majesty's paternal care and tenderness for his subjects. Shelburne pledged himself to the Peers that the present message was the voluntary language of the sovereign himself. Horace Walpole describes Burke and Shelburne as "ridiculously extravagant in panegyrics on his majesty for this magnanimity, which certainly was no measure of his, but an artifice of their own, and but a shallow one, to persuade the people that they meant to adhere to their former principles." † Burke did not desert the principles which he had advocated in the original introduction of his great scheme of reform; but, like most other reformers, he was compelled to a compromise—to tolerate the continuance of some evil for the sake of securing some portion of a comprehensive good. Burke had no seat in the Cabinet, and he was thus compelled to adopt the decisions of those who were divided amongst themselves, and could only hope to hold together by mutual concessions. His Bill did not interfere with the mode of supplying the Royal Household; did not abolish the two ancient offices of Treasurer and Cofferer,—great functionaries who carried white wands, and whose abolition might appear an encroachment upon the splendour and dignity of the Crown. He left untouched the principality of Wales and the duchies of Lancaster and Cornwall. The Ordnance and the Mint were continued in the enjoyment of their own anomalous relations with the other branches of the public service. Nevertheless, a great reform was effected. A number of useless and mischievous offices, usually held by members of parliament, were abolished, by which an annual saving of seventy-two thousand pounds was effected, and one of the readiest modes of corruption was taken away from the power of a ministry. The pension-list was limited to an annual amount of a very moderate extent, but not before extravagant pensions had been granted to Barré and Dunning. Burke, who held the office of Paymaster of the Forces, which had been a fountain of monstrous wealth to rapacious politicians, had the honour of proposing a distinct Bill for the regulation of that office, by which no balance could in future accumulate in the hands of the Paymaster, enabling him at the public expense to pocket the interest even of a million sterling, whilst the Chancellor of the Exchequer was raising new loans, to be followed by increased taxation.

There were two important reforms with reference to the constitution of Parliament which the Rockingham ministry lost no time in carrying. The one was to exclude Contractors from sitting in the House of Commons; the other to prevent Revenue Officers from voting at elections for representatives in Parliament. These measures for limiting the influence of the Crown did not pass without opposition from the Lord Chancellor and from lord Mans-

* Russell—"Memorials of Fox," vol. i. p. 315.
† "Last Journals," vol. ii. p. 540.

field. To indicate how prodigal contracts were obtained through parliamentary influences, lord Shelburne pointed to the splendid palaces of contractors, that stared the people in the face all round the metropolis—the sumptuousness and expense with which they were known to live, which rivalled those of the most successful nabobs. The contractor and the nabob were not without reason the great marks for the finger of scorn to point at. To show the power of revenue officers at elections, lord Rockingham declared that in seventy boroughs the returns to parliament chiefly depended upon those functionaries. The constitutional principle of these disqualifications has never been contested since these measures became law, in spite of that opposition which Thurlow headed and Mansfield supported. A more extensive principle of Parliamentary Reform was at this time advocated by William Pitt. He held no place in the government; but he was deemed a supporter of more liberal doctrines than some of the most influential holders of office. A large addition to the number of county members, and the repeal of the Septennial Act, had been the constant petition of the Associations in Yorkshire and other counties. The livery of London invariably maintained that the inequality of the representation was the main cause of calamitous wars and profligate expenditure. Mr. Pitt was speaking therefore the sentiments of a large body of the people, rather than representing the opinions of a party, when, on the 7th of May, he moved for a Committee to inquire into the present state of the Representation of the Commons of Great Britain. His motion pledged the House to no definite plan, but his speech sufficiently indicated the necessity for "a calm revision of the principles of the constitution, and a moderate reform of such defects as had imperceptibly and gradually stole in to deface, and which threatened at last totally to destroy, the most beautiful fabric of government in the world." There were boroughs wholly under the command of the Treasury. There were others which had no actual existence but in the return of members to the House—they had no existence in property, in population, in trade, in weight—the electors were the slaves of some person who claimed the property of the borough, and who in fact made the return. There were other boroughs where the return to parliament was sold to the best purchaser; and thus it was well understood that the nabob of Arcot had no less than seven or eight members in that House. Mr. Pitt made a pointed allusion to one, now no more, of whom every member could speak with more freedom than himself. It was the opinion of that person that without the establishment of a "more solid and equal representation of the people, by which the proper constitutional connection should be revived, this nation, with the best capacities for grandeur and happiness of any on the face of the earth, must be confounded with the mass of those whose liberties were lost in the corruption of the people." Such were the opinions advocated by the son of Chatham, "with the ardour for melioration characteristic of ingenuous youth." * The Lord Advocate of Scotland, Dundas, with that assurance which never failed him, told the ingenuous youth that he must be mistaken with regard to the opinions of his father; for on searching the Journals, he had not found that lord Chatham had ever brought in any reform whatever, and therefore plainly saw the constitution wanted no such alteration.

* Aikin—"Annals of George III." vol. i. p. 306.

Mr. Pitt's motion was rejected by a majority of twenty. Fox thought the defeat upon this proposition would have many bad consequences. The late ministry voted against it in a body. Of the new administration and their supporters friend was against friend. Fox had great difficulty to persuade Burke not to vote against the motion, but to leave the House; and Sheridan describes Burke on a subsequent debate for shortening the duration of parliaments, as having "attacked William Pitt in a scream of passion, and swore parliament was, and always had been, precisely what it ought to be, and that all people who thought of reforming it wanted to overturn the constitution." * Arguments such as those proclaimed by the younger Pitt, in 1782, were left to smoulder, with occasional flickerings of combustion, under the subsequent policy of himself and his followers, till, after the lapse of fifty years, they burst out into a flame, which realized the prophecy of his father, in 1775, that "either the Parliament will reform itself from within, or be reformed with a vengence from without." Chatham assigned a term for the realization of this prediction. To the question of lord Buchan, "what will become of poor England, that doats on the imperfection of her pretended constitution?" he answered, "The gout will dispose of me soon enough to prevent me from feeling the consequences of this infatuation." He assigned the end of the century as the period when the necessity for a general reform could no longer be resisted. † Whether the Reform was to come from within or from without, it is clear that in 1782 the younger Pitt, if he had taken a statesman's view either of the power of the aristocracy or the influence of the people, could not have considered that the time had arrived for carrying to its logical conclusion of a practical change, the unquestionable theory of the inequality of the representation. It may be doubted whether Burke could have affirmed, except in a paroxysm of that temporary violence which sometimes clouded his marvellous comprehension of the great elements of a political question, that "Parliament was, and always had been, precisely what it ought to be." But we may well understand how, in his intimate knowledge of the composition of Parties, he might believe that an agitation for Reform would then be dangerous because it would be useless. It has been truly said of Burke, "that he recognized in all its bearings that great doctrine, which even in our own day is too often forgotten, that the aim of the legislator should be not truth, but expediency." ‡ We must not too hastily accept the epigrammatic reproof of his contemporary, the most delightful of writers, but no very sound judge of political action or political philosophy, that he was "too fond of the right to pursue the expedient."

Three days after the debate on Mr. Pitt's motion for reform, a discussion of a very interesting nature came on in the House of Commons. A Circular Letter had been issued by the earl of Shelburne, addressed to the chief magistrate of the principal cities and towns, submitting for their opinion a plan for augmenting the domestic force of the nation, by raising battalions or companies of volunteers in each locality, who were not to be moved from their places of abode except in times of actual invasion or rebellion. This plan had the support of the leading men of both parties; but some alarmists

* Russell—"Memorials of Fox," vol. i. p. 322.
† Note in "Parliamentary History," vol. xvii. col. 223.
‡ Buckle. "History of Civilization," vol. i. p. 416.

apprehended danger from arming the people, and the ministers were called upon to remember what were the consequences of putting arms into the hands of the Irish volunteers. Mr. Fox said, that from the conduct of the Irish associations, the people of this country might learn a great and a laudable example of public virtue, activity, and perseverance. He was answered that the volunteers of Ireland had subverted the government of their country, and overturned its constitution.* The House manifested great anxiety to stop this line of discussion. There was at that moment a crisis in the affairs of Ireland which called for the greatest forbearance and the most strenuous attempts at conciliation. We have deferred any passing glance at the affairs of Ireland, that we might present such a general view as would naturally lead to a brief narrative of the great constitutional change of 1782.

Five years before the publication of the "Drapier's Letters," in 1724, a Bill was passed by the English Parliament, denying, in its preamble, the right of the Irish House of Lords to an appellant jurisdiction, and declaring "that the king's majesty, by and with the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland." † In spite of the restrictions upon its commerce, Ireland had continued to improve in wealth, and consequently in a desire for independence. When Arthur Young wrote his Tour in 1779, he said that during the previous twenty years, the towns of Ireland had been newly built over, and in a manner far superior to what was the case before. The Protestants were necessarily the sole exponents of the desire to emerge from a dependent condition; for the Roman Catholics were in complete subjection to those who alone were privileged to sit in Parliament, and who filled every office in the state. These discontents were constantly excited by the appointments of Englishmen to the higher posts, whether ecclesiastical or civil. Swift kept up the natural jealousy during the administration of sir Robert Walpole; and under the less politic rule of the Pelhams, the desire for equal liberty and privileges took the form of a contest between the English government and the Irish House of Commons as to the application of a surplus revenue. This dispute took place in 1753. "From this era," says Mr. Hallam, "the great parliamentary history of Ireland began, and was terminated, after half a century, by the Union." ‡

On the 7th of April, 1778, the British House of Commons, on the motion of lord Nugent, went into Committee on the Acts relating to the trade and commerce of Ireland; and he moved a resolution, that all goods and merchandise should be permitted to be exported direct from that kingdom to any of the plantations and settlements of Great Britain, with the exception of wool and woollen manufactures. Lord North gave his cordial consent to the proposal; and this resolution, as well as two others, permitting the importation of colonial produce to Ireland, removing the prohibition against the exportation of glass, and repealing the duties on cotton yarn of Irish manufacture, was carried unanimously. Then commenced that violent opposition

* "Parliamentary History," vol. xxiii. col. 1 to 10.
† 6 Geo. I. c. 5.
‡ "Constitutional History," chap. xviii.

from the great trading towns, with the exception of London, to which Burke referred in his letter to the people of Bristol.* The Bills which were brought in were contested in every stage; and finally a very imperfect measure—a mere promise of relief—was obtained in that Session. Popular clamour was too strong for honest statesmanship. The discontents in Ireland grew serious. The leading politicians of the Irish Parliament became naturally restless in obtaining only a pitiful instalment of their just demands. Towards Ireland George III. manifested the same exclusive spirit which he had constantly manifested towards America. He thought that every concession, however small, ought to be received with gratitude from the inferior to the superior power, and he thus wrote in November to lord North: "Experience has convinced me that this country gains nothing by granting indulgences to her dependencies; for opening the door encourages a desire for more, which, if not complied with, causes discontent, and the former benefit is obliterated." There was a national spirit rising in Ireland, which made it unsafe to dole out fragments of justice. The difficulties of the government in carrying on the war with America and France gave a new power to the Irish patriotic party. There were no English troops in Ireland. The Militia Acts were there ineffective. A descent upon the northern coast was expected; and when the inhabitants of Belfast and Carrickfergus applied to the Lord-Lieutenant for forces to protect them, they were told that only sixty troopers could be sent from Dublin. The people resolved to defend themselves. They organized bodies of volunteers, without waiting for any sanction or encouragement from the State. On the 11th of May, 1779, the marquis of Rockingham stated in the House of Lords, that the independent corps and companies then in arms in Ireland amounted to ten thousand men, "all acting under illegal powers, under a kind of supposition that all government was at an end."

The Irish Parliament met in October, 1779. In the June of that year a motion of lord Shelburne, to address his majesty on the subject of the trade with Ireland, had been rejected in the British House of Lords, by a large majority. At this juncture a leader of the Irish Parliament arose, who, in all the great qualities of eloquence, vigour, and integrity, which sometimes gives to one man the power to speak and act for an entire nation, was especially fitted to be the champion of his country. Henry Grattan was then in his thirty-fourth year. He had listened to the orations of Chatham, and in a brief estimate of his character appears to have conceived the idea of what a kindred genius might accomplish. "There was in this man something that could create, subvert, or reform; an understanding, a spirit, and an eloquence, to summon mankind to society, or to break the bonds of slavery asunder, and rule the wildness of free minds with unbounded authority; something that could establish or overwhelm empires, and strike a blow in the world that should resound through its history."† Singular, almost grotesque, in his delivery, Grattan had borrowed none of the studied graces of Chatham, the most perfect master of elocution; but he brought to the debates of a popular assembly the same power of reaching the point "by the flashings of his mind." The opportunity was come for exhibiting that power

* *Ante*, p. 417.

† "Miscellaneous Works of Grattan," p. 10.

with a boldness and fervour which Chatham never exceeded, and which had the same character of intense nationality as the impassioned harangues of the great Englishman. On the 12th of October, Grattan moved an amendment to the Address, in which the magical words "Free Trade" carried the House with him, the members of the government not even calling for a division. In the same way he carried a vote for a money bill only of six months, instead of the usual period of two years. The government saw the necessity of yielding in the matter of Free Trade, lord North himself proposing, on the 12th of December, 1779, three Bills for the relief of the commerce of Ireland, which were carried without opposition. This concession, like concessions to the North American colonies, came too late. "We have gotten commerce but not freedom," exclaimed Grattan, on the 19th of April, 1780, when he moved "that the King's most excellent Majesty, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make laws to bind Ireland." The motion was then lost, by an amendment that the consideration of the question be adjourned. The question at issue of the legislative independence of Ireland has passed away; but there are passages in Grattan's speech in this memorable debate which have an enduring value. We take a few sentences as an example of the solidity of his views and the force of his expressions: "As any thing less than liberty is inadequate to Ireland, so is it dangerous to Great Britain. We are too near the British nation, we are too conversant with her history, we are too much fired by her example, to be anything less than her equal—anything less, we should be her bitterest enemies. . . . There is no policy left for Great Britain but to cherish the remains of her empire, and do justice to a country that is determined to do justice to herself, certain that she gives nothing equal to what she received from us when we gave her Ireland. . . . It is not merely the connection of the crown, it is a constitutional annexation, an alliance of liberty, which is the true meaning and mystery of the sisterhood, and will make both countries one arm and one soul, replenishing from time to time in their immortal connection, the vital spirit of law and liberty from the lamp of each other's light. Thus combined by the ties of common interest, equal trade, and equal liberty, the constitution of both countries may become immortal; a new and milder empire may arise from the errors of the old; and the British nation assume once more her natural station—the head of mankind."*

In the course of the debate on the Irish Trade Bills in April, 1778, lord North referred to the penal laws of Ireland against Roman Catholics. He was of opinion that the Irish Parliament would see where the grievance lay, and redress it. This salutary recommendation was tardily acted upon by the Irish Parliament; but in December, 1781, upon notice being given by a member that he should bring in a Bill for the relief of the Roman Catholics, Mr. Grattan said that they deserved every encouragement, for they had united with their Protestant fellow subjects when the country was threatened with invasion, and had joined with them in a common endeavour to secure Free Trade. He quoted the observation of a member of the British Parliament, that Ireland could never prosper till its inhabitants were a People. The Bill for allowing Roman Catholics to enjoy property, freely

* "Speeches of Henry Grattan," edited by his Son, vol. i. p. 51.

to exercise their religion, educate their children, have no impediments to marriage, and retain the means of self-defence, was finally passed in February, 1782, Grattan exclaiming, as "the mover of the Declaration of Rights, I would be ashamed of giving freedom to but six hundred thousand of my countrymen, when I could extend it to two millions more." Grattan again brought forward this Declaration on the 22nd of February, two days after the question of Roman Catholic relief had been settled. The orator felt that he was supported by a physical force, much more effectual than argument: "The strength which, at your back, supports your virtue, precludes your apostacy; the armed presence of the nation will not bend." The motion was then rejected by a majority of sixty-nine. But there were eighty-eight thousand men in arms in the four provinces—thirty-four thousand in Ulster, eighteen thousand in Munster, fourteen thousand in Connaught, twenty-two thousand in Leinster. Their commander-in-chief was the earl of Charlemont; noblemen of wealth and influence were amongst their generals. The delegates of a hundred and forty-three corps had met at Dungannon on the 15th of February, and without a dissentient voice had adopted the Resolution that had been proposed to Parliament by Grattan,—that no power but the King, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland could bind that kingdom. Grattan failed in carrying his great motion upon its second proposition. He was not to be deterred from a third attempt, under more favourable auspices. At the end of February the administration of lord North was in a minority in the British Parliament. On the 14th of March, in the Irish House of Commons, a vote was passed that the Speaker should write a Circular Letter to each member, requiring him to appear in his place on that day, as he should tender the rights of the Irish Parliament. On the 27th of March the Rockingham ministry entered upon office. The earl of Carlisle was removed from the Lord-Lieutenancy, with his Secretary Mr. Eden. The duke of Portland was appointed to the Vice-Royalty. On the first day that the new ministry took their places in the House of Commons, the late Irish Secretary, after giving a lengthened and alarming narrative of the proceedings of the Volunteers and of the Irish House of Commons, proceeded to move the repeal of the Act of the 6th of George I. He did not wish, he said, to precipitate matters, but something must be done, without the loss of a moment, to prevent consequences which it was not for him so much as to think of—to anticipate the wishes of Ireland, previous to the discussion of Mr. Grattan's motion on the 16th. Mr. Fox was naturally indignant at such a motion having been made without any consultation with the king's present advisers, who had turned their attention, he said, to measures which would conciliate the affections of the Irish people. The ex-Secretary, having been severely reproved by many members for the indecency of his proceeding, withdrew the motion. On the next day Mr. Fox presented a Message from his majesty, expressing his concern that discontents and jealousies prevailed amongst his loyal subjects in Ireland, and earnestly recommending the House to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give a mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms. A similar Message was delivered to the Lords by earl Shelburne.

The dreaded 16th of April arrived. The administration had earnestly

desired an adjournment of the great question then to be discussed; but Lord Charlemont wrote to Fox that he should greatly fear the consequences of any postponement. Grattan was ill; but he was inflexible in determining that there should be no adjournment "unless the duke of Portland would pledge himself that all the claims of Ireland should be agreed to."* Mr. Hutchinson, the new Secretary, when the House of Commons met on the 16th, delivered a Message similar to that delivered to the British Parliament. Mr. Grattan, upon the motion for an Address, as moved by Mr. Ponsonby, rose; and considering that the battle was won, thus commenced one of his splendid harangues:—

"I am now to address a free people: ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation.

"I have spoken on the subject of your liberty so often, that I have nothing to add, and have only to admire by what heaven-directed steps you have proceeded until the whole faculty of the nation is braced up to the act of her own deliverance.

"I found Ireland on her knees; I watched over her with an eternal solicitude; I have traced her progress from injuries to arms, and, from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift! spirit of Molyneux! your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation! In that new character I hail her! and, bowing to her august presence, I say, *Esto perpetua!*

"She is no longer a wretched colony, returning thanks to her governor for his rapine, and to her king for his oppression; nor is she now a squabbling, fretful sectary, perplexing her little wits, and firing her furious statutes with bigotry, sophistry, disabilities, and death, to transmit to posterity insignificance and war.

"Look to the rest of Europe, and contemplate yourself, and be satisfied."

Grattan's motion for an Amendment to the Address embraced all the points of the previous Declaration of Rights. "No one man," wrote Fitzpatrick to Fox, "presumed to call in question a single word advanced by Grattan, and spoke only to congratulate Ireland on her emancipation, as they called it." The triumph was soon completed by the pressure of that national will which no sane administration could resist. On the 17th of May, Mr. Fox presented to the House of Commons the Resolutions of the Lords and Commons of Ireland on the King's Message of the 16th of April, and he moved the repeal of that Statute of George I. which asserted the dependence of Ireland. A Bill for this repeal passed both Houses without a division. Lord Holland ascribes the adjustment of 1782 to the confidence which Mr. Fox and Mr. Grattan placed in each other, as well as to "the force of circumstances, and the skill of negotiation." The mutual confidence of two great men, and the skill of negotiation, would have little availed, if the Parliament of England had not acquired sufficient wisdom not to risk another civil war, with another possible dismemberment of a portion of the empire, for the sake of another assertion of legislative supremacy.

The Parliament of Ireland was overflowing with gratitude to Mr Grattan. They desired to vote him a hundred thousand pounds for the purchase of an estate. He at first refused to receive any such public acknow-

* Letter of Fitzpatrick, in "Memorials of Fox," vol. i. p. 395.

ledgment of his services, but eventually accepted half the amount. There was another orator in the Irish Parliament who regarded with embittered feelings the testimonies of national gratitude to one whose political experience had been far less than his own. Mr. Flood maintained that the mere repeal of the Act of George I., which was simply a declaratory law, left the question of the English supremacy undisturbed. At the time of the repeal of that statute a case of appeal from Ireland remained undecided in the Court of King's Bench, and lord Mansfield gave judgment, as he had before done, in the usual course of law. A violent contest sprung up in Ireland, which renewed the old distrust of England. Grattan lost some of his popularity. Flood laboured to stimulate the ancient jealousies. The government of lord Shelburne took the proper measure of endeavouring to quiet the alarm, by bringing in a bill, in January, 1783, "for removing and preventing all doubts which have arisen, or might arise, concerning the exclusive rights of the Parliament and Courts of Ireland in matters of legislature and judicature, and for preventing any writ of errors or appeal, from any of his majesty's Courts in that kingdom, from being received, heard, or adjudged, in any of his majesty's Courts in the kingdom of Great Britain."

Lord Shelburne.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Overtures for Peace between Franklin and Shelburne—Rival negotiators from England—Death of Lord Rockingham—Resignation of the Secretaryship by Mr. Fox—The Siege of Gibraltar—Naval Affairs—Lord Howe—Loss of the Royal George—Howe's relief of Gibraltar after the first bombardment—Negotiations for Peace concluded—The Preliminaries laid before Parliament—Parliamentary censures of the terms of Peace—Lord Shelburne, being defeated, resigns—The king and the American minister—Washington's farewell to his army, and his retirement.

In securing the tranquillity of Ireland, by yielding in time to a force which could not be resisted, the administration were free to negotiate for peace, with a prospect of more favourable terms than the general issue of the war might authorise them to demand if the sister-kingdom were hostile. Ireland responded to an act of justice by an instant exhibition of cordiality. Her Parliament voted a hundred thousand pounds for the levy of twenty thousand seamen. The overtures for peace were first opened by Dr. Franklin, in a letter which he wrote to lord Shelburne. They had been known to each other during Franklin's diplomatic sojourn in London; and Franklin wrote to Shelburne on the 22nd of March, before the ministry was settled, to congratulate him on the returning good disposition of England in favour of America. When Shelburne replied, he was Secretary of State; and he adopted the course of sending a confidential friend, Mr. Oswald, to Paris, who was fully apprised of his mind, and to whom Franklin might give entire credit.* This gentleman assured Franklin that the new ministry sincerely

* Franklin's Works, vol. ix. p. 241.

wished for peace, and if the Independence of the United States were agreed to, there was nothing to hinder a pacification. Franklin declared that America could only treat in concert with France; and Mr. Oswald had, consequently, an interview with the count de Vergennes. This unofficial negociator returned to England; and was authorized by a minute of the Cabinet to proceed again to Paris, to acquaint Dr. Franklin that it was agreed to treat for a general peace. A more regular envoy was sent very quickly after Oswald. Mr. Thomas Grenville, the second son of George Grenville, was the bearer of a letter to Franklin from Mr. Fox. Oswald again went back to London, and again returned, to discuss the most important matters with Franklin, whilst Grenville was also in constant communication with him. The shrewd old American soon found himself "in some perplexity with regard to these two negotiators." He began to suspect that the understanding between the two Secretaries of State was not perfect. "Lord Shelburne seems to wish to have the management of the treaty; Mr. Fox seems to think it is in his department." * Grenville was annoyed by the interference of Oswald, and wrote bitter complaints to Fox. In the midst of these differences, the head of the ministry, the marquis of Rockingham, died on the 1st of July. The day previous Fox was in a minority in the Cabinet upon the question of acknowledging the Independence of America, before a treaty of peace was arranged. He accordingly declared his intention to resign. It is not within the province of our history to enter into an examination of those disagreements between lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox which led to another important though partial change of administration. "Differences of opinion, suspicions of under-hand dealing, and hostile cabals and intrigues, and great resentment thereupon subsisted in the minds of Mr. Fox and Mr. Grenville." † There were the usual cabals about having another man of high title, great connections, and small abilities, to succeed lord Rockingham as prime minister. It was not a mere contest for superior power between the two able secretaries. The duke of Portland was recommended to the king to be the First Lord of the Treasury. The king appointed lord Shelburne to the high office. Fox and Cavendish resigned; Burke and Sheridan followed their example. William Pitt became Chancellor of the Exchequer; Thomas Townshend and lord Grantham, Secretaries of State. Grenville returned indignantly from his position at Paris, much to the annoyance of his brother, earl Temple, who obtained the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. Walpole observes that when the First Lord of the Treasury adorned his new Board with the most useful acquisition of his whole administration, his Chancellor of the Exchequer, "young William Pitt," in accepting the seals, accepted "the more difficult task of enlisting himself as the rival of Charles Fox, who had fondly espoused, and kindly, not jealously nor fearfully, wished to have him as his friend." ‡ Their fathers were rivals. But of how much greater import was the rivalry of the sons of Holland and Chatham—how much longer was its duration; what mightier events called forth its unceasing exercise!

* Franklin's "Journal of Negotiations," June 17.
† Lord Holland, in "Memorials of Fox," vol. i. p. 387.
‡ "Last Journals," vol. ii. p. 559.

The public sympathy did not go along with the popular favourite upon the question of his abdication of office, at a time when unanimity of councils was essentially important. The parliamentary explanations of Fox and Burke have floated down the stream of time, with many other historical straws. The principle of the mistake into which the great Whig leader fell has been candidly stated by one who has a claim to speak with authority. Lord John Russell says, "The field of battle was the worst that could be chosen. Lord Shelburne, the friend and colleague of lord Chatham, a Secretary of State under lord Rockingham, a man of varied acquirements and undoubted abilities, was, personally, far superior to the duke of Portland as a candidate for the office of Prime Minister. The king, therefore, had a great advantage over Mr. Fox in the apparent ground of the quarrel. Had Mr. Fox declared that he would not serve under any one, or, at all events, not under lord Shelburne, who had withheld from him knowledge indispensable to his performance of the duties of Secretary of State, he would have stood on firm ground. The choice of a Prime Minister against the choice of the Crown, and that in the person of a man whose rank and fair character were his only recommendations, appeared to the public an unwarrantable pretension, inspired by narrow jealousies and aristocratic prejudices." *

The Session of Parliament was prorogued on the 11th of July, immediately after the formation of lord Shelburne's ministry. The king's speech was wise and temperate. He would make every effort to obtain peace; but if the hope of a speedy termination of the calamities of war should be disappointed, he trusted that the blessing of heaven upon our arms would enable him to obtain fair and reasonable terms of pacification. "The most triumphant career of victory would not excite me to aim at more; and I have the satisfaction to be able to add, that I see no reason which should induce me to think of accepting less." The contest in America was reduced to a very narrow field of exertion. Rodney's great victory had prevented any immediate attempts to renew the maritime war in the West Indies. There had been decided successes in the East Indies, after a series of events which occasionally threatened our ascendancy; but the contest there was not yet ended.† One great struggle required to be decided before Spain would be willing to relinquish the chief object for which she engaged in the war,—the re-conquest of Gibraltar.

When the Spanish ambassador, on the 16th of June, 1779, presented a manifesto to the Court of St. James's, which was considered equivalent to a declaration of war, general Elliott, the veteran governor of Gibraltar, was not quite unprepared for the possibility of hostilities. He had a force of artillery and engineers of about five hundred men; four English regiments, and three detachments of Hanoverians,—altogether amounting to upwards of five thousand rank and file. On the 21st of June the communication between Spain and Gibraltar was closed, by an order from Madrid. A few small British ships were at that time in their usual anchorage off the fortress. A friendly intercourse had been previously carried on between the military of

* "Memorials of Fox," vol. i. p. 467.

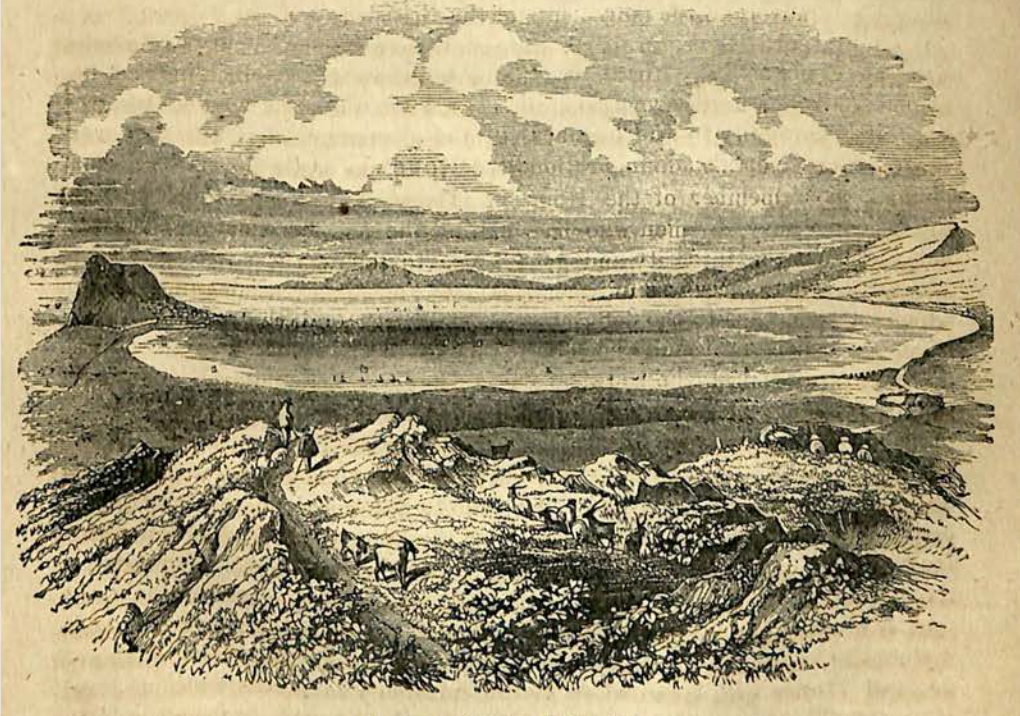
† The narrative of East Indian affairs, from the period of Hastings becoming Governor-General, will be resumed in our next volume.

the fortress and the Spaniards of the neighbouring villages. Excursions into the country, and to the coast of Barbary "rendered Gibraltar as eligible a station as any to which a soldier could be ordered."* The rock of Gibraltar, projecting into the sea from the coast of Spain, could only be approached by that low neck of sandy land called "the Neutral Ground." The isolated fortress was very soon invested by the troops of Spain, and the supplies from the main-land were necessarily cut off. In July, the Enterprize frigate brought a small quantity of fresh provisions from Tangier; and boats occasionally arrived from the African coast with live stock and fruit. But such supplies became very precarious, through the presence of Spanish squadrons in the bay. The people of the town under the rock had always been required, even in time of peace, to have a store of six months' provisions. They had neglected this precaution, and in August many were compelled to seek subsistence elsewhere. Partial bombardments began. The apprehensions of famine in January, 1780, were very serious. Thistles, dandelions, and wild leeks, which grew upon the rock, became the daily sustenance of the families of officers and soldiers, for whom the pittance distributed from the Victualling Office was insufficient. The ingenuity of the Hanoverian soldiers was displayed in their contrivances for hatching chickens by artificial heat. But when the most frightful extremity of hunger appeared threatening, the fleet of Rodney arrived, after his victory over the Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent. Don Juan de Langara, the Spanish admiral, was carried as a prisoner to Gibraltar; and being desirous to go on board the ship of admiral Digby, he there saw prince William Henry, afterwards William IV., serving as a midshipman. Great was the Spaniard's astonishment that a Prince of the Blood should tell him—with the same obedience to orders that any other petty-officer would have shown—that the boat was ready for his returning; and the Spaniard exclaimed, "Well does Great Britain merit the empire of the sea!" The example has been followed in our own day; not, we may trust, in any compromise between rank and duty, but in that spirit which prescribes that every youth who aspires to the future command of others should thoroughly learn to do the humblest and the hardest work of the profession which he has chosen.

The storehouses of Gibraltar were now full; the garrison had received reinforcements; the troops were in good heart. In June, an attempt was made to burn the British vessels by Spanish fire-ships; but it signally failed. The summer wore on without any very important incidents; although the blockade continued unremitting. But in the autumn the scurvy had broken out among the troops, from the continued use of salt provisions. Men crept to their posts upon crutches, or pined and died in the crowded hospitals. A Danish vessel, laden with lemons and oranges, was fortunately intercepted; and the sovereign remedy of lemon-juice, which Captain Cook had successfully tried, and the ignorance of which caused the ships' companies of admiral Hosier and commodore Byron miserably to perish, saved the garrison of Gibraltar. Want of provisions again became distressing. The intercourse with Tangier was prohibited by the emperor of Morocco. At

* In our narrative of this memorable siege, we have Captain Drinkwater's History constantly before us: but it will be unnecessary to refer to the particular passages of this excellent work.

last, on the 12th of April, 1781, the half-starved troops and remaining inhabitants of the town, saw a fleet of a hundred vessels entering the Gut, convoyed by men-of-war, who lay-to under the Barbary shore. The relief was well-timed. The dread of famine was at an end. But on that day the Spaniards commenced a fierce bombardment from their lines, which continued uninterruptedly through May and June. The town was nearly destroyed; but the loss of life was not considerable. The works which the Spaniards had constructed were of the most formidable character; and they incessantly laboured in making additions which became more threatening. The brave and sagacious Elliott, who had so long been satisfied with the passive resistance of firing upon the lines and batteries, now determined to hazard a sortie. At sunset, on the 26th of November, he issued his orders for two thousand men, under the command of Brigadier Ross, but accompanied by himself, to march out from the fortress, and attack the batteries which were three quarters of a mile distant. The surprise was complete; the Spaniards deserted their works in terror; and in an hour the object of the sally was effected by the destruction of the enemy's works by fire, and by the blowing-up of their magazines. The batteries continued burning for five days; and then nothing but heaps of sand could be seen by the gazers from the summit of the rock.



The Bay and Straits of Gibraltar.

The incessant activity of the besiegers and the besieged may be estimated from an expressive entry in Captain Drinkwater's narrative of the proceedings in May, 1782: "From seven in the evening of the 4th to the same

hour the succeeding afternoon, both the garrison and the enemy were silent. This was the first twenty-four hours in which there had been no firing for the space of thirteen months." The ruined works of the Spaniards were repaired; and it became evident that, during the year when a general pacification appeared a probable event, the Spanish monarchy would put forth all its strength to recover Gibraltar before the war should come to an end. The duke de Crillon had returned from the conquest of St. Philip, in Minorca, to take the command of the army before Gibraltar. There were thirty-three thousand French and Spanish troops encamped on the Neutral Ground. Their batteries were served by a hundred and seventy heavy pieces of cannon. Preparations were making for a conjoined attack by sea and land. In the port of Algesiras ten large ships were cut down to serve as the foundations of floating batteries, impregnable and incombustible. General Elliott also prepared for a new mode of defence, suggested by the Lieutenant-Governor. Furnaces were distributed through the works for the purpose of making balls red-hot—for roasting potatoes, as the soldiers said, with the true English humour. But the peril was imminent. Was the government at home not aware of the amazing preparations for the reduction of Gibraltar, having the knowledge that the united French and Spanish fleet, which had been threatening the Channel in July, had sailed back to the southward? Before we pursue farther the narrative of the siege, it may be desirable to advert to the movements of the British navy.

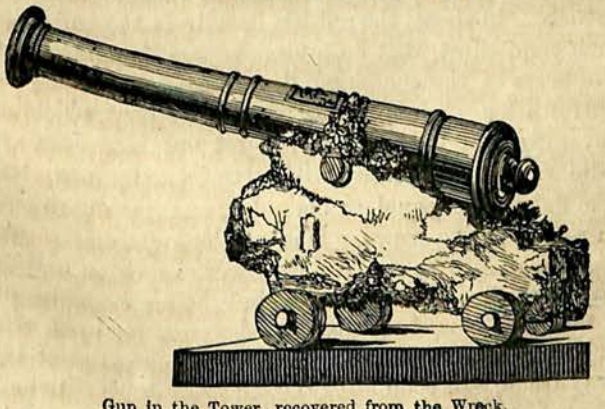
Admiral lord Howe, in 1776, had gone as a Commissioner to America with an earnest desire to restore peace between Great Britain and her colonies. When he returned home in 1778, he and his brother were received with little cordiality by the members of the government. Until the overthrow of lord North's administration lord Howe was unemployed. He complained, as a member of the House of Commons, of the conduct pursued towards the navy, by men who had neither the ability to act on their own judgment, nor the integrity and good sense to follow the advice of others. His value as an officer was universally known; and in a parliamentary debate which had reference to the determination of Howe to quit the service, admiral Pigot gave a strong though homely testimony to the affection of the sailors for the brave admiral who had seen service for forty years, by repeating their common saying, "Give us Black Dick, and we fear nothing." * When the new administration was formed in 1782, admiral Keppel was created a viscount, and was appointed First Lord of the Admiralty. Lord Howe was also raised to the peerage, and appointed to the command of a fleet to be employed in the Channel, or wherever else the king's service should require. On the 20th of April he embarked at Portsmouth for the Texel, to watch the Dutch fleet. Having confined the Dutch to their ports through the month of May, he received orders to return to Spithead; and was then directed to cruise off Brest, for the purpose of intercepting the combined fleets of France and Spain which had sailed from Cadiz on the 4th of June. He accomplished the great object of preventing the enemy attacking the West India convoy; but the French and Spaniards successfully evaded a general action; and Howe returned to Portsmouth on the 5th of August.

* Barrow's "Life of Earl Howe," p. 124.

A few weeks were necessary for Howe to equip his fleet for the important service of the relief of Gibraltar, for which he was now ordered. A calamity which, amidst the dreary catalogue of disasters at sea, will probably never lose its interest, occurred at Portsmouth during the short period of preparation. On the 29th of August, the Royal George, a ship of a hundred and eight guns, suddenly overset in Portsmouth Harbour, filled, and sank; by which catastrophe, according to the inscription upon a monument in the church-yard of Portsea, nine hundred persons perished. The Royal George was the flag-ship of admiral Kempenfeldt. He was in his cabin, unconscious of any danger; whilst sailors were clearing a lighter alongside, and stowing her freight of rum in the hold of the great ship, and the decks were crowded with women and children from the shore, and with Jews and other tradesmen. According to the narrative of one of the seamen who was saved, the ship was heeled on her larboard side, that the water-cock which admitted sea-water to the hold on the starboard side might be replaced by a new cock. To accomplish this, the whole of the guns on the larboard side were run out as far as they would go, and those of the starboard side were drawn in a-midship. About nine o'clock in the morning, says this narrative, "the additional quantity of rum on board the ship, and also the quantity of sea-water which had dashed in through the port-holes, brought the larboard port-holes of the lower gun-deck nearly level with the sea." The carpenter went on the quarter-deck twice, to tell the lieutenant of the watch that the ship could not bear this; and begged him to give orders to right. The lieutenant's answer was very testy; and the men around became uneasy, for they knew the danger. The drummer was then called, to beat "to right ship." There was no time to beat the drum, for the ship was sinking.*

"It was not in the battle;
No tempest gave the shock;
She sprang no fatal leak;
She ran upon no rock.

"His sword was in its sheath;
His fingers held the pen,
When Kempenfeldt went down
With twice four hundred men."†



Gun in the Tower, recovered from the Wreck.

It appears from the minutes of the Court-Martial held to inquire into

* "Penny Magazine," June, 1834. † Cowper.

this frightful accident, that "from the short space of time between the alarm being given and the sinking of the ship, the Court was of opinion that some material part of her frame gave way, which can only be accounted for by the general state of decay of her timbers." *

On the 11th of September lord Howe sailed from Spithead with a fleet of thirty-four sail of the line, six frigates, and three fire-ships, having on board two regiments for the reinforcement of the garrison at Gibraltar, and conveying transports with stores for their relief. On the 12th of September, forty-seven sail of the line, with ten battering-ships, and innumerable small craft, were assembled in the bay of Gibraltar, to co-operate with an army of forty thousand men in one grand attack upon the fortress, which was defended by seven thousand tried veterans. A siege has since been conducted upon a grander scale; but the author of the History of this siege was right when he then said, "Such a naval and military spectacle most certainly is not to be equalled in the annals of war." On the morning of the 13th the ten battering ships moored within ten or twelve hundred yards of the bastions of Gibraltar. The balls were heated in the furnaces of the garrison; and when the first ship dropped her anchors, the firing commenced from the fortress. Before ten o'clock on that eventful morning four hundred pieces of artillery were playing at the same moment. The battering-ships were as formidable as they were represented to be. The heaviest shells rebounded from their tops; the thirty-two pound shot seemed incapable of making any impression upon their hulls. Sometimes a battering-ship appeared to be on fire, but the flames were quickly extinguished by mechanical contrivances. An Italian officer on board the combined fleet has given a vivid description of the result of the persevering fire from the British works: "Our hopes of ultimate success became less sanguine when, at two o'clock, the floating battery commanded by the prince of Nassau (on board of which was also the engineer who had invented the machinery) began to smoke on the side exposed to the garrison, and it was apprehended she had taken fire. The firing, however, continued till we could perceive the fortifications had sustained some damage; but at seven o'clock all our hopes vanished. The fire from our floating batteries entirely ceased, and rockets were thrown up as signals of distress. In short, the red-hot balls from the garrison had by this time taken such good effect, that nothing now was thought of but saving the crews, and the boats of the combined fleet were immediately sent on that service. A little after midnight the floating battery which had been the first to show symptoms of conflagration, burst out into flames, upon which the fire from the rock was increased with terrific vengeance; the light produced from the flames was equal to noon-day, and greatly exposed the boats of the fleet in removing the crews. During the night one or other of these batteries was discovered to be on fire; they were so close to the walls that the balls pierced into them full three feet, but being made of solid beds of green timber, the holes closed up after the shot, and for want of air they did not immediately produce the effect. At five A.M., one of them blew up with a very great explosion, and soon after the whole of them, having been abandoned by their crews, were on fire fore and aft, and many of their gallant

† Barrow's "Life of Lord Howe," p. 139.

fellows were indebted to the exertions of the English for their lives. As the English boats were towing one of these batteries into the Mole, not supposing her to be on fire, she also blew up." *

The great operations of the 13th of September were decisive as to the eventual issue of the siege. Lord Howe entered the mouth of the Straits with his fleet on the 11th of October. The combined fleets of France and Spain avoided an engagement, and the stores and reinforcements were landed from the British squadron. "Gibraltar," to use the words of Mr. Pitt, "was relieved by a skill and courage that baffled superior numbers." A storm had driven the enemy's fleet from the immediate neighbourhood of the port, and the object of landing the stores and reinforcements was partially accomplished. The fleets of France and Spain, and the British fleet, entered the Mediterranean, each driven by the storm. Howe drew up in line of battle; but the enemy declined to engage, and the British admiral returned to Gibraltar, and completed the work for which he was sent. An attempt was made to cut off the rear of Howe's fleet, but it failed; and the French and Spaniards refusing a general action, Howe returned to England. The siege was languidly continued during the winter. On the 6th of February, 1783, the duc de Crillon informed general Elliott that the preliminaries of peace had been signed at Paris on the 20th of January, and that Gibraltar was to remain in the possession of Great Britain. From the commencement of the blockade to the cessation of arms, the siege had endured three years, seven months, and twelve days. The total loss of the garrison was twelve hundred, of whom only four hundred and seventy were killed, or died of their wounds, or were disabled.

The summer and part of the autumn were employed by the British envoy at Paris, and by Dr. Franklin, in discussions upon points that were essential to be settled before the basis of a treaty of peace with America could be established. Franklin states that Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald, on the part of Great Britain, seemed at first studiously to avow their wish not to use any expressions that might imply an acknowledgment of American Independence; "but our refusing otherwise to treat, at length induced them to get over that difficulty, and then we came to the point of making propositions." † Three other Commissioners were finally associated with Franklin, Mr. Jay, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Laurens. These associates were probably able to set aside the original determination, so strongly expressed by Franklin on the first overtures from lord Shelburne, not to negociate without the concurrence of the other allied powers. They conceived a distrust of France, which appears to have been unwarranted; although it was clear that in continuing the contest the allies looked to exclusive advantages alone. Spain could not readily forego her wish to recover Gibraltar; and even after the failure of the grand attack of September, she persevered in a demand for its cession. At length, on the 30th of November, preliminary articles were signed between the Commissioner of Great Britain and the Commissioners of the United States. Franklin communicated the fact to the count de Vergennes, who was naturally offended at what he considered the infraction of a mutual promise not to sign articles of pacification except with the joint consent of

* Barrow's "Life of Lord Howe," p. 133. † Works, vol. ix. p. 489.

France and the United States. Franklin made rather an awkward apology: "Nothing has been agreed in the preliminaries contrary to the interests of France; and no peace is to take place between us and England, till you have concluded yours. Your observation is, however, apparently just, that, in not consulting you before they were signed, we have been guilty of neglecting a point of *bienséance*." *

The Parliament was opened by the king on the 5th of December, the Houses having met on the previous 26th of November, and were then adjourned in the expectation of some definite result from the negociations. The opening words of the speech are very memorable. His majesty declared he had lost no time in giving the necessary orders to prohibit the further prosecution of offensive war upon the continent of North America. Adopting with decision what he collected to be the sense of his parliament and his people, he had directed all his measures to an entire and cordial reconciliation with those colonies. He had not hesitated to go the full length of the powers vested in him, and had offered to declare them free and independent States, by an article to be inserted in the treaty of peace. Provisional articles had been agreed upon, to take effect whenever terms of peace should be finally settled with the Court of France. The king then said, "In thus admitting their separation from the crown of these kingdoms, I have sacrificed every consideration of my own to the wishes and opinion of my people. I make it my humble and earnest prayer to Almighty God, that Great Britain may not feel the evils which might result from so great a dismemberment of the empire; and that America may be free from those calamities which have formerly proved in the mother country how essential monarchy is to the enjoyment of constitutional liberty. Religion, language, interest, affections, may, and I hope will, yet prove a bond of permanent union between the two countries." The violent debates on the Address belong to the history of faction rather than to the history of the country. Tories were indignant at the concession of American independence. Whigs complained that the concession had not been the first step in the negociation. Lord Shelburne in former years had held that when the colonies should become independent, the sun of England would be set; and he was now reproached for his inconsistency in granting their independence.

On the 20th of January, 1783, the Preliminaries of Peace were signed between Great Britain and France and Spain. With Holland there was a suspension of arms; and the Preliminaries of Peace were not signed until the 2nd of September. The articles of pacification with the United States, with the exception of the first article acknowledging their independence, are now of minor importance. By the treaty with France, England ceded St. Lucia and Tobago, and gained back Granada, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat. The French recovered some possessions in Africa, and in the East Indies. The old stipulations for the demolition of Dunkirk were given up. To Spain Great Britain ceded Minorca and the Floridas. The principle of the final treaty with Holland was on the basis of mutual restitution.

Thus, then, was finished one of the most calamitous wars that England

* Letter to Vergennes—Franklin's Works, vol. ix. p. 451.

had ever been driven into, through a mistaken view of the relative positions of a mother country and her colonies, and an obstinate reliance upon her power to enforce obedience. It might have been expected that a pacification which involved no humiliating conditions, beyond the acknowledgment of that independence of the United States which it was no longer possible to withhold, would have been received with unmingled satisfaction. On the contrary, a combination of parties was entered into for the purpose of removing lord Shelburne and his ministry; a coalition which, to our minds, is not a pleasant exhibition of the motives which sometimes unite the most opposite factions in the pursuit of power. On the 17th of February, the two Houses took into consideration the Preliminaries of Peace with France, Spain, and America. In the House of Lords the ministers carried the Address of Thanks to the Crown by a majority of thirteen. In the House of Commons they were defeated by a majority of sixteen. On the 21st of February lord John Cavendish moved Resolutions of Censure on the terms of the Peace, which were carried by a majority of seventeen. Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt were on this occasion brought into immediate conflict—"the tug of war" which was to last for twenty years was now begun. The particular points of attack or defence in the conditions of the peace have little to interest us. But the principles exhibited by these great rivals on so stirring an occasion have a permanent value. Fox defended the coalition of parties which some had censured; but he emphatically proclaimed his adhesion to his own party: "I am free to boast of being connected with a set of men, whose principles are the basis on which the state has for a long time past been preserved from absolute destruction. It is to the virtues of these men that I have surrendered my private opinions and inclinations. It is thus only that I could prevent myself from falling into those errors which the prejudices, passions, and perplexities of human nature, will, at times, occasion. And thus I have been always answerable to my country for my conduct; for in every public transaction I have thought it most safe to resign my private opinion, when I found it departing from the general opinion of those with whom I was connected by friendship, confidence, and veneration. Those whose virtues claimed my respect, and whose abilities my admiration, could not but prove the best directors of a conduct which, alone, might fall by its temerity, or be lost by temptation." Pitt was self-reliant in his own confidence in the purity of his intentions: "High situation, and great influence, are desirable objects to most men, and objects which I am not ashamed to pursue, which I am even solicitous to possess, whenever they can be acquired with honour, and retained with dignity. On these respectable conditions, I am not less ambitious to be great and powerful than it is natural for a young man, with such brilliant examples before him, to be. But even these objects I am not beneath relinquishing, the moment my duty to my country, my character, and my friends, renders such a sacrifice indispensable. Then I hope to retire, not disappointed, but triumphant; triumphant in the conviction that my talents, humble as they are, have been earnestly, zealously, and strenuously employed, to the best of my apprehension, in promoting the truest welfare of my country; and that, however I may stand chargeable with weakness of understanding, or error of judgment, nothing can be imputed to my official capacity which bears the most distant

connection with an interested, a corrupt, or a dishonest intention." The struggle for office was over. On the 24th of February lord Shelburne resigned. One of his Secretaries of State, lord Grantham, wrote to sir James Harris that the fallen minister trusted too much to his measures, and that the Parliament, spoilt by long habits of interest, gave no credit to them.* The measures of lord Shelburne contemplated a much wider field of action than his opponents, with the exception of Burke, could have admitted into their views. In the king's speech at the opening of the Session, his majesty recommended a revision of our whole trading system, upon the same comprehensive and liberal principles that had been adopted concerning the commerce of Ireland. There is a letter of February, 1783, from Mr. Benjamin Vaughan to Dr. Franklin, in which, speaking of "the boldness of my friend's conduct," evidently alluding to lord Shelburne, he thus describes the views of the minister who had secured peace for his country: "You will take pleasure in hearing that he talked of making England a free port, for which he said we were fitted by nature, capital, love of enterprise, maritime connections, and position between the Old and New World, and the North and South of Europe; and that those who were best circumstanced for trade, could not but be gainers by having trade open."† Shelburne's opinions upon a liberal system of commerce were before his time. They were entirely opposed to the existing ignorance of the commercial public, and they would necessarily have failed. If he had remained in power, the great trading communities would have ensured his fall, had he dared to promulgate the principles which could only be accepted when England had received the enlightenment of more than half a century's experience.

Jonathan Shipley, bishop of St. Asaph, was an old and intimate friend of Dr. Franklin. To the bishop the American philosopher wrote some words, after the conclusion of the peace, which ought not to pass out of remembrance: "Let us now forgive and forget. Let each country seek its advancement in its own internal advantages of arts and agriculture, not in retarding or preventing the prosperity of the other. America will, with God's blessing, become a great and happy country; and England, if she has at length gained wisdom, will have gained something more valuable, and more essential to her prosperity, than all she has lost; and will still be a great and respectable nation."‡ To forgive and forget was perhaps more difficult to the king of England than to any one in his dominions. It has been asserted, and we think with much unfairness, that "the intense hatred with which George III. regarded the Americans was so natural to such a mind as his, that one can hardly blame his constant exhibition of it during the time that the struggle was actually impending. But what is truly disgraceful is, that, after the war was over, he displayed this rancour on an occasion when, of all others, he was bound to suppress it." This assertion is supported by a statement that when Jefferson and Adams made their appearance at Court in 1786, George III. "treated these eminent men with marked incivility, although they were then paying their respects to him in his own palace."§ John Adams was the first

* "Correspondence of the Earl of Malmesbury," vol. i. p. 501.
† Franklin's Works, vol. ix. p. 489. ‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ix. p. 499.
§ Buckle—"History of Civilization," vol. i. p. 423.

minister of the United States accredited to Great Britain. He was presented to the king in June, 1785. Jefferson, who succeeded Franklin as minister to France, went to London in 1786, to arrange some treaties in concert with Adams; and he says that when he appeared at Court, he saw, or thought he saw, that "the ulcerations in the king's mind left nothing to be expected from him;" and that, on his presentation to their majesties at their levées, "it was impossible for anything to be more ungracious than their notice of Mr. Adams and myself."* Mr. Buckle, in referring to these passages in Jefferson's correspondence, omits to mention the remarkable interview between George III. and Mr. Adams, on the 1st of June, 1785—an interview

Portrait of John Adams.

which the American ambassador described the next day, to the American Secretary, Mr. Jay, in a letter of permanent historical interest. He was left with the king, and lord Carmarthen, the secretary-of-state, alone. He presented his letter of credence as Minister Plenipotentiary, and expressed the desire of the United States to cultivate the most liberal and friendly intercourse between his majesty's subjects and their citizens. He then said, "The appearance of a Minister from the United States to your majesty's Court will form an epoch in the history of England and America. I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow citizens, in having the distinguished honour to be the first to stand in your majesty's royal presence in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence, and affection, or, in better words, 'the old good nature,' and the good old humour, between people, who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion, a kindred blood. I beg your

* Tucker—"Life of Jefferson," vol. i. p. 226.

majesty's permission to add that although I have sometimes before been entrusted by my country, it was never in my whole life in a manner so agreeable to myself."

Mr. Adams, in continuing his narrative, says that the king listened to every word he said, with an apparent emotion; that he was himself much agitated; but that his majesty "was much affected, and answered me with more tremor than I had spoken with." The king said, "Sir—the circumstances of this audience are so extraordinary, the language you have now held is so extremely proper, and the feelings you have discovered so justly adapted to the occasion, that I must say, that I not only receive with pleasure the assurance of the friendly disposition of the United States, but that I am very glad the choice has fallen upon you to be their Minister. I wish you, sir, to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do, by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be very frank with you. I was the last to conform to the separation; but the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an Independent Power. The moment I see such sentiments and language as yours prevail, and a disposition to give this country the preference, that moment I shall say, let the circumstances of language, religion, and blood, have their natural and full effect." *

There is one man who was the chief instrument in the hands of Providence for conducting the war, by his energy, prudence, and constancy, to that triumphant assertion of Independence which has built up the great North American republic. To Washington the historian naturally turns, as to the grandest object of contemplation, when he laid aside his victorious sword,—that sword which, with those he had worn in his earlier career, he bequeathed to his nephews with words characteristic of his nobleness: "These swords are accompanied with an injunction not to unsheathe them for the purpose of shedding blood, except it be for self-defence, or in defence of their country and its rights; and in the latter case, to keep them unsheathed, and prefer falling with them in their hands to the relinquishment thereof." † On the 4th of December, 1782, Washington bade farewell to the principal officers of his army. He filled a glass and said, "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honourable." He asked that each com-

* Works of John Adams, vol. viii. The remaining passage of the official letter of Mr. Adams is sufficient evidence that the king did not treat the first eminent American who came into his presence with "marked incivility." "The king then asked me whether I came last from France; and upon my answering in the affirmative, he put on an air of familiarity, and smiling, or rather, laughing, said, 'There is an opinion among some people that you are not the most attached of all your countrymen to the manners of France.' I was surprised at this, because I thought it an indiscretion, and a descent from his dignity. I was a little embarrassed, but determined not to deny the truth on the one hand, nor leave him to infer from it any attachment to England on the other. I threw off as much gravity as I could, and assumed an air of gaiety and a tone of decision, as far as was decent, and said, 'That opinion, Sir, is not mistaken; I must avow to your majesty I have no attachment but to my own country.' The king replied as quick as lightning, 'An honest man will never have any other.'"

† Will of Washington," 1799.

panion in arms should come and take him by the hand. In silence the friendly grasp was given and returned, as each passed before him. On the 20th of December the commander of the American armies resigned his commission to a deputation from Congress, in a modest speech, of which these were the concluding words: "Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding farewell to the august body under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of my public life." Eight days after this act, he wrote to a friend—"I feel myself eased of a load of public care. I hope to spend the remainder of my days in cultivating the affections of good men, and in the practice of the domestic virtues." There was public work for Washington yet to do—the work of "directing the formation of a new government for a great people, the first time that so vast an experiment had ever been tried by man—finally retiring from the supreme power to which his virtue had raised him over the nation he had created, and whose destinies he had guided as long as his aid was required." *

Statue of Washington. By Canova.

* Lord Brougham—"Statesmen," vol. ii. p. 338.

GREAT BRITAIN.	FRANCE.	GERMANY.	PRUSSIA.	SWEDEN.	RUSSIA.	SPAIN.
1714 George I.	Louis XIV.	Charles VI.	Frederic William I.	Ulrica Eleonora.	Peter the Great.	Philip V.
1715 —	Louis XV.	—	—	—	—	—
1720 —	—	—	—	Frederic.	—	—
1725 —	—	—	—	—	Catherine I	—
1727 George II.	—	—	—	—	Peter II.	—
1730 —	—	—	—	—	Anne.	—
1740 —	—	—	Frederic the Great.	—	Ivan III.	—
1741 —	—	—	—	—	Elizabeth.	—
1742 —	—	Charles VII.	—	—	—	—
1745 —	—	Francis I. and Maria Teresa.	—	—	—	—
1751 —	—	—	—	—	Ferdinand VI.	—
1758 —	—	—	—	Adolphus Frederic.	—	—
1759 —	—	—	—	—	Charles III.	—
1760 George III.	—	—	—	—	—	—
1762 —	—	—	—	—	{Peter III. / Catherine II.}	—
1765 —	—	Joseph II.	—	—	—	—
1771 —	—	—	—	Gustavus III.	—	—
1774 —	Louis XVI.	—	—	—	—	—
1786 —	—	—	Frederic William II.	—	—	—
1788 —	—	—	—	—	—	Charles IV.

GREAT BRITAIN.	DENMARK.	POLAND.	PORTUGAL.	PAPAL STATES.	NAPLES.	SARDINIA.
1714 George I.	Frederic IV.	Augustus II.	John V.	Clement XI.	Charles II.	—
1720 —	—	—	—	—	—	Victor Amadeus II.
1721 —	—	—	—	Innocent XIII.	—	—
1724 —	—	—	—	Benedict XIII.	—	—
1727 George II.	—	—	—	—	—	—
1730 —	Christian VI.	—	—	Clement XII.	—	Charles Emanuel III
1740 —	—	—	—	Benedict XIV.	—	—
1746 —	Frederic V.	—	—	—	—	—
1750 —	—	—	Joseph Emanuel.	—	—	—
1758 —	—	—	—	Clement XIII.	—	—
1759 —	—	—	—	—	Ferdinand IV.	—
1760 George III.	—	—	—	—	—	—
1764 —	—	Stanislaus.	—	—	—	—
1766 —	Christian VII.	—	—	—	—	—
1769 —	—	—	—	Clement XIV.	—	—
1772 —	—	First Partition.	—	—	—	—
1773 —	—	—	—	—	—	Victor Amadeus III.
1775 —	—	—	—	Pius VI.	—	—
1777 —	—	—	Maria.	—	—	—
1788 —	—	—	—	—	—	—

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF TREATIES.

(Continued from page 120.)

1750 October 5 : Treaty between England and Spain, by which England renounced the *Assiento contract* for the supply of slaves, included in the peace of Utrecht, in 1713.

1755 June 8 : Commencement of war by the English, by the attack on two French frigates in America.

1756 January 16 : Treaty of alliance between Prussia and England. Hanover put under the safeguard of the King of Prussia.

1756 May 1 : Alliance between Austria and France, concluded at Versailles.

1756 June 9 : War formally declared by France against England.

1756 August 17 : Saxony invaded by Prussia. Beginning of the Seven Years' War.

1756 September 30 : War between Austria and Prussia.

1757 July 17 : War between Great Britain and Austria.

1757 August 24 : Hostilities commenced between Sweden and Prussia.

1757 September 10 : *Convention of Closterseven.*

1757 October 22 : Treaty of peace concluded between the province of Pennsylvania, and the Delaware and the Shawanee Indians.

1761 August 15 : *The Family Compact* between the different branches of the House of Bourbon, signed at Paris.

1762 January 23 : War declared by England against Spain, in consequence of the Family Compact.

1762 May 1 : The Spanish and French invade Portugal, and an army sent from England to assist the Portuguese.

1762 May 5 : *Peace of Petersburg*, between Russia and Prussia. Russia restored all her conquests to Prussia.

1762 May 22 : *Peace of Hamburg*, between Sweden and Prussia.

1762 May 23 : War declared by Portugal against Spain.

1762 November 3 : Preliminaries of peace signed at Fontainebleau, between France and England.

1763 February 10 : *Peace of Paris* concluded between France, Spain, Portugal, and Great Britain. Cession of Canada by France, and of Florida by Spain.

1763 February 15 : *Peace of Hubertsberg*, between Prussia, Austria, and Saxony End of the Seven Years' War.

1765 March 22 : American Stamp Act.

1768 February 24 : *Treaty of Warsaw*, between Russia and Poland.

1768 October : War between Russia and Turkey.

1771 January 22 : A treaty concluded between Great Britain and Spain, confirming the possession of the Falkland Islands to the former.

1772 February 17 : Secret convention for the partition of Poland by Russia and Prussia.

1772 August 5 : *Treaty of Petersburg* for the same object, between Austria, Russia, and Prussia.

1773 December 21 : The disturbances in America began with the destruction of the tea on board three sloops at Boston.

1774 July 21 : *Peace of Kutchuk kainarji*, between Russia and Turkey. Crimea declared independent, Azoph ceded to Russia, and freedom of commerce and navigation of the Black Sea granted.

1774 December 5 : Congress opened at Philadelphia.
1775 April 19 : Hostilities commenced at Lexington, North America, between Great Britain and the Colonists.
1775 May 20 : The American provinces sign articles of union and alliance.
1776 July 4 : American declaration of independence.
1778 February 6 : A treaty ratified with the states of America, by France, who acknowledged their independence.
1778 March 13 : War between England and France.
1779 May 13 : *Peace of Teschen* ratified between Austria, Saxony, and Prussia.
1779 July 13 : Spain joins the war against England.
1780 December 20 : War declared by Great Britain against Holland.
1780 July 9 and August 1 : First conventions for the armed neutrality, between Russia, Denmark, and Sweden. December 24, the States-General acceded.
1781 May 8 : King of Prussia accedes to the armed neutrality.
1781 October 9 : The Emperor of Germany joins the armed neutrality.
1782 November 30 : The independence of America acknowledged by England, and preliminaries of peace signed at Paris between the British and American Commissioners.
1783 January 20 : Preliminary articles of peace signed at Versailles, between Great Britain, Spain, and France.
1783 January 20 : Crimea passes under the dominion of Russia.
1783 September 2 : Preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and Holland, signed at Paris.
1783 September 3 : *Definitive treaty of peace* between Great Britain and America, signed at Paris ; when the latter power was admitted to be a sovereign and independent State. On the same day, the definitive treaty was signed at Versailles between Great Britain, France, and Spain.
1784 June 20 : *Definitive treaty of peace* between Great Britain and Holland signed at Paris.

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF STATE FROM THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD NORTH, 1770, TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE EARL OF SHELBURNE, 1783.—(*See* page 320.)

LORD CHANCELLOR.	FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY.	CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER.	PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE.
			1768. Earl of Rochford.
			— Earl of Hillsborough (Colonies).
	1770. Frederick, lord North.	1770. Frederick, lord North.	
1771. Henry, lord Apsley (created earl Bathurst in 1775).	1771. ,,	1771. ,,	1771. (June 12). Earl of Suffolk (*vice* earl of Sandwich).
1772. ,,	1772. ,,	1772. ,,	1772. (Aug. 14). Earl of Dartmouth (Colonies).
1773. ,,	1773. ,,	1773. ,,	1773. ,,
1774. ,,	1774. ,,	1774. ,,	1774. ,,
1775. ,,	1775. ,,	1775. ,,	1775. (Nov. 10). Viscount Weymouth (*vice* earl of Rochford).
			— Lord George Sackville Germaine (*vice* lord Dartmouth) (Colonies).
1776. ,,	1776. ,,	1776. ,,	1776. ,,
1777. ,,	1777. ,,	1777. ,,	1777. ,,
1778. (June 2). Edward, lord Thurlow.	1778. ,,	1778. ,,	1778. ,,
1779. ,,	1779. ,,	1779. ,,	1779. (Oct. 27). Viscount Stormont (*vice* earl of Suffolk).
			— (Nov. 24). Earl of Hillsborough (*vice* viscount Weymouth).
1780. ,,	1780. ,,	1780. ,,	1780. ,,
1781. ,,	1781. ,,	1781. ,,	1781. ,,
1782. ,,	1782. ,,	1782. ,,	1782. (Feb. 24). Welbore Ellis, esq. (*vice* lord George Germaine) (Colonies).
— ,,	— (March 27). Charles, marquis of Rockingham.	— (March 27). Lord John Cavendish.	— (March 27). William, earl of Shelburne (*vice* lord Stormont).
— ,,	— (July 13). William, earl of Shelburne.	— (July 13). Hon. William Pitt.	— Hon. Charles James Fox (*vice* lord Hillsborough).
			— (July 13). Thomas Townshend, esq. (*vice* Mr. Fox).
			— Thomas, lord Grantham (*vice* earl of Shelburne).

GROWTH OF THE NATIONAL DEBT.

THE present Funded Debt may be considered to have its root in the iniquitous measure of shutting up the Exchequer in 1672, when the revenue pledged for the payment of loans, amounting to £1,328,000, was appropriated to other purposes, and that principal sum was never redeemed. Interest was duly paid till 1684, and was then withheld. But an Act of Parliament was passed in 1699, by which, after 1705, the creditors were to receive interest of 3 per cent. upon the original amount, to be redeemed whenever the Government should pay a moiety thereof. That unredeemed moiety of £660,263 is a part of the present debt; and at the Revolution there was about £400,000 outstanding debt in the shape of loans and arrears.

A General Abstract of the Funded and Unfunded Capital of the National Debt of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the charge for Interest and Management, has been recently printed by order of the House of Commons. It must be borne in mind, that although we speak of Capital and Interest, the Public Debt consists not in Capital but in Annuities —that the State, having borrowed a principal sum from time to time, guarantees certain payments in the shape of perpetual or terminable annuities, without any engagement to replace the principal represented by such a General Abstract of the National Debt. We give the results of this Abstract, separating the Return into periods concurrent with marked eras of our history; and distinguishing the years of war and the years of peace. In the progress of our historical narrative, we have noticed how the amount of Interest has been reduced, by the judicious measures of sir Robert Walpole, and by those of Mr. Pelham in 1749.

WILLIAM AND MARY; WILLIAM III; ANNE.

				Unredeemed Capital.	Interest and Annuities.
				£	£
War	W. & M.	3 & 4	1691	3,130,000	232,000
"		4 & 5	1692	3,310,547	230,000
		5 & 6	1693	5,902,839	507,101
"		6 & 7	1694	6,734,297	818,298
	William III.	7 & 8	1695	8,436,846	887,192
"		8 & 9	1696	11,579,178	1,086,971
War / Peace		9 & 10	1697	14,522,925	1,322,519
"		10 & 11	1698	15,445,416	1,468,511
"		11 & 12	1699	13,799,355	1,423,539
"		12 & 13	1700	12,607,080	1,252,080
"		13	1701	12,552,486	1,219,147
Peace / War		1	1702	12,767,225	1,215,324
"		1 & 2	1703	12,325,779	1,158,460
"		2 & 3	1704	12,363,474	1,234,010
"		3 & 4	1705	12,135,351	1,210,051
"		4 & 5	1706	12,388,030	1,443,568
"	Anne.	5 & 6	1707	15,244,299	1,590,630
"		6 & 7	1708	15,518,406	1,722,472
"		7 & 8	1709	18,933,339	1,921,477
"		8 & 9	1710	21,335,645	2,064,829
"		9 & 10	1711	22,398,425	2,274,377
"		10 & 11	1712	34,922,688	3,034,078
War / Peace		11 & 12	1713	34,699,847	3,004,287
"		12 & 13	1714	36,175,460	3,063,135

GEORGE I. AND II.—From the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

				Unredeemed Capital.	Interest and Annuities.
				£	£
Peace.	George I.	1 & 2	1715	37,423,234	3,114,625
,,		2 & 3	1716	37,918,468	3,167,616
,,		3 & 4	1717	40,308,257	3,144,293
Peace. War		4 & 5	1718	40,379,684	2,965,889
,,		5 & 6	1719	41,872,241	2,822,370
,,		6 & 7	1720	53,979,708	2,846,434
War. Peace		7 & 8	1721	54,405,108	2,855,380
,,		8 & 9	1722	54,202,366	2,807,584
,,		9 & 10	1723	52,996,990	2,728,030
,,		10 & 11	1724	53,323,570	2,727,317
,,		11 & 12	1725	52,239,077	2,717,589
,,		12 & 13	1726	52,850,797	2,739,628
,,		13	1727	52,523,923	2,360,934
,,		1			
,,	George II.	1 & 2	1728	51,960,576	2,306,462
,,		2 & 3	1729	51,541,220	2,292,150
,,		3 & 4	1730	50,830,310	2,227,127
,,		4 & 5	1731	50,738,786	2,219,986
,,		5 & 6	1732	49,836,638	2,189,391
,,		6 & 7	1733	48,728,097	2,153,405
,,		7 & 8	1734	48,821,416	2,136,147
,,		8 & 9	1735	48,948,089	2,141,600
,,		9 & 10	1736	50,424,651	2,108,793
,,		10 & 11	1737	47,231,299	2,057,073
,,		11 & 12	1738	46,497,500	2,025,898
Peace. War		12 & 13	1739	46,613,883	2,030,884
,,		13 & 14	1740	47,122,579	2,051,572
,,		14 & 15	1741	48,382,439	2,099,950
,,		15 & 16	1742	51,847,323	2,157,136
,,		16 & 17	1743	53,200,989	2,181,586
,,		17 & 18	1744	56,742,418	2,293,302
,,		18 & 19	1745	59,717,817	2,423,329
,,		19 & 20	1746	64,617,844	2,650,231
,,		20 & 21	1747	69,115,414	2,882,538
War. Peace		21 & 22	1748	75,812,132	3,165,765

GEORGE II. AND III.—From the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to the Peace of Paris.

				Unredeemed Capital.	Interest and Annuities.
				£	£
Peace.	George II.	22 & 23	1749	77,488,940	3,204,858
,,		23 & 24	1750	76,859,810	2,789,351
,,		24 & 25	1751	77,197,026	2,769,484
,,		25 & 26	1752	76,431,683	2,735,312
,,		26 & 27	1753	75,034,815	2,694,038
,,		27 & 28	1754	72,128,282	2,648,452
,,		28 & 29	1755	72,505,572	2,650,041
Peace War.		29 & 30	1756	74,575,025	2,753,566
,,		30 & 31	1757	77,825,397	2,736,254
,,		31 & 32	1758	83,128,009	2,918,707
,,		32 & 33	1759	91,273,459	3,181,895
,,		33 & 34	1760	102,014,018	3,576,275
,,		1			
,,	Geo. III.	1 & 2	1761	114,294,987	4,148,999
,,		2 & 3	1762	126,794,937	4,747,849
War. Peace.		3 & 4	1763	132,716,049	5,032,733

GEORGE III.—From the Peace of Paris to the War of the French Revolution.

				Unredeemed Capital.	Interest and Annuities.
				£	£
Peace	George III.	4 & 5	1764	133,287,940	5,002,865
"		5 & 6	1765	131,816,173	4,028,250
"		6 & 7	1766	131,636,931	4,887,346
"		7 & 8	1767	132,110,822	4,875,558
"		8 & 9	1768	132,587,404	4,870,163
"		9 & 10	1769	130,313,280	4,786,941
"		10 & 11	1770	129,197,633	4,712,079
"		11 & 12	1771	128,986,012	4,733,694
"		12 & 13	1772	128,036,533	4,706,326
"		13 & 14	1773	128,871,497	4,749,567
Peace. War		14 & 15	1774	127,162,413	4,698,313
"		15 & 16	1775	126,842,811	4,703,519
"		16 & 17	1776	131,237,283	4,870,534
"		17 & 18	1777	136,776,637	5,112,344
"		18 & 19	1778	143,052,634	5,487,323
"		19 & 20	1779	153,574,350	6,100,060
"		20 & 21	1780	167,460,982	6,931,739
"		21 & 22	1781	189,258,681	7,451,052
"		22 & 23	1782	214,729,586	8,413,441
War Peace.		23 & 24	1783	231,843,631	9,065,585
"		24 & 25	1784	243,063,145	9,541,256
"		25 & 26	1785	245,586,470	9,678,942
"		26 & 27	1786	245,466,855	9,664,541
"		27 & 28	1787	244,279,225	9,595,379
"		28 & 29	1788	243,637,416	9,572,217
"		29 & 30	1789	242,752,911	9,567,359
"		30 & 31	1790	242,461,580	9,585,712
"		31 & 32	1791	241,675,999	9,513,507
"		32 & 33	1792	239,663,421	9,432,179

ABSTRACT.

Period.	Debt.	Interest.	Years of War.	Increase of Debt in Years of War.
	£	£		£
1691	3,130,000	332,000		
1701	12,552,486	1,219,147	1691—1697	11,392,925
1714	36,175,460	3,063,135	1702—1713	21,932,622
			1718—1721	14,025,424
1748	75,812,132	3,165,765	1740—1748	22,531,551
1763	132,716,049	5,032,733	1756—1763	58,141,024
1792	239,663,421	9,432,179	1774—1783	104,681,213
				£232,704,759

END OF VOL. VI.

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